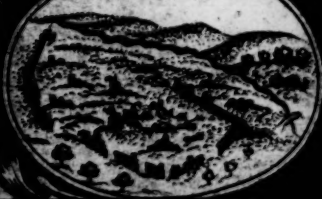


VEROLAM.



LINCOLN



A ROMAN

CAROLUS inter Reges ut
Lilius inter Flores



A SAXON

CHRONICLE
OF THE
KINGS OF ENGLAND
From the Time of the
ROMANS Government
unto the Deaths
KING JAMES

Containing all Passages of State
Church, With all other observations
proper for a CHRONICLE.
Carefully Collected out of Authours Ancient
and Modern; and digested into a new
Method.
By S^r RICHARD BAKER K^t.
Where unto is now added a reign
of KING CHARLES II.
With a Continuation of Chronology
unto the year 1685.
1685.



LONDON



YORK



A ROMAN



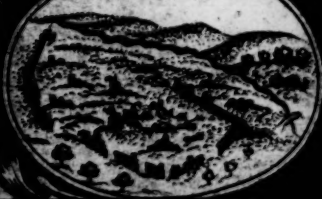
A SAXON



LONDON

Printed for George Sawbridge at the
Sign in Ludgate hill.
And Thomas Williams at the Bible
in Little Brittain. 1660

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A
C H R O N I C L E
O F T H E
K I N G S
O F
E N G L A N D,

From the time of the ROMANS Government
Unto the Death of KING JAMES.

Containing all Passages of *State and Church*, with all other
Observations proper for a CHRONICLE.

Faithfully Collected out of Authors Ancient and Modern; and digested into a new Method.

By SIR R. BAKER, KNIGHT.

Whereunto is now added in this *THIRD EDITION*,
The REIGN of KING

C H A R L E S, I.

WITH

A CONTINUATION of the CHRONICLE
To the End of the Year M. DC. LVIII.

Being a full NARRATIVE of the AFFAIRES of
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND;
More especially Relating unto the TRANSACTIONS

20: OF *Aston*

C H A R L E S,

Crowned KING of the SCOTS at SCONE,
On the First Day of JANUARY, 1650.

L O N D O N:

Printed by E. Cotes, and are sold by G. Saubridg at the Bible on Ludgate-hill,
and T. Williams at the Bible in Little-Britain without Aldersgate. M. DC. LX.

CHRONICLE

OF THE

KINGS

OF

WALAND

In the time of the ROMAN GOVERNORS

Under a Plan of KING AMAR

Containing all Passages of State and Church, with all other

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TO THE
HIGH AND MIGHTY
Prince Charles,

Prince of *WALE S*, and Duke of *CORNWALL* :

Eldest Son to our Sovereign Lord,

C H A R L E S,

King of Great *Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*.

SIR



He Dedication of Chronicles hath in all times been thought worthy of the greatest Princes: *Gulielmus Gemiticensis* writ a Chronicle of the Dukes of *Normandy*, and Dedicated it to *William* the Conqueror. *Thomas Walsingham* writ a Chronicle of the Kings of *England*, and Dedicated it to King *Henry* the Sixth; and of late time, Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount Saint *Albans*, and Lord Chancellour of *England*, writ a History of the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, and Dedicated it to your Royall Grand-father of Blessed Memory, King *James*. For, indeed, as nothing makes Princes more Illustrious then Learning; so no Learning makes them more Judicious then History: Other Learning may fill their Minds with Knowledge, this only with Judgment: And seeing it is Judgment that must sit as President over all their Actions, it is fit that History should sit as President over all their studies. History gives an Antidate to *Time*; and brings Experience without gray hairs: other *Knowledges* make you but see *Quod ante pedes est*; History is the true Perspective-glass, that will make you see things afar-off: And though it

make not men to become Prophets, yet it makes their conjectures to be little lesse then Oracles. But most Illustrious Prince there accrues to your Highnesse, by this Chronicle, a greater benefit then all this; For if it were an Excitation of great force to vertue, to have it said, *Et Pater Æneas & Avunculus excitet Hector*; of how great Force must it needs be, when You shall read the Noble Acts of so many your worthy Progenitors; Some Eternized for their valourous Atchievements in War: Some for their prudent government in Peace: Some renowned for Mercy, some for Justice: And although the Example of your Royall Father be not amongst them, yet it may be sufficient that while you have the Acts of others upon Record, you have his under View, by which he seems to say unto you, *Disce Puer virtutem ex me, verumque laborem; Fortunam ex aliis.* And if in any of your Progenitors, there appear, as it were, *Macula in Orbe Lune*, will it not invite you to a higher Orbe, that your Actions may shine with the clearer Beams? and then how happy will the eyes be, that shall see you sitting in your Throne? For my self, I should account it happinesse enough, that I have lived to see the dayes of your Illustrious Father, if it were not a great unhappinesse to see them overcast with clouds; and yet when these clouds shall be dispel'd, will it not make him shine with the greater splendor? And this, as old as I am, I doubt not to live my self to see, and having once seen it, shall then willingly say my *Nunc Dimittis*, and leave the joy of your glorious times for another Age: In the mean time prostrating my self humbly at your feet; and wishing to your Highnesse, as *Deiphobus* did to *Æneas*, --- *I Decus, I Nostrum, melioribus utere Fatis.*

Your most Humble and Most

devoted Servant,

Richard Baker.

An Epistle to the READER.



His Book, I suppose, will no sooner come abroad; but the question will be asked, why any man would take so superfluous a Labour, to write that which hath been writtē by so many; by some so copiously, by some so elegantly, that nothing can be added: To which Objection I confesse my self unable to make a better Answer then by Precedent: For when many excellent men had written the Story of the Roman Emperors, both accurately and eloquently; yet Suetonius Tranquillus coming after them, wanted not his part of Commendation. For though he added nothing in the matter or substance, yet he altered much in the form and disposition, distinguishing that into Classes and Chapters, which the former had delivered in one continued Narration: as being both lesse tedious to the Reader, like a way marked out by Miles; and more plainly Informing, where Distinction took away Confusion. Besides many have written the Reigns of our English Kings, copiously indeed, but so superfluously, that much may justly be pared away; Some again elegantly indeed, but so succinctly, that much as justly may be added: And this, if I have endeavoured to doe, I cannot be blamed; If done it, I deserve acceptance. Again, where many have written the Reigns of some of our Kings, excellently as in the way of History, yet I may say they have not done it so well in the way of Chronicle; for whilest they insist wholly upon matters of State, they wholly omit meaner Accidents, which yet are Materials, as proper for a Chronicle, as the other. For my self, if in some places I be found to set down whole passages, as they are already set down by others, and may seem rather to transcribe then to write; yet this I suppose may be excused, as being all of one common stock; and no matter from whence the Water comes, so it come clean to the Readers use. Lastly, for the Work it self; I dare be bold to say, that it hath been Collected out of Authors both Ancient and Modern, with so great care and diligence, that if all other Chronicles should be lost, yet this only would be sufficient to inform Posterity of all passages memorable, or worthy to be known; which of any other generall Chronicle, cannot perhaps be said.

Richard Baker.

1907-1911



A Catalogue of WRITERS,

Both ANTIENT and MODERN,

Out of whom this CHRONICLE

Hath been COLLECTED.

- 1 ildas Britannicus, surnamed the Wise, was the first writer of our English Nation; who amongst other his Works writ a Treatise De Excidio Britanniae, He was borne in the year 493. and dyed in the year 580.
- 2 Nennius a Monk of Bangor, writ the Story of Britain, and lived about the year 620.
- 3 Venerable Bede, a Saxon, and a Priest, writ the Ecclesiastical Story of the English Nation from the coming in of Julius Caesar, to the year 733. about which time he dyed.
- 4 Ethelwardus, a writer next to Bede the most ancient, writ a general Chronicle from the Creation to the end of King Edgar.
- 5 Radulphus de Diceto, who lived about the year 685.
- 6 Segebert King of the East Angles, writ an Institution of Laws, in his latter dayes became a Monk, and was slain by Penda King of the Mercians, in the year 652.
- 7 Cymbertus Bishop of Linsey, in the kingdom of Mercia, writ the Annals of that Countrey, and lived about the year 730.
- 8 Daniel Wentalus a Bishop, writ the History of his Province: and the Acts of the South Saxons, and dyed in the year 746.
- 9 Asserius Menevensis, born in Pembroke-shire, Bishop of Salisbury, writ the Story of Britain, and the Acts of King Alfhred, and lived about the year 890.
- 10 Alfhredus the great King of the Angles, fourth son of King Ethelwolph; writ besides many other works, a Collection of Chronicles, and died at Winchester in the year 901.
- 11 Osbertus a Benedictine Monk, writ the life of the Archbishop Dunstan, and other works: and lived about the year 1020.
- 12 Culmannus Anglicus, writ a Chornicle and a Catalogue of the English Kings, and lived about the year 1040. in the time of King Harald the first.
- 13 Gulielmus Gemeticensis, a Norman and a Monk, writ the lives of the Dukas of Normandy, to William the Conqueror, to whom he Dedicated his Work: and after enlarged it to the death of King Henry the first, in the year 1135. at which time he lived.
- 14 Marianus Scorus, a Monk, writ Annals from the beginning of the world to his own time, and dyed in the year 1086.
- 15 Alfhredus a Priest of Beverley, writ a History from the first Original of the Britans to his own times, and lived about the year 1087. in the time of William the Conqueror.
- 16 Veremundus a Spaniard, and a Priest, but who lived much in Scotland, writ the Antiquities of the Scottish Nation, and lived about the year 1090.
- 17 Lucianus a Monk, and an English writer, and lived in the first times of the Normans.
- 18 Ingulphus Abbot of Croyland, writ from the year 664. to the year 1066. and lived in the time of William the Conqueror, whose Secretary he had been.
- 19 Turgotus an Englishman, first Dean of Durham, and afterward Bishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, writ a History of the Kings of Scotland, also Chronicles of Durham, Annals of his own time, and the life of King Malcolm, and lived in the year 1098. in the time of King William Rufus.
- 20 Gulielmus Pictaviensis, writ a Treatise of the life of William the Conqueror.
- 21 Gualterus Mappæus, writ a Book, De Nugis Curialium, and lived about the Conquerors time.
- 22 William of Malmesbury, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the English Nation from the first coming of the Saxons into Britain, to his own time, which Work he Dedicated to Robert Duke of Glocester, base Son of King Henry the First, and lived to the first year of King Henry the Second.
- 23 Florentius Bravonius, a Monk of Worcester, compiled a Chronicle from the Creation, to the year 1118. in which year he died; his Work was continued by another Monk to the year 1163.
- 24 Eadmerus a Monk of Canterbury, writ the lives of William the Conqueror, William Rufus, and King Henry the First, in whose time he lived.

A Catalogue of the Authors.

- 25 *Raradocus born in Wales, writ the Acts of the Britain Kings, from Cadwallader to his own time, and lived in the time of King Stephen.*
- 26 *Gervasius Dorobernensis, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the English Nation, and lived about the year 1120.*
- 27 *Johannes Fiberius commonly called De Bever, writ short Annals of the English Nation, and lived about the year 1110. in the time of King Henry the first.*
- 28 *Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon, writ a History of the Kings of England, to the Reign of King Stephen, in whose time he lived.*
- 29 *Geoffry of Monmouth, a Benedictine Monk, and afterward Bishop of Asaph, writ a History of the Britains, and was the first that makes mention of Brute and of Merlines Prophecies, for which he is much taxed by divers Authors of his own time, and after; he lived about the year 1150. in the time of King Stephen.*
- 30 *William of Newborough, born at the beginning of King Stephens Reign, writ a History of the English Nation, and bitterly inveighs against Geoffry of Monmouth, as a Deviser of Fables.*
- 31 *Sylvester Gyraldus, born in Wales, and thereof called Cambrensis; after long travail abroad was called home, and made Secretary to King Henry the Second; and after was sent Tutor to his Son John into Ireland; he writ the History of that Nation very exquisitely; also an Itinerarium of Wales and Britain; the life of Henry the Second; the Acts of King John, and a Chronicle of the English Nation, and lived about the year 1190. in the times of King Richard the First, and King John.*
- 32 *John of Hagulstad, a Town in the North, a Benedictine Monk in Durham, writ the most memorable things, from the ninth year of King Henry the Second, to the first year of King Richard the First, in whose time he lived, about the year 1190.*
- 33 *Roger Hoveden, a Priest of Oxford, writ the Annals of the Kings of England, and the memorable passages under the Romans, Picts, Saxons, Danes, and Normans; he lived in the time of King Richard the first, and dyed in the time of King John.*
- 34 *Johannes Tilberienfis, a secular Priest, writ a History of the English Nation; and lived in the time of King Richard the first.*
- 35 *Richardus Canonicus, travelled with King Richard the first into Palestine; and writ of his Journey and acts there.*
- 36 *Aluredus Rivallensis, or de Rivallis, a Cistercian Monk, in the Diocess of York, writ the life of Edward King of England, and David King of Scots, and dyed in the year 1166.*
- 37 *Simon Duncelmensis, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the English Nation, from the death of Venerable Bede, to the year 1164 and lived in the time of K. Henry the second.*
- 38 *John de Oxenford, first Dean of Salisbury, and after Bishop of Norwich, writ the British History, and continued it to his own time; wherein he agreeth much with Geoffry of Monmouth, and lived about the year 1174. in the time of King Henry the second.*
- 39 *Johannes Sarisberienfis, writ an excellent Book De Nugis Curialium; and lived about the year 1182. in the time of K. Henry the second.*
- 40 *Gulielmus Parvus, a Canon Regular in the Province of York, writ an History of the Norman Kings; and lived about the year 1216. in the time of King John.*
- 41 *Johannes Campobellus, a Scotch man, writ the History of the Scots, from the first Original of the Nation to his own time: and lived in the year 1260,*
- 42 *John Breton an Englishman, Bishop of Hereford, writ a Book De Juribus Anglicanis, and lived in the year 1270. in the time of King Henry the third.*
- 43 *Thomas Wyke an Englishman, a Canon Regular of Olney near Oxford writ a short History from the coming in of William the Conquerour to his own time, and lived in the year 1290. in the time of K. Edward the first.*
- 44 *Thomas Langford an Englishman, a Dominican Fryer of Chemsford in Essex, writ an Universal Chronicle, from the beginning of the world, to his own time, and lived in the year 1320. in the time of King Edward the second.*
- 45 *Radulphus de Rizeto an Englishman, writ a Chronicle of the English Nation, and lived about the year 1210. in the time of K. John.*
- 46 *Robertus Montensis, a Benedictine Monk, writ a Chronicle from the year 1112. to the year 1210. at which time he lived.*
- 47 *Johannes Brugenfis an Englishman, a Benedictine Monk, writ Annals of the English Nation.*
- 48 *Thomas Spottey an Englishman, a Benedictine Fryer of Canterbury, writ the Chronicles of Canterbury, and lived about the time of King Edward the second.*
- 49 *Matthæus Westmonasterienfis, called Fle-rilegus, for collecting Flores Historiarum, chiefly of Britain, containing from the beginning of the world to the year 1307. about which time he lived.*
- 50 *Ranulphus Higden, a Benedictine Monk of Chester,*

A Catalogue of the Authors.

- Chester, writ a Book which he called Polychronicon, containing from the beginning of the world to the sixteenth year of King Edward the third, in whose time he lived.
- 51 Matthew Paris, a Benedictine Monk of St. Albans, writ a History, chiefly Ecclesiastical, of the English Nation, from William the Conqueror, to the last year of King Henry the third, and lived about the time of King Edward the third.
- 52 William Pachenton an Englishman, writ a History of the English Nation, and lived about the time of King Edward the third.
- 53 Bartholmeus Anglicus, a Franciscan Fryer, writ a Book intituled De Proprietatibus rerum, and a Chronicle of the Scots, and lived in the year 1360. in the time of King Edward the third.
- 54 Nicolas Trivet, born in Norfolk, of a worshipful Family, became a Dominican Fryer, writ many excellent works in Divinity and Philosophy; also Annals of the English Kings, from King Stephen, to King Edward the second, and lived in the year 1307. in the time of King Edward the third.
- 55 Alexander Esschensis Prior of the Monastery of Regular Canons, writ divers learned works, amongst other an Epitome of the British History: and lived in the year 1360. in the time of King Edward the third.
- 56 John Froyssart born in the Low Countries, writ a Chronicle in the French tongue, containing seventy four years; namely, beginning with King Edward the Third, and ending with King Henry the Fourth, in whose time he lived; whose Chronicle, Sir John Bouchier Knight translated into English, and John Sleyden a Frenchman hath lately contracted into an Epitome.
- 57 Thomas de la Moore, born in Gloucestershire, in the time of King Edward the first, by whom as having twenty pounds land, holden by Knight's service, he was made a Knight; and afterward being very inward with King Edward the second, writ a History of his life and death.
- 58 Thomas Rodbourn an Englishman, and a Bishop, writ a Chronicle of his Nation, and lived in the year 1412. in the time of King Henry the fourth.
- 59 John Trevisa born in Gloucestershire, a Priest, translated Polychronicon into English, adding to it an Eighth book, intituled De Memorabilibus eorum temporum, containing from the year 1342. to the year 1460. He writ also of the Acts of King Arthur, and Descriptions both of Britain and Ireland, and lived in the time of King Edward the fourth.
- 60 John Harding a Gentleman of a good Family in the North, writ a Chronicle in verse, of the Kings of England, to the Reign of King Edward the Fourth; wherein he allegeth many Records, which he had got in Scotland, that testifie the Scottish Kings submissions to the Kings of England, he lived in the year 1448. in the time of King Henry the sixth.
- 61 John Capgrave, born in Kent, an Hermit Fryer, writ many learned works in Divinity, and a Catalogue of the English Saints, and lived in the year 1464. in the time of King Edward the Fourth.
- 62 John Lydgate, Monk of St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, writ divers works in verse, and some in prose: as the lives of King Edward, and King Ethelstan, of the round Table of King Arthur, and lived in the year 1470. in the time of King Edward the Fourth.
- 63 John Weathamstead, Abbot of St. Albans, in his work of English Affairs, accuseth Geoffry of Monmouth, of meer Fabulousness, and lived about the year 1440.
- 64 Gulielmus Elphinston a Scotchman, Bishop of Aberdene, writ the Antiquities of Scotland, and the Statutes of Councils, and lived in the year 1480. in the time of James the third King of Scotland.
- 65 George Buchanan a Scotchman writ the story of Scotland from Fergusius, to Queen Mary, in whose time he lived.
- 66 William Caxton an Englishman, writ a Chronicle to the three and twentieth year of King Edward the Fourth, which he calls Fructus Temporum: also a Description of Britain, the life of St. Edward, and the History of King Arthur, and lived in the year 1484.
- 67 Thomas Walsingham born in Norfolk, a Benedictine Monk of St. Albans, writ two Histories; one shorter, the other larger; the first beginning from the year 1273. and continued to the year 1423. The other beginning at the coming in of the Normans, and continued to the beginning of King Henry the sixth, to whom he Dedicateth his work.
- 68 Rober Fabian a Sheriffe of London, writ a Concordance of Histories, from Brut the first King of the Britains, to the last year of King Henry the Second; and another work from King Richard the first, to King Henry the seventh, in whose time he lived.
- 69 Sir Thomas Moor born in London, Lord Chancellor of England; besides many other learned works, writ the life of King Richard the third; and died for denying the Kings Supremacy, in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, in the year 1535.

A Catalogue of the Authors.

- 70 *Hector Boetius a Scotchman, writ a Catalogue and History of the Kings of Scotland, also a Description of that Kingdome, and lived in the year 1526. in the time of James the fifth, King of Scotland.*
 - 71 *Polydor Virgill, an Italian, but made here in England Archdeacon of Wvls; amongst other his learned works, writ the History of England from its first beginning, to the thirtyeth year of King Henry the Eighth, to whom he Dedicated his Work.*
 - 72 *Edward Hall a Lawyer, writ a Chronicle which he calls the Union of the two Roses, the Red and the White, containing from the beginning of King Henry the Fourth, to the last year of King Henry the Eighth, and dyed in the year 1547.*
 - 73 *John Leland a Londoner, amongst divers other works, writ a Book of the Antiquity of Britain, and of the Famous men and Bishops in it, and lived in the year 1546. in the time of King Henry the Eighth.*
 - 74 *John Rogers, first a Papist, and afterward a Protestant, amongst other his learned works writ a History from the beginning of the world; and lived most in Germany in the year 1548. in the time of King Edward the sixth.*
 - 75 *Philip Commynes a knight of Flanders, writ the lives of Lewis and Charles the Eighth, Kings of France, wherein he handles many passages between them and the Kings of England their contemporaries.*
-
- Of the Modern, These :
- 76 *Richard Grafton a Citizen of London, writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the world, to the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in whose time he lived.*
 - 77 *Raphael Holinghed, a Minister, writ a large Chronicle, from the Conquest to the year 1577. and was continued by others, to the year 1586.*
 - 78 *Doctor Goodwin Bishop of Hereford, writ the lives of King Henry the eighth, King Edward the sixth, and Queen Mary, and lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth.*
 - 79 *Doctor Heyward writ the History of the first Kings, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, and Henry the First, also the Reign of King Henry the Fourth, and Edward the sixth, and lived to the time of King James.*
 - 80 *Samuel Daniel writ a Chronicle of the kings of England; to the end of King Edward the third, and is continued by John Trussell to the beginning of King Henry the seventh.*
 - 81 *Sir Francis Bacon Viscount S. Albanis, hath written an History of the Reign of K. Henry the seventh, in a most elegant style, and lived in the time of King James.*
 - 82 *John Fox writ three large volumes of the Acts and Monuments of the Church; particularly treating of the English Martyrs in the Reigns of K. Henry the eighth, and Q. Mary, and lived in the time of Q. Elizabeth.*
 - 83 *Thomas Cowper, Bishop of Winchester, writ Chronicle Notes of all Nations, specially of England, from the beginning of the world to his own time, and lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth.*
 - 84 *William Camden King at Armes, writ the life of Q. Elizabeth, and a Description of Britain, and lived in the time of K. James.*
 - 85 *William Martin Esq; writ the Reigns of the Kings of England, from William the Conquerour, to the end of King Henry the eighth: to which was afterwards added the Reigns of King Edward the sixth, Q. Mary, and Q. Elizabeth.*
 - 86 *Francis Biondi an Italian Gentleman, and of the Privy Chamber to King Charles, hath written in the Italian tongue, the Civil Wars between the two Houses of Lancaster and York, from King Richard the second, to King Henry the seventh: Translated elegantly into English by Henry Earl of Monmouth now living.*
 - 87 *Henry Isaacson a Londoner, hath written a Chronology of all kingdoms, from the beginning of the world to the year 1630. being the fifth year of King Charles his Reign.*
 - 88 *Nicholas Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, hath written a Chronicle of all the Bishops of England, to which Edmund Campian the Jesuite, made an Addition.*
 - 89 *John Stow Citizen of London writ a Chronicle from Brute to the end of Q. Elizabeth, and is continued to this present time, being the 18 year of King Charles, by Edmund Howes a Londoner.*
 - 90 *John Speed a Londoner, writ the Story of Britain, from the first beginning to the year 1605. being the second year of K. James.*
 - 91 *William Abington Esq; hath written the Reign of King Edward the Fourth in a very fine style, and is yet living.*
 - 92 *Thomas Fuller Batchelour of Divinity, and Prebendary of Sarum, hath written the Holy War in very fine language, wherein he relates the Acts of our Kings of England in the Holy Land, and is now living.*
 - 93 *Andre du Chesne, a Frenchman, Geographer to the King of France, hath written the History of England, Scotland and Ireland, from their first beginning, to the seventeenth year of King Charles.*

The end of the Catalogue of Authors.



A
CHRONICLE
OF THE
KINGS
OF
ENGLAND:
From the time of the ROMANS Government,
Unto the Death of King
CHARLES.

Of the first known times of this Island.



Although we begin the *Era* of our Computation from *William* called the Conquerour, as though he were the first of our Kings of *England*: yet before him, were many other excellent Kings; and their Acts perhaps as worthy to be known, if they could be known. But seeing after ages can know nothing of former times but what is Recorded by writing: it hath happened, partly by the devastation of Libraries; and partly by the scarcity of Copies, before Printing came up, that of many Authors, scarce so much is left us, as their very names: and besides, it hath followed that as the first Writers were Poets; so the first writings have been Fictions, : and nothing is delivered to Posterity of the most ancient times, but very Fables: such as is the story of *Albina* (of whom they say, this Island was called *Albion*: though others say, *Ab alba rupibus*, of the white cliffes) that she should be the eldest of the two and thirty daughters of *Dioclesian*, King of *Syria*, (such as never was) who being married to two and thirty Kings, in one night killed all their husbands: for which fact, they were put in a Ship, themselves alone without any Pilot, so to try their adventure, and by chance arrived in this Island, of whom Gyants were begotten. And if you like not of this; then have you the story of *Albion* the son of *Neptune*, of whom the Island took its name. But when these are exploded, there followes another with great Attestation, and yet as very a fable as these; namely the

*Albion, why
England called.*

Brutes story fabulous.

Math. West.

Geoffry of Monmouth a fabulous writer.

How long the Romans were in conquering England.

Julius Caesar invading England, Cassibulan resists him.

Vodicia discomfited the Romans: and after is discomfited her self.

The Emperor Adrian comes into England.

The Emperor Severus comes into England.

The Emperor Constantius comes into England.

The Romans leave England: and why.

story of the *Trojan Brute*, (of whom the Island they say, was called *Britain*: though many other causes are given of the name:) as likewise the story of *Brutes* cousin *Corinaus*, (of whom they say, the Countrey of *Cornwall* had its name, to whom it was given, for overcoming the Giant *Gogmagog*;) and that *Brute* having three sons, *Loegrine*, *Albanast*, and *Camber*; he gave at his death to his eldest son *Loegrine*, all the land on this side *Humber*, and called it *Loegrina*; to his second son *Albanast*, all the land beyond *Humber*, of whom it was called *Albania*, (now *Scotland*;) and to his youngest son *Camber*, all the land beyond the river of *Severne*, of whom it was called *Cambria*, (now *Wales*;) with other such stuffe, which may please children, but not ripper Judgements; and were first broached by *Geoffry Archdeacon of Monmouth*: for which all the Writers of his time cryed shame upon him; and yet can scarce keep many at this day, from giving credit to his Fictions. This *Geoffry of Monmouth* (afterward made by the favour of King *Stephen* Bishop of *Asaph*) lights upon a book written in Welch, and brought out of *Wales* by *Walter Archdeacon of Exeter* of the *British* affairs, and translated by *Geoffry*, in which though there were many notable passages, that might give much light to our History, yet so many commentitious Fables were inserted, that they rendred even what truths he writ suspected.

And when we are once gotten out of Fables, and come to some truth; yet that truth is delivered in such slender draughts, and such broken pieces, that very small benefit can be gotten by the knowing it, and was not till the time of *Julius Caesar*, a thousand years after the Fable of *Brute*: at which time, the Island was yet but in manner of a Village, being without Walls, as having no shipping, (which are indeed the true Walls of an Island) but only certain small vessels, made of bords and wicker. And as they had no ships, for defence without; so neither had they any Forts, for defence within: scarce any houses but such as were made of stakes and boughes of trees fastned together; Neither was it yet come to be a Kingdom, but was Governed by a number of petty Rulers: so as *Kent* only had in it (as *Caesar* calleth them) four Kings; *Cingetorix*, *Carvilinus*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*: which division, as it made the *Britains* the more easie to be conquered, so it made the *Romans* the longer in conquering. For if they had been one united body, one or two battails might have made a conquest of the whole; where being thus divided, there was need to be as many battails as there were divisions: So as it was many years, before the *Romans* could conquer the whole Island; even from the time of *Julius Caesar* to the time of the Emperour *Domitian*; not much lesse then two hundred years. It is true, after *Caesars* first coming, the Island grew sensible of this defect of their division, and thereupon by consent of a great part, made choice of *Cassibulan*, King of the *Trimovants*, who had his seat at *Verulam*, to be General of their wars; which made indeed some little stop to the *Romans* proceedings, but after the losse of a battail or two, they fell again into a relapse of their former defect, and thought it better to secure every one his own, by his own means, then by a generall power, to hazard all at once; whereby it came afterward to be true: *Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur*. Yet before the Countrey could be wholly conquered; at first by reason of the Nations valour seeking to keep themselves free, and afterward by reason of the insolency of the garrison Souldiers, that sought to make them slaves, many great oppositions were made, amongst which the most memorable was that of *Vodicia*, a certain Queen of the Countrey, who having been by the *Roman* Souldiers her self abused, and her daughters ravished, used means to leavy an Army of sixscore thousand men, whom she led her self into the field, and set upon the *Romans* in their chief Towns, which were *London*, *Verulam*, and *Camalodunum* (now *Malden* in *Essex*;) of whom she slew above seventy thousand: but then in a second battail, had fourscore thousand of her own Army slain, after which defeat, for avoiding of slavery, she poisoned her self.

This Island for a long time, was so much esteemed of the *Romans*, that their Emperours sometimes came hither in person; as first the Emperour *Adrian* in the year 124. who reedified that great wall between *England*, first made by *Agricola*, *Nero's* General in *Britain*, and father in law to *Tacitus* the famous Historian. *Adrian* having set the Countrey in order returned: the same wall was again repaired by *Severus* the Emperour in the year 212. who came over into *Britain* to repress the Incursions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, by whom in a battail near *York*, he was wounded and thereof dyed; or as others say, he dyed of age and sicknesse. Afterward in the year 305. *Constantius* the Emperour came into *Britain*, and ended his life at *York*, making that City famous for the death and burial of two great Emperours; and yet more famous for the honour done to *Constantine* the Great, son of *Constantius*, who in that City was first saluted Emperour. But notwithstanding the great estimation the *Romans* a long time made of this Island, yet at last, after five hundred years they had kept it in subjection, they voluntarily left it: the charge of keeping it, being greater then the benefit; for to keep it in subjection, they maintained no fewer than fourscore thousand Souldiers in pay, and when wars grew amongst themselves at home, they could no longer spare so many abroad, but recalled them home: but then, though they left *Britain*, yet they left not the *Britains*, but carryed them, at least, a great part of them away with them; of whom the most were slain in their service, and the rest planted in that part of *France*, which of them was afterward, and is to this day, called *Britain*. And now one would think, the Island should be in good case, being freed from them that kept them in subjection, but it proved to be in worse case being at liberty, then it was before in servitude, for being deprived of their ablest men, and at the same time, their King *Lucius* happening to die without issue, they were left as a few loose sticks without the bond of a Governour: which the *Picts* and

Scots

A Scots observing, thought now was the time to make the Countrey their own, and thereupon made invasions upon it with all their Forces. Whereupon the Britains having none left of their Native Kings to succeed; and knowing they could ill manage the Body of an Army without a Head, they make choice of *Vortigern* Earl of *Cornwal*, one extracted from the *British* Line, to be their King: and he, whether so advised by his Cabbinet Counsellor, the Prophetical *Merlin*, or as finding his own strength too weak to make resistance; implores first aid of the *Romans*, and they making answer, they had business enough to do of their own, and leaving them to themselves, he then fled to the *Saxons* for aid, a warlike people of *Germany*, and who had greater swarms then their hives could well hold.

Vortigern is chosen King.

He calls in the *Saxons*.

And here we may plainly see how dangerous a thing it is for a Nation, to call in strangers to their aid, and especially in any great number; for though they come at first but Mercenaries, yet once admitted, and finding their own strength, they soon grow Masters; as here it proved with the *Saxons*.

These *Saxons* were Infidels, and brought in with them diversity of Idols, after whose names they gave appellations to the several daies of the week. Adoring the *Sun*, they named the first day *Sunday* or *Sunsday*. The second *Moonday*, from an Idol which ridiculously represented the *Moon*. Another god they had called *Tuisco*, and to him they appointed the third day, naming it *Tuesday*. The tradition is, that this *Tuisco* was the son of *Ascanes* Grandchilde to *Japhet*, and that he conducted their fore-fathers out of *Asia* into *Europe* from the unfinished Tower of *Babel*. The next Idol which they adored for a god, was *Woden*, representing an Armed man, and they named the fourth day from him *Wodensday* or *Wednesdays*; they honoured him as the god of battail. He had been a famous and victorious Prince amongst them, and of him lineally descended *Hengist* and *Horsa* their first leaders into this Island. Not only our *Saxons*, but all the Septentrional Nations adored and sacrificed to *Thor*, a Statue resembling a crowned King, his head encompassed with twelve bright golden Stars, of whom they denominated the fifth day *Thursday*. *Friday* took the name of *Friga* an Idol representing both sexes, with a bow in one hand, and a sword in the other, and though the Statue exprest an *Hermaphrodite*, yet she was generally reputed a Goddess. Then they had a god called *Seater*, and to him they consecrated *Saterday*: this Idol was like an old man with a long beard and hair, bare headed and bare footed. Such was the Religion of the *Saxons*; which giveth us occasion before we treat further of their coming in, to say something

D of the state of the Christian Church in this Island. First then, it is recorded, that in the year 63. what time *Arviragus* reigned here, *Joseph* of *Arimathea* (who buried the body of Christ) came into this Island, and laid the foundation of the Christian Faith in the Western parts, at a place called then *Thurdes*, now *Glastenbury*; and that there came with him *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martha*: and more then this, that *Simon Zelotes* one of the Apostles suffered martyrdom here in *Britain*: and more then this, that both *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* came into this Island and preached the Gospel; all which and more to this purpose, is recorded by Authours of good account: though it be hard believing, That persons, and specially Women of so great age, as these must needs be at this time, should take so long a journey. But howsoever it was, certain it is, that the Doctrine of Christianity was about this time planted in this Island, though it made afterward

Joseph of *Arimathea*, plants the Gospel at *Glastenbury*.

E but small progress, and that with some persecution; as in which time, *St. Alban* suffered martyrdom at *Verulam*, and at *Liechfield* shortly after, no fewer then a thousand. After this in the year 180. what time *Lucius* was King of this Island, *Eleutherius* then Bishop of *Rome*, sent *Faganus* and *Damianus* to him: upon whose preaching, the Temples of the Heathenish *Flamins* and *Arch-flamins* (one and thirty in number) were converted to so many Bishops Sees; whereof *London*, *York*, and *Caerleyn* (now *St. Davids*) were made the Metropolitans of the Province. And there is a Table remaining at this day, in the parish Church of *St. Peter* on Cornhill *London*, which Recordeth, that the Foundation thereof was laid by this King *Lucius*, and that this Church was the Cathedral to that Archbishops Sea. In the year 359. a Council was holden at *Ariminum* in *Italy*; where six hundred Western Bishops were assembled, whereof three went out of *Britain*, and

St. Alban suffers Martyrdom at *Verulam*.

The Heathenish Temples converted into Bishops Sees: at the preaching of *Faganus* and *Damianus*.

F though they were Orthodoxal, and with that Synod determined to give their voices against the *Arian* Heresie, yet by reason all these Western Fathers were ignorant in the *Greek* Language, they were circumvented by the *Arian* Bishops, and unanimously they would have Christ, but not *Homousion*. After this, about the year 420, rose up in this Island, one *Pelagius* a Monk, brought up in the Monastery of *Bangor* in *Wales*, who spread the poison of his Heresie, first in this his Native Countrey, and afterward all the world over. And these had been the chief passages in matters Ecclesiastical within this Island, when the *Saxons* were called in, about the year 450.

Pelagius the Heretic riseth up.

And now under the conduct of two brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa*, came over nine thousand *Saxons* with their Wives and Children, to assist the *Britains* against the *Scots*, and were appointed the Isle of *Thanet* to inhabit. With which assistance, the *Britains* give their enemies battail, and overcome them: so as they accounted the *Saxons* as Angels sent from heaven, and then allowed them *Kent* also for their inhabiting. Not long after *Hengist* obtained of King *Vortigern* the property of so much ground, as he could enclose with a Buls Hide: which cutting into thongs, he there built the Castle, *Fisti de nomine*, called *Thong Castle*. And now having built it, he invites *Vortigern* to a Feast, who there fell in love with *Rowena*, the Daughter or rather the Niece of *Hengist*; For when *Hengist* first arrived in *Britain* he was but 30 year of age: howsoever *Vortigern* marrying this fair Lady, put *Hengist* into such a height of boldness, that he began to aspire, sending for greater Forces to come over to him; as meaning to transplant himself higher, and to

Hengist and *Horsa* *Saxons* come into *England*.

Thong Castle, why so called. *Vortigern* marries *Rowena*, the daughter of *Hengist*.

Vortigern is deposed, and his Son *Vortimer* set up.

Catigern and *Horfa* fight a single combat.

The *Saxons* forced to flee *England*.

Rowena poysons *Vortimer*.

Vortigern is again received. The *Saxons* return, and at a meeting fraudulently kill divers of the *English* Nobility.

Aurelius Ambrosius burns *Vortigern* and his Castle: which he had built by the advice of *Merlin*.

Is poysoned.

Uter *Pendragon*, why so called.

Is poysoned.

Arthur the son of *Uter* *Pendragon*, kills eight hundred *Saxons* with his own hands.

He institutes the Order of the round Table.

Is wounded and dies.

Chichester burnt by what chance.

make this Island his Inheritance: which the *British* Lords perceiving, and not able to wean their King from his new Wife, and her father *Hengist*, they Depose him; and in his place set up his Son *Vortimer*, a true lover of his Countrey: who presently in a pitch battail near unto *Aylesford* in *Kent*, set upon the *Saxons*; where *Catigern* the brother of *Vortimer*, and *Horfa*, of *Hengist*, in single fight hand to hand slew each other. In which place *Catigern* was buried, and a Monument in memory of him erected, the stones whereof at this day are standing in a great plain in the Parish of *Aylesford*; which in stead of *Catigern*, is corruptly called *Kiss-Cotybouse*. Another the like Monument was erected for *Horfa*, though now defaced; remembered only by the Town where it stood, called *Horstead*. Three other battails after this were fought between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*: one at *Craford*; another at *Weppedsfleete*; the third upon *Colmore*: in which last the *Britains* got so great a Victory, that the *Saxons* were clean driven out of *Kent*, and *Thanet* also not suffered to rest; so as shortly after, *Hengist* with his *Saxons* departed the Kingdom, as being now out of hope to make his fortune in this Island. But while *Vortimer* was thus intrentive for his Countreys liberty; *Rowena* the former Kings Wife, being daughter to *Hengist*, was as intrentive to bring it into servitude; which knowing the cold not do as long as *Vortimer* lived, she used means by poyson, to take away his life; after he had been King the space of four years, and then by the witchcraft of fair words, so enchanted the *British* Nobility, that her Husband *Vortigern* was again established in the Kingdom; which was no sooner done, but *Hengist*, (relying upon his Son *Vortigerns* love) with a mighty Army attempts to return again into the Island; when being resisted, he makes a shew, as if he desired nothing but to fetch away his daughter *Rowena*, and to have a friendly conference for continuance of amity: which motion seeming reasonable, a place and time of conference was appointed: the time upon the first of *May*; the place upon the Plain of *Ambrii*, now called *Salisbury*; whither the plain-meaning *Britains* came unarmed, according to agreement; but the fraudulent *Saxons* under their long Caslocks had short skewes hidden, with which upon a watch-word given, they set upon the *Britains*, and of their unarmed Nobility slew three, some say five hundred, and took the King himself prisoner, whom they would not release, till they were put in possession of these four Countreys, *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*. Whereupon *Vortigern*, whether fearing a second Deposing, or whether so advised by his Cabinet Counsellour the Prophetical *Merlin*, betook himself into *Wales*, and there built him a strong Castle for his safeguard; while the *Saxons* coming daily in great swarms into the Land, had at this time overrun all, if *Aurelius Ambrosius* a Roman bo n, but affected to the *British* Nation, had not landed at *Totnes* in *Devonshire*, to whom resorted great troops of *Britains*. His first expedition was against *Vortigern*, (as the first cause of the *Britains* misery) whose Castle he besieged; and whether by wilde fire, or by fire from Heaven, both he and his Castle, and all that were in it, were burnt to ashes. To this *Ambrosius* is ascribed the admirable Monument in *Wiltshire*, now called *Stenchege*, in the place where the *Britains* had been treacherously slaughtered and interred; and of whom the Town of *Ambersbury* bears its name. After this he set upon the *Saxons*, and in many battails discomfited them; till at last falling sick in the City of *Winchester*, a *Saxon*, in shew a *Britain*, and in habit a Physician, was sent unto him, who in stead of Physick, ministred poyson, whereof he died, in the year 497. after he had reigned two and thirty years.

After *Ambrosius*, succeeded *Uter*, (some say his brother, others a *Britain*) called *Pendragon*, of his Royal Banner born ever before him; wherein was portrayed a Dragon with a golden Head, as in our *English* Camps it is at this born for the Imperial standard. And he also in many battails discomfited the *Saxons*, till after eighteen years Reign he came to his end by treachery; dying by poyson put into a Well, whereof he usually drank, in the year 515.

After him succeeded his Son *Arthur*, begotten of the fair Lady *Igren*, Wife of the Duke of *Cornewal*, to whose bed the Art of *Merlin* brought him in the likeness of her husband: and he in twelve set battails discomfited the *Saxons*; but in one most memorable, in which girding himself with his Sword called *Calibourn*, he flew upon his Enemies, and with his own hand slew eight hundred of them; which is but one of his wonderful deeds, whereof there are so many reported, that he might well be reckoned amongst the Fabulous, if there were not enow true to give them credit. Amongst other his Acts, he instituted the Order of Knights of the Round Table, to the end there might be no question about Precedence. and to reach Heroicall minds, not to stand upon Place, but Merit. But this great Prince, for all his great valour, was at last in a battail wounded, whereof he dyed, in the year 522. after he had reigned six and twenty years.

After King *Arthur* succeeded his Cousin *Constantine*; and after his three years reign, *Aurelius Conanus* the Nephew of King *Arthur*; whose reign is so uncertain, that some say, he reigned only two, some, three years, some again thirty, and some, three and thirty. After *Conanus* succeeded *Vortiporus*, who after many Victories against the *Saxons*, and four years Reign, died. After whom succeeded *Malgo Conanus*, and reigned six years. After him *Careticus*, who setting upon the *Saxons* and beaten, fled into the Town of *Chichester*, whereupon the *Saxons* catching certain Sparrows and fastening fire to their feet, let them fly into the Town, where lighting upon straw, and other matter apt to take fire, the whole City in short space was burnt; and thereupon *Careticus* flying, secured himself among the Mountains of *Wales*, where he died, after he had unprosperously reigned three years; and from that time forth the *Britains* lost their whole Kingdom in the East part of the Island, and were confined in the West by the Rivers *Saevon* and

A and Dec. After *Caretics* succeeded *Cadman*, who reigned two and twenty years. After him his Son *Cadwallo*, who reigned eight and forty years, and then died; whose body was buried in *St. Martins Church* near *Ludgate*, and his Image of brass placed upon the same gate, for a terrour to the *Saxons*. In his time the Doctrine of *Mahomet* began to spread it self all the Eastern World over. After *Cadwallo* succeeded his son *Cadwalladar*; in whose time so great a Famine, and afterward Mortality happened, continuing eleven years, that the Land became in a manner desolate: in so much, that the King and many of his Lords were driven to forsake their native Countrey, and *Cadwalladar* himself went to his Cousin *Alan* King of little *Britain*, in *France*. At which time the *Saxons* taking advantage of his absence, came over in swarms, and dispossessed the forlorn *Britains* of all they had, and divided the Land amongst themselves. Whereupon *Cadwalladar*, obtaining assistance from his Cousin *Alan*, was coming over to restrain their insolencies; when making prayers to God for good success, an Angel appeared to him, or at the least to his seeming he heard a voice, that forbad him the enterprise, declaring that it was not Gods will, the *Britains* should rule this Land any longer, and therefore bad him hie him to *Rome*, and receive of Pope *Sergius* the habit of Religion, wherein he should die and rest in peace. Which accordingly he did: and in him ended the blood of the *British Kings*, in the year 689. So as *Britain* now, was no longer *Britain*, but a Colony of the *Saxons*.

Cadwallo's
Image placed
upon *Ludgate*.

The *Saxons*
get possession
of the whole
Island.

Cadwalladar
the last King
of the *Britains*
leaveth his
Kingdom;
and is shorn a
Monk at *Rome*.

C And now is time to speak of the Heptarchy of the *Saxons*, so much spoken of by all Writers; and to shew by what degrees the *Britains* lost, and the *Saxons* got the whole possession of this Island: for this Heptarchy or division of this Island into seven Kingdoms, came not in all at once, nor yet in an equall partition, but some good distance of time, one after another, and as the Invader had strength to expel the Natives.

The first Kingdom being of KENT.

B The first Kingdom of the *Saxons* began by *Hengist*, in the year 455. containing all *Kent*, and continued 372. years, during the Reigns of seventeen Kings, of whom as many as performed any memorable Act, shall be remembred, and for the rest, it will be no losse to passe them over in silence. Of these seventeen Kings, *Ethelbert* being the fifth, was the first *Saxon* Christian King of this Island, converted by *Austin* the Monk, whom Pope *Gregory* sent hither to that purpose, with forty others, in the year 596. to whom King *Ethelbert* gave his chief City of *Canterbury*, and his own Royal Palace there, made since the Cathedral of that See; withdrawing himself to *Reculver* in the Isle of *Thanet*, where he erected a Palace for himself and his successors: He gave him also an old Temple, standing without the East wall of the City, which he honoured with the name of *St. Pancras*, and then added a Monastery to it, and dedicated it to *St. Peter and Paul*, appointing it to be the place of the *Kentish Kings* Sepulchres. But in regard of *Austin* the procurer, both *Pancras*, *Peter*, and *Paul* were soon forgotten, and it was, and is to this day called *St. Austins*, which Abbey *St. Austin* enriched with divers Reliques which he brought with him from *Rome*; amongst which was a part of Christs seemlesse Coat, and of *Aarons* Rod. This King after his own conversion, converted also *Sebert* King of the East *Angles*, and assisted him in the building of the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, *London*; as also the Church of *St. Peter*, on the west of *London*, then called *Thorney*: and himself at *Rocheſter* built the Cathedral Church there, which he dedicated to the Apostle *St. Andrew*; and dying, when he had reigned six and fifty years, was buried at *Canterbury*. And thus by this first *Saxon* Kingdom, was all *Kent* lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion; and this was their first impairing, and this happened in the Reign of *Ambrosius* before spoken of. The sixth King of *Kent* was *Ethelbald*; who at first an Apostata, was afterwards converted, and built a Chappel within the Monastery of *St. Peter and Paul* at *Canterbury*. The seventh King was *Ercombert*, a virtuous and religious Prince, who first commanded the observing of *Lent*; and in his daies, the Arch-bishop *Honorius* divided *Kent* into Parishes. The eighth King was *Egbert*, who obtained the Kingdom by murdering his Nephews: whose sister the Lady *Dopnena*, founded the Abbey of *Minster* in *Kent*. The eleventh King was *Witred*, who founded the Priory of *St. Merton* at *Dover*. The last was *Baldred*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons*, left *Kent* a Province to that Kingdom, in the year 827.

Ethelbert the
first *Saxon*
Christian
King.

St. Austins in
Canterbury why
so called.

Paul and *Wit-*
minster built-
ded.

Lent first ob-
served.

Kent divided
into parishes.

The second Kingdom being of the South SAXONS.

G The second Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the South *Saxons*, and began by *Ella*, in the year 488. containing *Sussex* and *Surrey*, and continued 113. years, during the Reign of five Kings only, of whom *Cissa* being the second founded the City of *Chicheſter*, and reigned as some say threescore and sixteen years. And then *Berthan* being the last King, was overcome by *Ine* King of the West *Saxons*, and his Countrey became a Province of that Kingdom,

Chicheſter
founded.

dom, in the year 601. and thus as *Kent* before, so now *Sussex* and *Surrey* were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion: and this was a second impairing, which also happened in the Reign of the *British* King *Ambrosius*.

The third Kingdom being of the West SAXONS.

The third Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the West Saxons, and began by *Cerdic*, in the year 519. containing *Cornwal*, *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*; and continued 561. years, during the Reigns of nineteen Kings, of whom this *Cerdic* was the first: in whose time, *Porth* a Saxon landed in the West, at a place from him called afterward *Portsmouth*, and aided *Cerdic* in his conquest. And this happened in the Reign of King *Arthur*: and as *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surrey* before, so now these seven other shires were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion: and this was a third impairing. The sixth King of the West Saxons was *Kingils*, who was the first Christian King of this Kingdom, converted by *Berinus* an *Italian* Divine, to whom he gave the City of *Dorchester*, near to *Oxford*; who therein erected his Episcopal See. The seventh King was *Kenwald*, who at first an *Apostata*, was afterward converted, and founded the Cathedral of *Winchester*, and the Abbey of *Malmesbury*; whose Wife *Segburg* also built a house of Devotion in the Isle of *Sheppy*, where in her self became a Nun, and was afterward elected Abbess of *Ely*. The eleventh King was *Ine*, who ordained many good Laws, which are yet extant in the *Saxon* tongue, and are translated into *Latin*, by the learned Master *William Lambers*. This King built a Colledge at *Wells* bearing the name of *St. Andrews*, which afterward King *Kenulph* made an Episcopal See. He also in most stately manner new built the Abbey of *Glastenbury*; and out of his devotion to the See of *Rome*, he enjoined every one of his Subjects, that possessed in his house of any one kind of goods to the value of nineteen pence, to pay yearly upon *Lammas* day, one peny to the Pope; which at first was contributed under the name of the Kings Almes, but afterward was paid by the name of *Peter pence*. At last he went to *Rome*, and there took upon the habit of Religion, and therein died. His Wife also became a veiled Nun, and afterward was made Abbess of *Barking* near *London*. The thirteenth King was *Cuthred*, who first permitted the bodies of dead to be buried within the Walls of their Cities, which before were used to be buried in the fields. The fourteenth was *Sigebert*, who for his cruelty and exactions, was by his Subjects forced to flee into the Woods, to hide himself, where by a Swineherd he was slain. The fifteenth was *Kenwolph*, who founded the Cathedral Church of *St. Andrews* at *Wells*, and was afterward slain by *Kynoard*, whom he had banished. The sixteenth King was *Birchrick*, whose Queen *Ethelburg*, having prepared a poyson for another, the King chanced to tast it, and thereof died. In fear of which chance the Queen fled into *France*; where *Charles* the then King, for her excellent beauty, offered her the choice of himself or his Son in marriage: but she out of her lustful humour choosing the Son, was thereupon debard of both, and thrust into a Monastery, where committing adultery, she was driven from thence, and ended her life in great misery. For her sake the West Saxons ordained a Law, that no Kings Wife should hereafter have the Title or Majesty of a Queen, which for many years after was severely executed. It is memorable which is recorded of a King in these parts, named *Warmond*, and was the founder of *Warwick* Town: that he had a Son named *Offa*, tall of stature, and of a good constitution of body, but blind, till he was seven years old, and then saw; and dumbe till he was thirty years old, and then spake.

The fourth Kingdom being of the East SAXONS.

The fourth Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the East Saxons, and began by *Erchenwyn*, in the year 527. containing *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and continued 281. years, during the Reigns of fourteen Kings: of whom the third was *Sebert*, who first built the Cathedral of *St. Paul* *London*, which had formerly been the Temple of *Diana*: He likewise founded the Church of *St. Peter* in the West of *London*, at a place called *Thorney*, where sometime stood the Temple of *Apollo*, which being overthrown by an earthquake, King *Lucius* new built for the service of God; and that again being decayed, this King restored to a greater beauty, and with his Queen *Athelgarda* was there buried. The ninth King was *Sebba*, who after thirty years peaceable Reign relinquished the Crown, and took upon him a Religious habit, in the Monastery of *St. Paul* *London*; where dying, his body was intumbed in a Coffin of gray Marble, the cover coaped, and as yet standeth in the North wall of the Chancel of the same Church. The twelfth was *Offa*, famous for the beauty of his countenance, who both enlarged with buildings, and enriched with lands the Church of *Westminster*, and after eight years reign went to *Rome*, and was there shorn a Monk, and in that habit died. The fourteenth was *Suthred*, whom *Egbert* King of the West Saxons subdued, and made his Kingdom a Province to his own. And thus besides the former Shires, these two also were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion, and this was a fourth impairing.

The fifth Kingdom being of NORTHUMBERLAND.

The fifth Kingdom was of *Northumberland* (so called because it lay North from the river *Humber*) and began by *Elia* and *Ida*, in the year 547. Containing *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 370. years, during the Reigns of three and twenty Kings, of whom nothing is recorded of the two first, but that they builded the Castle of *Bamburg*. The seventh King was *Ethelfryd*, who at *Caerlegion* (now *Westchester*) made a slaughter of twelve hundred Christian Monks, and was himself afterward slain by *Redwald* King of the *East Angles*. The thirteenth King was *Ofred*, whose Wife *Cutburga*, out of a loathing weariness of wedlock, sued out a divorce from her husbands, and built a Nunnery at *Winburne* in *Dorsetshire*, where in a religious habit she ended her life. The sixteenth King was *Cednulp*, who after eight years reign, left his Royal robes, and put on the habit of a Monk, in the Isle of *Lindeisern* or *Holy Island*. Unto this King the Venerable *Bede*, a *Saxon* and a Priest in the Monastery of *Peter and Paul* at *Wormouth* near to *Durham*, Dedicated his work of the *English History*, which he continued from the first entrance of the *Saxons* into this Island, to the year 731. containing after his own account 285. years. The seventeenth King was *Egbert*, who after twenty years reign took the world also, and shone himself a Monk; whose brother being Archbishop of *York*, erected a notable Library there, and stored it with an infinite number of learned Books. The last King was *Ofwald*, after whom this Kingdom yeilded to the protection of *Egbert* King of the *West Saxons*, who was now in the year 926, become absolute Monarch of the whole Island. And thus by the erection of this fifth Kingdom, were the six Northern shires lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion, and this was a fifth impairing.

K. Ethelfryd kills twelve hundred Christian Monks at *Westchester*; anciently called *Caerlegion*. Queen *Cutburga* loathing the acts of marriage becomes a Nun, and dedicateth his History to K. *Cednulp*. A Library erected at *York*. *Egbert* becomes absolute Monarch of all England.

The sixth Kingdom being of MERCIA.

The sixth Kingdom was of *Mercia*, and began in *Crída*, in the year 522. containing *Huntington*, *Kutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicester*, *Northampton*, *Derbyshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, *Glostershire*, *Staffordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Bedfordshire*, and *Hantsfordshire*, and continued 220. years, during the Reigns of twenty Kings; eight of whom in a continued succession kept the Imperial Crown of the Heptarchy: for though other Reigned as Kings in their own Territories, yet among them ever one was the supreme head of the rest, and was called King of *Engle-land*, till *Edgar* the *West Saxon* brought them all into one. The fifth of these Kings of *Mercia* was *Penda*, who was the first Christian King of the *Mercians*, and laid the foundation of the fair Church at *Medeshamstead*, now called *Peterborough*. The seventh King was *Ethelred*, who reigned thirty years, and then gave over the Crown, and became a Monk in the Monastery of *Bradley* in *Lincolnshire*, where in the year 716. he died. The eighth King was *Kenred*, who after four years Reign went to *Rome*, where he took upon him the habit of a Monk, and after other four years died. The tenth King was *Ethelbald*, who at first was given to much lasciviousness of life, but being reprehended for it by *Boniface* Archbishop of *Meitis*, was so far converted that he founded the Monastery of *Crowland*, driving in mighty piles of Oake into that Marsh ground, where he laid a great and goodly building of stone; and after two and forty years Reign, was slain in a battail by *Cuthred* King of the *West Saxons*. The eleventh King was *Offa*, who greatly enlarged his Dominions; reigned nine and thirty years, and founded the Monastery of *St. Albans*. The thirteenth King was *Kenwolp*, who reigned two and twenty years, and founded the Monastery of *Winchcombe* in the County of *Glocester*, where his body was interred. The eighteenth King was *Witlase*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the *West Saxons*, held his Countrey afterward as his substitute and Tributary, acknowledging *Egbert* as now the sole Monarch of this Island. And by erection of this *Mercian* Kingdom, were seventeen shires more lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion, and was a sixth and a great impairing, so as now they were driven into a narrow room.

Peterborough anciently called *Medeshamstead*.

The Monastery of *Crowland* founded.

The Monastery of *St. Albans* founded.

The Monastery of *Winchcombe* founded.

The seventh Kingdom being the East ANGLES.

The seventh Kingdom was of the *East Angles*, and began by *Uffa*, in the year 575. containing *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*, and continued 353. years, during the Reign of fifteen Kings, of whom the fifth was *Sigebert*, who first brought the light of the Gospel into his Dominions, and built a Schoole for education of youth, whether at *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, is left a *Quare*; and after three years Reign shone himself a Monk in the Abbey of *Cumburg*, which himself had built: but being afterward violently drawn from thence by his Subjects the *East Angles*, to resist the *Mercian* King *Penda*, and refusing to

Oxford or *Cambridge* founded.
five

The Abbey of
Barking built.
Ethelrid twice
married and
yet a Virgin
still.

Ethelbert trea-
cherously mur-
dered by K.
Offa.

The Cathedral
of Hereford
built.

St. Edmunds-
bury founded.

When first cal-
led England.

use any other weapon but only a white wand, was in a battail by him slain. The seventh King **A** was *Anna*, who after thirteen years Reign, was also slain by *Penda* the *Mercian* King. This King *Anna* was memorable chiefly for the holiness of his children, of whom his Son *Erkenwald* was Bishop of *London*, and built the Abbey of *Barking* near *London*. His eldest daughter *Etheldrid* was twice married, and yet continued a Virgin till, and at last became a Nun, and is remem-
bered to posterity by the name of *St. Andrie*. His second daughter named *Sexburg*, his third named *Ethelburg*, his fourth (a natural daughter) named *Wishburg*: all entred into Monasteries, and are Canonized all for Saints. The fourteenth King was *Ethelbert*, a learned and religious Prince, who being invited by *Offa* the *Mercian* King to marry *Elfrid* his daughter, came for that purpose to *Offa's* Court, then seated at *Sutton Walley*, in the County of *Hereford*, and there by **B** him was cruelly murdered. In whose memorial notwithstanding, he afterward built a fair Church at *Hereford*, the Cathedral of that See, as though he could expiate a murder of the living, by a Monument to the dead, and were not rather a Monument of his own impiety. The fifteenth King was *Edmund*, who assaulted by the *Danes* for his possessions, was more assaulted for his profession: for continuing constant in his Christian Faith, those Pagans first beat him with bats, then scourged him with whips, and lastly bound him to a stake, and with their arrows shot him to death; whose body was buried at the Town where *Sigebert* the East *Anglian* King, one of his Predecessors had built a Church, and where afterward (in honour of him) was built another most spacious, of a wonderful frame of Timber, and the name of the Town upon the occasion of his burial there, called to this day *St. Edmundsbury*. This Church and place, *Suenus* the *Danish* **C** King burnt to ashes: but when his Son *Cannutus* had gotten possession of the *English* Crown, terrified with a Vision of the seeming *St. Edmund*; in a religious devotion to expiate his Fathers sacrilege, he built it anew most sumptuously, and offered his own Crown upon the Martyrs Tomb. After the death of this *Edmund*, the East *Angles* Countrey was possest by the *Danes*, and so continued the space of fifty years, untill that *Edmund* surnamed the Elder, expelled those *Danes*, and made that Kingdom a Province to the West *Saxons*.

By that which hath been said, it plainly appears, by what degrees the *Britains* lost, and the *Saxons* got the whole possession of this Island. For after that *Vortigern*, in the year 455, had called in the *Saxons*, every *Britain* King that succeeded him, lost some part or other of it to the *Saxons*, till at the last in the year 689. *Cadwallader* the last *Britain* King lost all; and then the *Saxon* Kings striving amongst themselves for sovereignty, they still gained one upon another, till at last in the year 818. *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons* reduced them all under his subjection, and then caused all the South of the Island to be called *England*, according to the *Angles* of whom himself came; after whom they were no longer properly called *Saxon* Kings; but Kings of *England*, and so continued till the *Danes* in the year 1017, made an interruption; of whose succession now comes the time to speak.

Of the Saxons that Reigned sole Kings of this Island, and may properly be called English Kings.

The *Danes* be-
gan to infest
England.

St. Edith of
Polesworth
why so called.

Church lands
freed from tri-
bute.

Peter pence
confirmed.

Egbert the eighteenth King of the West *Saxons*, is now become the first of the Kings of *Eng-
land*, in whose time the *Danes* began first to infest the Land; as thinking they might do as much against the *Saxons*, as the *Saxons* had done against the *Britains*; but though they made divers Invasions, and did great spoil, yet they were still repelled. This King reigned six and thirty years, and died in the year 836, was buried at *Winchester*. Of his issue, his daughter *Edith* was made Governess of a Monastery of Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her brother had given her, called *Polesworth*, situate in *Arden*, in the North part of the County **F** of *Warwick*, where she died and was buried, and the place in memory of her called *St. Ediths* of *Polesworth*.

To *Egbert* succeeded his son *Ethelwolph*, who in his youth was so addicted to a Religious life, that he was first made Deacon; and after Bishop of *Winchester*; but his Father dying, he was intreated by his people to take upon him the Crown, and by Pope *Gregory* the fourth, was to that end absolved of his Vow. His Reign was infested with many and great invasions of the *Danes*, to whom notwithstanding he gave incredible overthrows. In the time of his reign, remembering his former religious profession, he ordained that riches and lands due to holy Church, should be free from all Tribute or Regal services, and in great devotion went himself to *Rome*, where he lived a year; confirmed the grant of *Peter pence*, and agreed besides to pay yearly to *Rome* three hundred marks. Returning home through *France*, and being a Widower, he there married *Judith*, the beautiful daughter of *Charles* the Bald then Emperour; in honour of whom in his own Court, he ever placed her in a chair of Estate, with all other Majestical complements of a Queen, contrary to the Law of the West *Saxons* formerly made; which so much displeased his Lords, that for it they were ready to depose him; but howsoever he lived not long after, having reigned one and twenty years. His youngest son *Nevo* was much addicted to learning, and was one of the Divinity readers in the University of *Oxford*; and founded a Monastery in *Cornwall*, which of him was called *Necestock*; and being dead, his body was interred in the County of *Huntington*.

A *Huntington*, at a place then called *Arnulphsbury*, and after-ward, in regard of his interment, *St. Neutes*, and now *St. Needes*. This King was famous for having four Sons, who all of them were Kings of this Land successively.

St. Needs in Huntingdonshire why so called.

First after him reigned his eldest Son *Ethelbald*, in the year 857. who to his eternal shame, took to wife *Judith* his Fathers Widow, reigned about two years, and dying, was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorsetshire* at that time the Episcopal See. From this *Judith*, married after-ward to the Earl of *Flanders*, after divers descents, came *Mande* the Wife of *William* the Conquerour, from whom are descended all our Kings ever since.

K. Ethelbald marries his fathers widow.

Next to the eldest reigned the second Son *Ethelbert*, all whose reign, which was only five years, was perpetually disquieted with invasions of the *Danes*, which yet were at last repelled. He died in the year 866. and was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorsetshire*.

The Danes invade England again.

Next to the second reigned his third Son *Ethelred*, whose reign was more disquieted with the *Danes* than any other before: for they invading the Land, under the leading of *Hungar*, and *Hubba*, spoiled all the Countrey as they went, not sparing religious places; amongst other, the goodly Monasteries of *Bradney*, *Crowlands*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, and *Huntington*, they laid level with the ground: the Monks and Nuns they murdered or ravished; at which time a rare example of Chastity and fortitude was seen in the Nuns of *Coldingham*. For to avoid the barbarous pollutions of these Pagans, they deformed themselves by cutting off their upper lips and noses. Nine battails in one year this King fought with the *Danes*, in most of them victorious; but at last received a wound whereof he died, and was buried in the Church at *Winborn* in *Dorsetshire*.

Monasteries demolished by the Danes.

The Nuns of Coldingham their chastity.

Next to the third reigned his fourth Son *Alfred*, in whose time came over greater swarms of *Danes* than ever before, and had now got footing in the North, the West, and South parts of this Island, leaving this King nothing of all his great Monarchy, but only *Somerset*, *Hampton*, and *Wiltshire*; and not these neither altogether free, so that he was forced sometimes to flee into the Fens and Marsh grounds to secure himself, where he lived by Fishing and Fowling, and hunting of wilde beasts, till at last learning policy from adversity, and gathering courage from misery, he ventured in the habit of a common Minstrell, to enter the *Danes* Camp; where having viewed the manner of their incamping, and observed their security, he returned back, shewing his Lords in what condition he found them: whereupon setting upon them at unawares, he not only

K. Alfred's policy against the Danes.

D made of them a great slaughter, but brought upon them a greater terrour: for presently upon this the *Danes* sue for peace, and deliver hostages for performance of these conditions; that their King should receive Baptism, and their great Army depart quietly out of the Land. But though upon this agreement they departed for the present into *France*, yet the year following they returned with greater Forces, foraging all parts of the Countrey in most cruell manner, though still encountered by this Valorous Prince, till he ended his life in the year 901. after he had reigned nine and twenty years. The virtues of this King, if they were not incredible, they were at least admirable, whereof these may be instances. The day and night containing four and twenty hours, he designed equally to three special uses, observing them by the burning of a Taper set in his Chappel; (there being at that time, no other way of distinguishing them) Eight hours he spent

K. Alfred's virtues.

E in Contemplation, Reading, and Prayers: eight in provision for himself, his health and recreation, and the other eight in the affairs of the Common-wealth and State. His Kingdom likewise he divided into Shires, Hundreds and Tythings; ordaining that no man might remove out of his Hundred without security: by which course he so suppressed Theeves and Robbers, which had formerly increased by the long wars, that it is said a boy or girl might openly carry a bag of gold or silver, and carry it safely all the Countrey over. Besides his great piety, he was also learned; and as far as it might be a commendation in a Prince, a skilful Musician and an excellent Poet. All former Laws he caused to be surveyed, and made choice of the best, which he translated into the *English* tongue; as also the Pastoral of *St. Gregory*, the History of *Bede* and *Boetius* his consolation of Philology; the Psalms of *David* likewise he began to

He divides the Kingdom into Shires.

F translate, but died before he could finish it. And so great a love he had to learning, that he made a Law, that all Freemen of the Kingdom, possessing two Hides of land, should bring up their Sons in learning, till they were fifteen years of age at least, that so they might be trained to know God, to be men of understanding, and to live happily. His buildings were many, both for Gods service, and for other publick use: as at *Eddinsley* a Monastery, at *Winchester* a new Minster; and at *Shaftesbury* a house of Nuns; whereof he made his Daughter *Ethelgeda* the Abbess; but his foundation of the University of *Oxford*, exceeded all the rest: which he began in the year 895. and to furnish it with able Scholars, drew thither out of *France*, *Grimbaldu* and *Saotus*, and out of *Waler*, *Affer*, (who wrote his life) whose Lectures he honoured often with his own presence. And for a stock of Frugality, he made a Survey of the Kingdom; and had all

His love to learning.

G the particulars of his Estate registred in a Book; which he kept in his Treasury at *Winchester*. He reigned seven and twenty years, and dying was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Peter* at *Winchester*, though removed after-ward into the Church of the new Monastery, without the North-gate of the City called *Hyde*. His Wife *Elfweth*, founded a Monastery of Nuns at *Winchester*, and was there buried. Their second daughter *Ethelgeda*, took upon her the Vow of Virginity; and by her Fathers appointment was made a Nun of *Shaftesbury*, in the County of *Dorset*, in the Monastery founded there by him, who is also accounted the founder of the Town it self.

Oxford founded.

Shaftesbury by whom founded.

King

*Elfrida forsake
the marriage bed to
follow the
Wars.*

*Knighting in
an extraordi-
nary manner.*

*Wilton the head
town of Wilt-
shire.*

*Perjury puni-
shed by the di-
vine hand.*

*Felons puni-
shed.*

*A miracle of
K. Athelstan.*

*K. Athelstan
makes Wales
tributary.*

*Holy Reliques
sent to King
Athelstan.*

King *Alfred* being deceased, his Son *Edward* (celled *Edward the Elder*) succeeded: not so **A**
Learned as his Father; but in Valour his Equal, and Superiour in Fortune. For first he over-
came his Cousin *Ethelwald*, who aspired to the Crown; then the *Danes*, whose chief leader he
flew in bartail; lastly the *Welsh*; but these last more by humility shewed to their Prince *Leolin*,
then by force of Armes. But yet he must not have all the glory of his time: some must be impar-
ted to his Sister *Elfrida*; who being married to *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, had by him a Daughter,
but with so grievous pains in her travail, that ever after she refused the nuptiall bed of her Hus-
band, saying, it was a foolish pleasure that brought with it so excessive pains. And thereupon after
her husbands death, made choice to follow the wars; assisting her Brother both against the *Welsh*,
and against the *Danes*, whom she brought to be at her disposing. Dying she was buried at *Glo-*
cester, in the Monastery of *St. Peter*, which her Husband and her self had built. King *Edward* him- **B**
self, after four and twenty year reign, deceased at *Faringdon* in *Barkshire*, in the year 924. and
was buried in the new Monastery of *Winchester*, which his Father and himself wholly finished:
having had by his three Wives, six Sons and nine Daughters, of whom his eldest Son *Athelstan*
succeeded him in the Kingdom, whom his Grandfather King *Alfred* had with his own hands
Knighted, in an extraordinary manner; putting upon him a purple Robe, and girding him with a
girdle wrought with Pearl. His second Son *Elfred*, he so loved, that he caused him to be Crowned
King with himself, which yet he enjoyed but a short time, being taken away by death. His third
Son *Elfwold*, presently upon his Fathers death, died himself also. His fourth Son *Edwyn*, was
by his Brother *Athelstan*, out of jealousy of state, put into a little Pinnace, without either
Tackle or Oars, accompanied only with one Page; with grief whereof, the young Prince leaped **C**
into the Sea and drowned himself. His fifth, and sixth Sons, *Edmund* and *Edred*, came in succession
to be Kings of *England*. Of his Daughters, the eldest *Editha*, was married to *Sithricke* the *Danish*
King of *Northumberland*, and he deceasing, she entred into a Monastery, which she began at *Tam-*
worth in *Warwickshire*, and there died. His second Daughter *Elfrida*, took upon her the Vow of
Virginity, in the Monastery of *Ramsay*, in the County of *Southampton*, where she died and
was interred. His third Daughter *Egwinna*, was first married to *Charles* the Simple, King of
France, and after his decease, to *Herbert* Earl of *Vermendois*. His fourth Daughter *Ethelheld*, be-
came a Nun in the Monastery of *Wilton*, which was sometime the head Town, giving name to
the whole County of *Wiltshire*, and anciently called *Ellandon*. That we may see in those first
times of Religion, when there was least knowledge, there was most devotion. His fifth Daugh- **D**
ter *Edbold*, was married to *Hugh*, surnamed the Great, Earl of *Paris*, and Constable of *France*.
And *Edgith* his sixth Daughter to *Otho*, the Emperour of the West, surnamed the Great. His
seventh Daughter *Elgina*, was married to a Duke of *Italy*. His ninth *Edgina*, to *Lewis* Prince
of *Aquitain* in *France*.

After the death of King *Edward*, his eldest Son *Athelstan* succeeded, and was Crowned at
Kingstone upon *Thames*, in the County of *Surrey*, by *Athelmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the
year 924. The beginning of whose Reign, was molested with the Treason of one *Elfrid* a
Nobleman, who being apprehended and sent to *Rome* to purge himself, and there denying the
Act upon his Oath, fell suddenly down, and within three daies died, to the eternal terrour of
all perjured persons. Presently upon this, another dyfaster befell King *Athelstan*, for having **E**
caused his Brother *Edwyns* death, (as before is shewed) chiefly procured by his Cupbearers sug-
gestions; it happened not long after, that his Cupbearer, in his service at a Festival, stumbling
with one foot, and recovering himself with the other, and saying merrily, *See how one brother
helps another*; his words put the King in remembrance of his Brother, whose death he had
caused, and with remorse thereof, not only caused his Cup-bearer to be put to death, but did also
seven years penance: and built the two Monasteries of *Middleton* and *Michelness*, in the Coun-
ty of *Dorset*, in expiation of his offence. This King ordained many good Laws; and those
to binde as well the Clergy as the Laity; amongst which, one was the Attachment of Felons,
that stole above twelve pence, and were above twelve years old. Of this King there is one Act
related, that may seem ridiculous; another, that may seem miraculous; For what more ridicu- **F**
lous, then that, going to visit the Tomb of *St. John of Beverly*, and having nothing else of worth
to offer, he offered his knife in devotion to the Saint? Yet the miraculous is more apparent:
For going to encounter the *Danes*, and praying to God for good successe, he prayed withall, that
God would shew some sign of his rightful cause, and thereupon striking with his sword, he struck
it an ell deep into a hard stone, which stood so cloven a long time after. But whether this be true
or no, this certainly is true, that he obtained many great victories against the *Danes*, against the
Scots, against the *Irish*, and against the *Welsh*, whose Princes he brought to be his tributaries, entering
Covenant at *Hereford*, to pay him yearly twenty pound weight of gold, three hundred of silver,
and five and twenty hundred head of Cattel, besides a certain number of Hawks and **G**
Hounds. Lastly, he joynd *Northumberland* to the rest of his Monarchy, and enlarged his Do-
minions beyond any of his Predecessors: which made all neighbouring Princes to seek his friend-
ship, and to gratifie him with rare presents, as *Hugh* King of *France* sent him the sword of
Constantine the Great, in the hilt whereof, was one of the nails which fastened Christ to his
Crosse; he sent him also the spear of *Charles* the Great, reputed to be the same that pierced
Christs side; as also part of the Crosse whereon Christ suffered, and a piece of the Thorny Crown
put upon his head. Likewise *Otho* the Emperour, who had married his Sister, sent him a vessel
of precious stones, artificially made, wherein were seen Landskips with Vines, Corn and Men,
all

A all of them seeming so artificially to move, as if they were growing, and alive. Likewise the King of *Norway* lent him a goodly Ship, with a gilt Stern, purple sails, and the deck garnished all with gold. Of these accounted Holy Reliques King *Ashelstan* gave part to the Abbey of Saint *Swithun* in *Winchester*, and the rest to the Monastery of *Malmesbury*, whereof *Adelm* was the Founder, and his Tutel or Saint. He new built the Monasteries of *Wilton*, *Michelnest*, and *Middleton*; Founded Saint *German* in *Cornwall*, Saint *Petrocus* at *Bodmyn*, and the Priory of *Pilton*; new walled and beautified the City of *Exceter*, and enriched either with Jewels or Lands, every special Abbey of the Land. But the chiefest of his works for the service of God, and good of his Subjects, was the Translation of the Bible into the *Saxon* Tongue, which was then the Mother tongue of the Land. He reigned fifteen years, died at *Glocester*, and was buried at *Malmisbury*, in the year 940. having never been married.

The Bible translated into the *Saxon* Tongue.

B After the death of *Ashelstan*, his brother *Edmund*, the fifth son of his Father, succeeded; and was Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*; but no sooner was the Crown set upon his head, but the *Danes* were upon his back; and in *Northumberland* made insurrections, whom yet he not only repressed in that part; but took from them the Towns of *Lincolne*, *Leicester*, *Darby*, *Stafford* and *Nottingham*; compelling them withall to receive Baptism, and to become his subjects, so as the Countrey was wholly his as far as *Humber*. *Cumberland* also, which had been an entire Kingdom of it self, and was now aided by *Leolyn* King of *Southwales*, he utterly wasted, and gave it *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, to hold of him by Fealty. After his returning home, he set himself to ordain Laws for the good of his People; which Master *Lambert* hath since translated into Latin. But after all his noble Acts both in War and Peace, he came at last to a lamentable end; for at his Manour of *Pucklekerke*, in the County of *Glocester*, interposing himself to part a fray between two of his servants, he was thrust through the body, and so wounded that he died; and was buried at *Glastenbury*, after he had reigned five year and seven moneths, leaving behind him two young Sons, *Edwyn*, and *Edgar*.

King *Edmund* compels the *Danes* to receive Baptism. His good Lawes.

His unfortunate end.

C King *Edmund* dying, his brother *Edred* in the minority of his Nephews, was Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 946. Not as Protector; (it seems that kind of authority was not yet come in use) but as King himself, though with purpose to resign, when the right Heir should come of age; which at this time needed not, for while the right Heir was scarce yet fourteen years old, he reigned to him the Kingdom, by resigning his life to Nature, after he had twice repressed the rebelling *Northumbrians*, and twice forgiving their rebellings, which yet was not a simple rebellion; for they had sent for *Anlase* the *Dane* out of *Ireland*, and made him their King; which place for four years he held; and then weary of his government, they thrust him out, and take one *Hericus* to be their King, whom not long after they put down also; and then partly allured by the lenity of King *Edred*, and partly forced by his Armes, they submit themselves to him, and ask forgiveness; to whom he as a merciful Prince, grants an Act of Oblivion, and received them again into protection. This Prince was so devout and humble, that he submitted his body to be chastised at the will of *Dunstan* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and committed all his Treasure and Jewels to his custody. The stately Abbey of *Michat Abington* near *Oxford*, built by King *Ina*, but destroyed by the *Danes*, he newly re-edified; endowing it with revenues and Lands, the Charters whereof he confirmed with seals of Gold. He ordained Saint *German* in *Cornwall*, to be a Bishops See, which there continued, till by *Cannus* it was annexed to the Episcopal See of *Kyrtyn* in *Devonshire*: Both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward* the Confessor, translated to the City of *Exceter*. He left behind him two Sons, *Elfred*, and *Berisfred*, and was buried in the old Minster, without the City of *Winchester*, whose bones with other Kings, are to this day preserved in a gilt Coffin, fixed upon the wall, in the South side of the Quire.

King *Edred* devotion.

Exceter made the Episcopal See.

E After *Edred*, not any of his Sons, but his Nephew *Edwyn*, the eldest Son of King *Edmund* succeeded, and was anointed and Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 955. This Prince, though scarce fourteen years old, and in age but a childe, yet was able to commit sin as a man; For upon the very day of his Coronation, and in sight of his Lords, as they sat in Counsel, he shamefully abused a Lady of great Estate, and his near kinswoman, and to mend the matter, shortly after slew her husband, the more freely to enjoy his incestuous pleasure. And whether for this infamous fact, or for thrusting the Monks out of the Monasteries of *Malmesbury*, and *Glastenbury*, and placing married Priests in their roots, as also for banishing *Dunstan* the holy Abbot of *Glastenbury* out of the Realm, a great part of his Subjects hearts was so turned against him, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted, and swore Fealty to his younger brother *Edgar*; with grief whereof, after four years reign, he ended his life, and was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Hyde*, at *Winchester*.

K. *Edwyn* shameful act at his Coronation.

F After *Edwyn*, succeeded his younger brother *Edgar*, at the age of sixteen years; but his Coronation, when, and where, and by whom, so uncertain, that some say he was Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the first year of his reign; others say not till the twelfth, and *William* of *Malmesbury*, not till the thirtieth: Another Chronicle saith, in his eleventh year; and that in the City of *Bathe*, by the hands of *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This King, by reason of the tranquillity of his reign, was surnamed the Peaceable; for as he was something inclined to the *Danes*, so the *Danes* never offered to stir in all his

King *Edgar* called the Peaceable.

A Law to re-
press drunken-
ness.

How Wolves
come to be de-
stroyed in Eng-
land.

King Edgar's
Navie Royal
of 3600. ships.

Souldier made
to restore their
booties.

King Edgar
builds seven
and forty Mo-
nasteries.

King Edgar's
lasciviousness.

A treacherous
Favorite.

Ramsay Mona-
stery in Ham-
shire founded.

A childe found
in an Eagles
nest: and there-
of called Ne-
sting.

his time; and as for the *Saxons*, they acknowledged him their sole Sovereign, without division of Provinces or Titles. His Acts were, some Virtuous, some Politick, some Just, some Pious, and yet all these not without some mixture of vice. To repress drunkenness, which the *Danes* had brought in, he made a Law, ordaining a tize, by certain pins in the pot; with penalty to any that should presume to drink deeper then the mark. It was a politick device which he used for the destruction of Wolves that in his dayes did great annoyance to the Land. For the tribute imposed on the Princes of *Wales*, by King *Aethelstan*, he wholly remitted, appointing in lieu thereof a certain number of Wolves yearly to be paid; whereof the Prince of *North-wales*, for his part was to pay three hundred; which continued for three years space: and in the fourth year, there was not a Wolf to be found; and so the tribute ceased. He had in his Navy Royal, three thousand and six hundred ships, which he divided into three parts, appointing every one of them to a several Quarter, to scower the Seas, and to secure the Coasts from Pirats: and lest his Officers might be careless, or corrupted, he would himself in person sail about all the Coasts of his Kingdom every Summer. It was a notable Act of Justice, that in his Circuits, and Progresses through the Countrey, he would take special account of the demeanour of his Lords; and specially of his Judges; whom he severely punished, if he found them Delinquents. Wars he had none in all his reign, only towards his end, the *Welshmen* moved some rebellion; against whom he went with a mighty Army, and chastised the Authors; but when his Souldiers had gotten great spoiles, and made prey upon the innocent Country people; he commanded them to restore it all back again; which, if it made some few *English* angry, it made the whole Countrey of the *Welsh* well pleased, and found forth his praises. His pious Acts were, that he built and prepared seven and forty Monasteries, and meant to have made them up fifty, but was prevented by death. But now his mixture of Vice marred all; especially being a Vice opposite to all those Virtues, which was Lasciviousness. For first, he deflowred a sacred Nun, called *Wolfschilde*; on whom yet he begot a Saint, the chaste *Edyth*. After her another Virgin, called *Ethelbode*, for her excellent beauty surnamed the White, on whom he begot his eldest Son *Edward*; for which Act he did seven years penance, enjoyed him by the Archbishop *Dunstan*. After this he chanced to hear of a Virgin, Daughter to a Western Duke, exceedingly praised for her beauty, and coming to *Andover*, commanded her to his bed. But the Mother, tender of her Daughters honour, brought in the dark her maid to him; who in the morning making hast to rise, and the King not suffering her to depart, she told him what great work she had to do; and how she should incur her Ladies displeasure, if it were not done; by which words the King perceiving the deceit, turned it to a jest, but so well liked her company, that he kept himself true to her ever after, till he married. But now his marriage itself happened by a greater vice than any of these; For hearing of the admirable beauty of *Elfrida*, the only daughter of *Ordganus* Duke of *Devonshire*, Founder of *Tavestock* Abby in that Countrey, he sent his great Favorite Earl *Ethelwold*, (who could well judge of beauty) to try the truth thereof; with Commission, that if he found her such as Fame reported, he should seize her for him, and he would make her his Queen. The young Earl, upon sight of the Lady, was so surprized with her love, that he began to woo her for himself, and got her Fathers good will, so as the King would give his consent. Hereupon the Earl posted to the King, relating to him that the Maid was fair indeed, but nothing answerable to the Fame that went of her: yet desired the King that he might marry her, as being her Fathers heir, thereby to raise his Fortunes. The King consented, and the marriage was solemnized. Soon after, the fame of her beauty began to spread more then before, so as the King much doubting that he had been abused, meant to try the truth himself, and thereupon taking occasion of hunting in the Dukes Park, came to his house: whose coming *Ethelwold* suspecting, acquainted his wife with the wrong he had done both her, and the King, and therefore to prevent the Kings displeasure, intreated her by all the persuasions he could use, to clothe her self in such attire, as might be least fit to set her forth; but she considering that now was the time, to make the most of her beauty, and longing to be a Queen, would not be accessary to her own wrong, but decked her self in her richest Ornaments; which so improved her beauty, that the King at her first sight was struck with admiration, and meant to be revenged of his perfidious Favorite; yet dissembling his passion, till he could take him at advantage, he then with a Javelin ran him through; and having thereby made fair *Elfrida* a Widow, took her to be his Wife. This King founded a Monastery of *Ramsay* in *Hamshire*, reigned sixteen years, lived seven and thirty, and with great Funeral pomp was buried in the Abby of *Glastenbury*. He had children by his first wife *Ethelbode*, one Son named *Edward*; and by his second wife *Elfrida*, two Sons one named *Edmund*, who dyed young, the other *Ethelred*. He had also one natural Daughter, named *Edgyth*, by a Lady named *Wolfschilde*, the daughter of *Wolbulme*, the Son of *Birding*, the Son of *Nesting*; which two latter, bear in their names the memory of their Fortunes; the last of them being found in an Eagles nest, by King *Alfred* as he was a hunting. This *Edgyth* built the Monastery and Church of Saint *Dennis* at *Wilton*, and was there buried.

After the death of King *Edgar*, succeeded his Son *Edward*, but not without some opposition, for Queen *Elfrida* combined with divers of the Lords, to make her Son *Ethelred* King, saying that Prince *Edward* was illegitimate; on the other side, the Archbishop *Dunstan*, and the Monks stood for *Edward*, abetting his title as being lawfully born; but while the Council

A Was assembled to argue their Rights, the Archbishop came in with his Banner and Cross, and not staying for debating *de Jure, de Facto* presented Prince Edward for their lawful King; and the Assembly consisting most of Clergy men, drew the approbation of the rest; and thereupon Prince Edward was admitted, being but twelve years of age, and was Crowned King at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, by Archbishop *Dunstan*, in the year 975. In the beginning of his reign, it fell into debate whether married Priests were to be allowed to live in Monasteries upon the revenues of the Church. The *Mercian* Duke *Alferus*, favouring the cause of the married Priests, destroyed the Monasteries in his Province, cast out the Monks, and restored again the ancient revenues to the Priests and their wives. On the other side, *Edelwyn* Duke of the East *Angles*, and *Brynoth* Earl of *Suffex*, who stood for the Monks, cast married Priests out of their Provinces. The matter being debated in a Council at *Westminster*, the Monks cause was like to have the foil, till it was referred to the Rood, placed on the Refectory wall, where the Council sat. For to this great Oracle, Saint *Dunstan* desired them devoutly to pray, and to give diligent ear for an Answer, when suddenly a voice was heard to say, *God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so*. This was thought authority sufficient, to suppress the Priests, till they persuading the people, that this was but a cunning practice of the Monks, in placing behind the wall, a man of their own, who through a Trunk uttered these words in the mouth of the Rood. Whereupon another Assembly was appointed at *Cleve* in *Wiltshire*, whither repaired the Prelates, with most of all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom. The Synod being set, and the matter at the height of discussing; it happened that the Joys of the room, where the Synod was held, suddenly brake, and the floor with all the people thereon, fell down, whereof many were hurt, and some slain. Only the Archbishop *Dunstan* then President, and mouth for the Monks, remained unhurt; which whether it were done by practice, or were miraculous, it served the Monks turn for justifying their cause; and married Priests were thereupon discarded. It were infinite, and indeed ridiculous, to speak of all the Miracles, reported to be done by this Saint *Dunstan*, which may be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle.

Married priests excluded from living in Monasteries, by what veed:ts

But now a most lamentable disaster comes to be remembered: For King *Edward*, hunting one time in the Island of *Purbeck*: not far from *Corfe Castle*; where his mother in Law Queen *Elfrid*, with his brother Prince *Ethelred*, were then residing, he out of his love to both, would needs himself alone go visit them; where the cruel woman, out of ambition to bring her own Son to the Crown, caused one to run him into the back with a knife, as he was drinking a cup of Wine on horseback at his departing; who feeling himself hurt, set spurs to his Horse, thinking thereby to get to his company, but the wound being mortal, and he fainting through losse of much blood, fell from his horse; but one foot being intangled in the stirrup, he was thereby rufully dragged up and down, through Woods, and Lands: and lastly left dead at *Corfes* gate; for which untimely death, he was ever after called by the name of *Edward the Martyr*. He reigned only three years and six months, and was buried first at *Winchester*, without all Funeral pomp; but after three years, by Duke *Alferus* removed, and with great solemnity interred in the Minster of *Shaftesbury*. Queen *Elfrid*, to expiate this her bloody fact, built the two Monasteries of *Almesbury*, and *Worwell*, in the Counties of *Wiltshire* and *Southampton*, in which latter, with great repentance, she lived till her death.

K. Edward lamentable end by the wickedness of his mother in law: and thereof called the Martyr.

After the death of *Edward the Martyr*, dying at the age of sixteen years, his half brother *Ethelred*, at the age of twelve years, in the year 979. was Crowned King at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, by *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though much against his will; which King by reason of his backwardness in Action, was commonly called the Unready. At the Coronation of this Prince St. *Dunstan* in a prophetick spirit denounced on him and the Kingdom, the wrath and indignation of Almighty God in these words following: Because (saith he) thou hast aspired to the Crown by the death of thy brother, whom thy Mother hath murdered, therefore hear the word of the Lord: *The sword shall not depart from thy house, but shall furiously rage all the daies of thy life; killing of thy seed, till such time as thy Kingdom shall be given to a people whose customs and language the Nation thou now governest know not. Neither shall thy sin, the sin of thy Mother, and the sin of those men, who were partakers of her Counsaills, and Executors of her wicked designs, be expiated but by a long, and most severe vengeance.* Which prediction of the holy Archbishop was seconded by prodigies, and by the disastrous calamities which fell on him, his house, and the whole confirmed for truth. Besides this, most remarkable are the prophecies of a holy man in the time of this King *Ethelred*. Before whose times, for two and twenty years past the *Danes* had lived as quiet Inmates with the *English*, but whether weary of so long doing nothings, or finding now opportunity of doing something, in the second year of this King, they begin to stir, and inviting from home forces, who in seven Ships arrived upon the coast of *Kent*, they spoiled all the Countrey, specially the Isle of *Thanet*, and continued this course of foraging the Kingdom, sometimes in one part, and sometimes in another, for eleven years together: till at last in the year 991. the King by advice of his Lords, of whom *Siricius* the now Archbishop of *Canterbury* was chief, was contented to pay them ten thousand pounds, upon condition they should quietly depart the Realm. This served the turn for the present, but was so far from satisfying them, that it did but give them the greater appetite: for the year following they came again, and that with a greater fleet then before, against whom the King prepared a competent Navie, and committed it to *Elfrick*, Earl of *Mercia*, but he proving treacherous (as indeed all other for the most part did, whom the King employed against the *Danes*, as with whom they were allied in blood) the *Danes* so prevailed, that for the next composition, they had sixteen thousand pounds given them

K. Ethelred called the Unready.

The Danes having been long quiet began now to stir.

The Danes prevail, and are called Lord-Danes.

The Danes
massacred.

In revenge
whereof King
Sweyne the
next year in-
vades the king-
dom, and pre-
vails by the
treachery of
Edrick.

King Sweyne is
stricken by the
divine hand,
for offering vi-
olence to St.
Edmund the
Martyrs bones.

them; and a year after, twenty thousand; and so, every year more and more, till it came at last to forty thousand: by which means, the Land was emptied of all coyn, and the English were brought so low, that they were faine to Till, and eare the Ground, whilst the Danes late idle, and eat the fruit of their labours; abusing the Wives and Daughters of their Hosts where they lay, and yet in every place, for very fear, were called *Lord Danes*; (which afterward became a word of derision, when one would signifie a lazy Lubber.) In this distressed state, the King at last bethought himself of a course: he sent forth a secret Commission into every City within his Dominions, that at an appointed time, they should massacre all the Danes that were amongst them; The day was the thirteenth of November, being the Festival of St. Brice, in the year 1002. His command was accordingly performed, and with such rigour, that in Oxford the Danes for refuge took into the Church of St. Frideswide, as into a Sanctuary, when the English, neither regarding place nor person, set the Church on fire, wherein many of the Danes were burnt, and the Library thereof utterly defaced. And who would not now think, but that England by this Fact had clean shaken of the Danish yoke for ever? yet it proved clean otherwise: For the news of this massacre, adding a new edge of revenge, to the old edge of ambition, made the Danes sharper set against the English, then ever they had been before; so as the year following, their King Sweyne, with a mighty Navy entred the Countrey, razed and leveled with the ground the City of Exeter, all along from the East Gate to the West, against whom the King levied an Army, and made General over it, the Earl Edrick, his great Favourite; whom he had created Duke of Mercia; and given him his Daughter Edgith in marriage; yet all this great favour could not keep him from being treacherous, for being sent Ambassadour to the Danes, to mediate for Peace, he revealed to them the weakness of the Land, and treacherously dissuaded them from consenting to any Truce. Upon this King Ethelred gave order, That every three hundred and ten Hydes of Land should build a Ship; and every eight Hydes finde a compleate Armour furnished; yet all this great preparation came to nothing, but only to make a show. After this, the King seeing no end of their invasions, nor promise kept upon any composition; (for three Danish Princes, with a great Fleet, were now newly arrived) He intended to adventure once for all, and to commit his cause to God, by the fortune of a Battail. To which end he secretly gathered a mighty power, and coming unlooked for, when the Enemy was unprepared, he had certainly given an end to the Quarrel, if the wicked Edrick had not dissuaded him from fighting, and put him into a causeless fear, by forged tales. After this the Danes foraged many Countries; burnt Oxford, Thetford, and Cambridge; and lastly entred Wiltshire, which was the seventh shire in number, they had laid waste like a Wilderness. The year after, they make a new Expedition, and besiege Canterbury; which by treason of a Church-man they won, took Alphegus the Archbishop, and slew nine hundred Monks, and men of Religion, besides many Citizens, without all mercy; for they Tythed the people, slaying all by nines, and reserving only the tenth to live; so that of all the Monks in the Town, there were but four saved, and of the Lay people, four thousand eight hundred, by which account Master Lambert collecteth, that there dyed in this Massacre three and forty thousand, and two hundred persons. The Archbishop Alphegus, for that he refused to charge his Tenants with three thousand pounds to pay for his rancome, they most cruelly stoned to death at Greenwich. Turkillus the leader of these Murderers, took into his possession all Norfolk and Suffolk, over whom he tyrannized in most savage manner; the rest compounding with the English for eight thousand pounds, quietly for a while sojourned among them. The year following came King Sweyne again, and with a great Navy arrived in the mouth of Humber, and landed at Gainsborough, to whom the Northumbrians, and the people of Lindsey, yeelded themselves; so that now over all the North from Walsingstreet, he reigned sole King, and exacted pledges of them for their further obedience. From the North he passed into the South, subduing all before him, till he came to London, where he was so valiantly encountered by the Londoners, that he was glad to retire, in which retyring norwich standing he entred Bathe; where Eshelmure Earl of Devonshire, with his Western people, submitted himself to him. Yet after this, between him and the English was struck a fierce battail, which had been with good success, if the treachery of some in turning to the Danes, had not hindred it. After this the Danes proceeded on victoriously, and had gotten most part of the Land, and even London also by submission: whereupon the unfortunate King Ethelred sending his Wife Emma, with her two Sons Edward and Alfred, to her Brother, Duke of Normandy, himself also the Winter following passed thither, leaving the Danes Lording it in his Realm. Sweyne now as an absolute King, extorted from the English both Victuals and Pay for his Souldiers; and demanding such a Composition for preserving of St. Edmunds Monastery in Suffolk; as the Inhabitants were not able, and therefore refused to pay; he thereupon threatened spoil, both to the Place, and to the Martyrs bones there interred, when suddenly, in the midst of his jollity (saith Hoveden) he cried out, that he was struck by St. Edmund with a sword, being then in the midst of his Lords, and no man seeing from whose hand it came; and so with great horror and torment, three daies after upon the third of February, he ended his life at Thetford, or (as others say) at Gainsborough. And now who would not think but this was a fair opportunity offered to the English, to free themselves wholly from the Danish yoke? but when all was done, either crossed by treachery, or frustrated by misfortune, nothing prospered. It is true, upon this occasion of Sweynes death, King Ethelred returned out of Normandy, but at his coming,

CANHAM

- A **Cannus** the Son of *Sweyne*, had gotten the people of *Lindsey* to be at his devotion, and to finde him both Horse and Men against their own King; so as *Ethelred* was now to encounter as well his own Subjects, as *Danes*, which he did so valiantly, that he made **Cannus** glad to return into *Denmark*, as utterly hopeless of any good to be done in *England*. And now one would certainly think the *Danes* had been removed, Root and Branch, out of *England*; and never like to trouble the Land any more; and indeed there was all the appearance of probability for it that could be. But it is a true saying, *That which will be, shall be, let all be done that can be.* For now *Turkill* the *Dane*, who had before revolted to *K. Ethelred*, growing sensible of his fault, which was this, or no way to be redeemed; and tender of his Countrey-mens case, which was now or never to be help; with nine of his Ships sailed into *Denmark*, and first excusing himself to **Cannus** for his former defection, as though he had done it of purpose, to learn all advantages against the *English*, which now he could discover to him, so he prevailed with **Cannus** once again to try his fortune, that with a Navy of two hundred Ships he set sail for *England*, and landed at *Sandwich*, where he gave the *English* a great overthrow, and passed victoriously through the Counties of *Dorset*, *Somerset*, and *Wilt.* When (*Ethelred* lying dangerously sick at *Colsam*) the managing of the War was committed to Prince *Edmund* his Son, who preparing to give the *Danes* battail, had suddenly notice given him, that his Brother in law *Edrick* meant to betray him into his Enemies hands, which made him suspend his proceeding; and *Edrick* perceiving his designe to be discovered, cast off the masque, and with forty of the Kings ships fled openly to the Enemy; and thereupon, all the West Countries submitted themselves unto **Cannus**. By this time King *Ethelred* having recovered his sickness, prepared to go on with the Battail, which his Son *Edmund* had intended, but his Forces being assembled, he likewise had suddenly notice given him, that his Subjects meant to betray him to the *Danes*. Hereupon he withdrew himself to *London*, as the place in which he most confided; where falling into a relapse of his former sickness, he ended his unfortunate dayes, in the year 1016. when he had reigned 37. years, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, whose bones as yet remain in the North wall of the Chancel, in a chest of gray marble; adjoining to that of *Sebbu* King of the East Saxons. He had by his two Wives, eight Sons, and four Daughters; of whom, his youngest named *Goda*, was married to one *Walter de Maigne*, a Noble man of *Normandy*: by whom she had a Son named *Rodolph*, which *Rodolph* had a Son named *Harold*, created afterward by King *William* the Conquerour, Baron of *Sudeley*, in the County of *Gloucester*, and Ancestor to the Barons of that place succeeding, and of the Lord *Chandowes* of *Sudeley* now being.
- Ethelred* being dead, his third Son *Edmund* called *Ironside* (of his ability in enduring labour) but the eldest living at his fathers death, succeeded, and was crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, by *Levingus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1016. A great part of the *English* both feared and favoured, and indeed out of fear favoured **Cannus**; especially the Clergy, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, and sware Fealty to him: but the *Londoners* stood firm to Prince *Edmund*, and were the principal authors of his Election. **Cannus** before the death of King *Ethelred*, had besieged the City, and now with a large Trench encompassed it:
- E but the new King *Edmund* coming on raised the siege, and made **Cannus** flee to the Isle of *Sheppey*, where having stayed the Winter, the Spring following, he assailed the West of *England*, and at *Penham* in *Dorsetshire*, a battail was fought, and the *Danes* discomfited. After this, in *Worcestershire* at a place called *Sherostan*, another battail was fought, where the *Danes* were like again to be discomfited, but the traitorous *Edrick* perceiving it, he cut off the head of a Souldier like unto King *Edmund* both in hair and countenance, and shaking his bloody sword, with the gasping head, cryed to the Army of the *English*, *Flie ye wretches, flie, and get away, for your King is slain; behold, here is his head;* but King *Edmund* having notice of this treacherous stratagem, hastied to shew himself wehre he might best be seen: whose sight so encouraged his men, that they had gotten that day a final victory, if night had not prevented them. Duke *Edrick* excuses his fact, as being mistaken in the countenance of the man, and desirous to save the blood of the *English*; upon which false colour he was received into favour again. After this, **Cannus** secretly in the night brake up his Camp, and marched towards *London*, which in a sort was still besieged by the *Danish* ships: but King *Edmund* hearing of his departure, followed him, and with small ado removed the siege, and in Triumphant manner entred the City. After this near unto *Orford* in *Kent*, was another great battail fought, in which **Cannus** lost four thousand five hundred men, and King *Edmund* only six hundred; the rest of the *Danes* saving themselves by flight; whom if King *Edmund* had pursued, it is thought that day had ended the wars between these two Nations for ever. But the ever traitorous *Edrick*, kept King *Edmund* from pursuing them, by telling him of Ambushes and other dangers: So as **Cannus** had leisure to passe over into *Essex*, but thither also King *Edmund* followed him; where at *Asbdone* three miles from *Saffron Walden*, another battail was fought, in which the *Danes* being at the point to be overthrown, the traitorous *Edrick* with all his Forces revolted to their side, by which treachery the *English* lost the day. There dyed of King *Edmunds* Nobility, Duke *Alfred*, Duke *Goodwyn*, Duke *Athelwald*, Duke *Athelwyn*, Earl *Urchil*, *Codnuth* Bishop of *Lincolne*, *Wolsey* Abbot of *Ramsay*, with many other. The remembrance of which battail is retained to this day, by certain small hills their remaining, whence have been digged the bones of men, Armour, and horse bridles. After this, at *Dreberst* near to the river *Severne*, another battail was ready to be fought;

Cannus in despair returns into *Denmark*.

Is persuaded by *Turkill* the *Dane* to return into *England*.

Edrick continues treacherous still.

The Lord *Chandowes* of *Sudeley* from whom descended.

Edmund Ironside crowned King.

Drives *Cannus* from the siege of *London*.

Edrick treacherous still.

King Edmund
and Canutus try
the matter by a
single combat.

They divide
the Kingdom
between them.

Edrick treache-
rous still, mur-
thers King
Edmund.

Edgar Atheling
his Father.

King James
descended from
Margaret
Daughter of
King Edmund
Ironside.

when suddenly, a certain Captain steps forth, and for saving of blood used great perswasions, that either they should try the battail by single Combat, or else divide the Kingdom betwixt them. Upon this the Combat is agreed on, and the two Princes entering into a small Island called *Alney*, adjoyning to the City of *Glocester*, in compleat Armour assailed each other, at first on horieback, and after on foot: when *Canutus* having received a dangerous wound, and finding himself over-matched in strength, desired a Compromise, and with a loud voice used these words. What necessity should move us most Valiant Prince, for obtaining of a Title to endanger our lives? were it not better to lay malice aside, and condescend to a loving agreement? let us therefore become sworn Brothers, and divide the Kingdom between us. This motion was by King *Edmund* accepted, and thus was the Kingdom divided between these two Princes; *Edmund* enjoying that part which lies upon the coast of *France*, and *Canutus* the rest. But now Duke *Edrick* hath his last and greatest Act of treachery to play; for King *Edmund* being retired to a place for natures necessity, he thrust from under the draught a sharp spear into his body, and then cutting off his head presented it to *Canutus*, with these fawning words, *All hail, thou sole Monarch now of England, for here behold the head of thy Copartner, which for thy sake I have adventured to cut off.* *Canutus* though ambitious enough of sovereignty, yet abashed at so disloyal a fact, replied and vowed, that in reward of that service his own head should be advanced above all the Peers of his Kingdom: which soon after he performed; for by his command the false *Edricks* head was cut off, and placed upon the highest gate in *London*. *Matthew of Westminster* and *Huntingdon*, relates this murder to have been acted by *Edricks* own Son at the commandment of his Father: *William of Malmesbury* writes that the King was killed by two Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber hired by the same disloyal *Edrick*; notwithstanding *Roger Hoveden* reports that he dyed a natural death at *London*. The death of this King in this manner, some say was acted at *Oxford*; other, that he dyed of natural sickness in *London*; but howsoever he came to his death, his reign was but only seven moneths, and his body was buried at *Glastenbury*, near to his Grandfather King *Edgar*. This King *Edmund* had by his Wife *Algyth*, two Sons; the eldest named *Edward*, surnamed the Out-law, because he lived out of *England* in *Hungary* as a banished man, for fear of King *Canutus*: but when his Uncle King *Edward* the Confessor, had obtained the Crown, he was recalled, and honourably entertained till he dyed. He married *Agatha*, Sister to Queen *Sophia*, Wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, and Daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the second; by whom he had *Edgar* surnamed *Atheling*, the right Heir of the *English* Crown, though he never enjoyed it. The second Son of *Ironside* was called after his Fathers name *Edmund*. King *Edmund* had also two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Christian*, of whom the younger became a Veiled Nun at *Ramsay* in *Hampshire*; the elder *Margaret*, after sole Heir to the *Saxon* Monarchy, married *Malcolme* the third King of *Scotland*, from which princely bed in a lineal Descent, our High and Mighty Monarch King *James* the first, doth in his most Royal person, unite the *Britains*, *Saxons*, *Normands*, and *Scots* Imperial Crowns in one.

Of the first DANISH King in England.

Canutus posselt
of the whole
Kingdom.

He marries
Queen Emma.

CANUTUS being posselt of half the Kingdom by composition with King *Edward*, now after his death seized upon the whole, and to prevent all further question, he called a Council of the *English* Nobility, wherein it was propounded, whether in the agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any claim of Title to the Crown had been reserved for King *Edmunds* Brethren or Sons: to which (not daring to say otherwise) they absolutely answered no, and thereupon took all of them the Oath of Allegiance to *Canutus*. Being thus cleared of all Opposers, he prepared with great solemnity for his Coronation, which was performed at *London*, by the hands of *Levingus* surnamed *Elfsane*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1017. being the first *Dane* that reigned Monarch of *England*. But *Canutus* not thinking himself sufficiently safe, as long as any that might pretend, were in the peoples eye, caused first *Edwyn* the Son of King *Ethelred*, and brother of *Edmund*, to abjure the Realm, who was yet afterwards recalled, and treacherously murdered by his own men, and his body buried at *Tavestock* in *Devonshire*. Next were the two Sons of *Edmund Ironside*, *Edward* and *Edmund*, whom to the end the people might not see him shed the blood of Innocents, he sent to his half Brother King of *Sweden* to be made away. But the King of *Sweden* more compassionate and noble, then this jealous and cruel *Dane*, sent the young Princes into *Hungary* to *Salomon* (the King thereof) in whose Court they were brought up and preferred, as we have before mentioned. Then remained *Edward* and *Alfred*, the Sons of King *Ethelred*, and them their Mother Queen *Emma* had sent away before to her Brother the Duke of *Normandy*, there to be in safety: so as none of the Royal blood was now left in the land, to give *Canutus* any fear of competition. After this, he took to wife the virtuous Lady *Emma*, the Relict of King *Ethelred*, by which match he procured to himself three great benefits: one that he won the love of the people by marrying a Lady whom they so intirely loved; another, that he got the Alliance of the Duke of *Normandy*, a neighbouring Prince of great power; the third, that by marrying the Mother, he secured himself against the Sons: as likewise Queen *Emma* was not unwillingly perswaded to the match, upon agreement to make her issue, if he had any by her, to inherit the Crown of *England*. And to win the love of the people more, he caused great

- A great numbers of his *Danes*, who pestered the Countrey, to return home, bestowing amongst them for their satisfaction, fourscore and two thousand pounds. And to win the love of the people yet more, he now set himself to the making of good Laws, in a Parliament at *Oxford*; whereof, for a pattern of those times, some that concern Religion, may not untruly be here related. First, for the celebration of divine service, it was ordained, that all ceremonies tending to the encrease of reverence and devotion should be used as need required. Secondly, that upon the Sabbath day, all publique Fairs, Markets, Synods, Huntings, and all secular actions should be forborn, unless some urgent necessity should require it. Thirdly, that every Christian should thrice in the year receive the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper. Fourthly, that if a Minister of an Altar killed a man, or committed any notorious crime, he should be deprived both of his Order and Dignity. Fifthly, that a married woman convict of adultery, should have her nose and ears cut off. Sixthly, that a widow marrying within a twelve moneth after her husbands decease, should lose her Joynture. These and many other good Laws were made, whereby the Kingdom remained during all his time, in a most peaceable state and government. In the third year of his reign, he heard how the *Vandales* taking advantage of his absence, had entred *Denmark*, and annoyed his Subjects; whereupon with a great Army of *English* he passed over the Seas, and gave them battail, but with ill success the first day; when preparing for the next daies battail, the Earl *Goodwin* who was General of the *English*, secretly in the dead of the night, set upon the *Vandals* Camp, and with a great slaughter of their Souldiers, made their two Princes *Ulfus* and *Anlave*, to flee the field. In the morning it was told *Canutus*, that the *English* were fled, for that their station was left, and not a man of them to be found, which did not a little trouble his patience: but he going in person to see the truth, found the great overthrow the *English* had given, for which service ever after, he held the *English*, and especially the Earl *Goodwyn* in great estimation. After this, returning home, he made a prosperous Expedition against *Malcolme* King of *Scots*; and at last, in the fifteenth year of his reign, wearied with the honorable troubles of the World, and out of a devotion, he took a Journey to *Rome*, to visit the Sepulchre of *St. Peter* and *Paul*, from whence he writ to the Bishops and Nobility of *England*, that they should carefully administer Justice, and never seek to advance his profit by any undue wayes, or with the detriment of any man. At his return from *Rome*, he built in *Essex* the Church of *Abdome*, where he got the victory against King *Edmund*; in *Norfolk*, the Abbey of *St. Benets*, which Saint he greatly revered; and in *Suffolk* the Monastery of *St. Edmund*, which Saint he deadly feared. To the Church of *Winchester* he gave many rich Jewels, whereof one was a Crosse, valued to be worth as much as the whole revenue of *England* amounted to in one year. To *Coventry* he gave the arme of the great *St. Austin*, which he bought at *Pavia* in his return from *Rome*, for which he paid an hundred Talents of silver and one of gold. One strange act is recorded, which he did for convincing his fawning flatteries, who used to tell him that his powers were more than humane. For being one time at *Southampton*, he commanded that his chair of State should be set on the shoar when the Sea began to flow, and then sitting down there in the presence of his many attendants, he spake thus to that Element; I charge thee that thou presume not to enter my Land, nor wet these Robes of thy Lord that are about me. But the Sea giving no heed to his command, but keeping on his usual course of Tyde, first wet his skirts, and after his thighs, whereupon suddenly arising, he thus spake in the hearing of them all; Let all the worlds Inhabitants know, that vain and weak is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy of the name of King, but he that keeps both heaven and earth and sea in obedience. After which time he would never suffer the Crown to be set upon his head, but presently Crowned therewith the Picture of Christ on the Crosse at *Winchester*: from which example arose perhaps the custom, to hang up the Armour of worthy men in Churches, as Offerings consecrated to him who is the Lord of battail. When he had reigned nineteen years, he deceased at *Shaftesbury* in the County of *Dorset*, the twelfth of *November*, in the year 1035, and was buried in the Church of the old Monastery at *Winchester*, which being after new built, his bones with many other *English Saxon* Kings, were taken up, and are preserved in gilt Coffers, fixed upon the wals of the Quire in that Cathedral Church. He had by his two Wives, three Sons, *Sweyne* and *Harold* by his first wife *Alfgive*; and *Hardkynute* by his second wife Queen *Emma*, and two Daughters, of whom the eldest, called *Guinhilda*, was married to the *Roman* Emperour *Henry* the third, who being accused of adultery, and none found to defend her cause, at last an *English* Page, a very boy and dwarf, who for the littleness of his stature, was generally, and jestingly surnamed *Mimecan*, adventured to maintain her Innocency against a mighty Giantlike-Combatant; who in fight, at one blow cutting the sinews of his adversaries leg, with another he felled him to the ground, and then with his sword taking his head from his shoulders, redeemed both the Emperesses life and honour. But the Emperess after this hard usage forsook her husbands bed, and took upon her the Veil of a Nun, in the Town of *Burges* in *Flanders*, where she devoutly spent the rest of her life.

He makes good Laws.

The Sabbath to be strictly observed.

The Communion to be received thrice a year.

A married woman convict of adultery, to have her nose and ears cut off.

He takes a journey to Rome.

He builds divers Monasteries.

A Jewel as much worth as the revenues of England.

His Act for convincing his flatterers.

Hanging up the armour of worthy men in Churches, from whence it began.

Guinhilda's Innocency defended by a Page.

Of the Second DANISH King in England.

King *Canutus* dying, left his Kingdom of *Norway* to his eldest Son *Sweyne*, and his Kingdom of *England*, to his youngest Son *Hardiknute*, whom he had by his wife *Emma*, but he being at the time of his Fathers death in *Denmark*, *Harold* his elder Brother, by a former wife, taking advantage of his absence, layes claim to the Crown. For determining of which Right, the Lords assembled at *Oxford*, where *Queen Emma* pleaded for her Son *Hardiknute*, urging the Covenant of *Canutus* at their marriage, and his last Will at his death; as also Earl *Godwyn* of *Kent* did the like, being left Guardian of her Children, and keeper of his last Will. But *Harold*s preience, together with the favour of the *Londoners*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, so wrought with the Lords, that the absent *Hardiknute* was neglected, and *Harold* was proclaimed and Crowned King at *Oxford*, by *Elnothus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1036.

Harold succeedeth his father *Canutus*.

His plot to intercept Competitors.

His cruelty against his Brother in law *Alfred*.

Called Harefoot for his swift running.

Harold having now attained the Crown, was not so jealous of his brother *Hardiknute*, as of his Mother in Law *Queen Emma*, and her Sons by King *Ethelred* who were beyond Sea, and therefore how to secure himself against these was his first care. For effecting whereof, he framed a Letter, as written by *Queen Emma*, to her two Sons *Edward* and *Alfred*; instigating them to attempt the Crown usurped by *Harold*, against their Right: to which Letter, coming first to the hands of *Alfred*, he suspecting no fraud, returned answer, that he would shortly come over, and follow her Counsel. And thereupon with a small Fleet, and some few Souldiers, lent him by *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, he took the Sea for *England*, where coming to shore, Earl *Godwyn* met him, and bound himself by Oath to be his guide to his Mother *Q. Emma*, but being wrought firm for *Harold*, he led him and his company a contrary way, and lodged them at *Guilford*, making known to King *Harold* what he had done, who presently committed them all to slaughter, sparing only every tenth man, for service of sale. Prince *Alfred* himself he sent Prisoner to the Isle of *Ely*, where having his eyes inhumanely put out, in grief and torment he ended his life. Some add a more horrible kind of cruelty, as that his belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawn out, and fastened to a stake, his body pricked with Needles, or Poignards, and forced about till all his Entrails were extracted. This done, then he set upon *Queen Emma*, confiscating her Goods, and banished her the Realm. And now further to secure himself, he kept the Seas with sixteen Danish Ships, to the maintenance whereof, he charged the *English* with great payments; by which, if he procured the safety of his Person, he certainly procured the hatred of his Subjects. This King for his swiftness in running was called Harefoot, but though by his swiftness he outran his Brother for the Kingdom, yet could he not run so fast, but that death quickly overtook him: For having reigned only four years and some moneths, he dyed at *Oxford*, and was buried at *Westminster*, having never had Wife or Children.

Of the Third and last DANISH King in England.

Hardiknute succeedeth *Harold*.

St. Clement *Danes*, why so called.

His intemperance in diet.

He imposeth Ship-money upon his Subjects.
He dies suddenly.

King *Harold* being dead, the Lords to make amends for their former neglect, send now for *Hardiknute*, and offer him their Allegiance, who accepteth their offer, and thereupon taking Sea, arrived upon the Coast of *Kent*, the sixth day after he had set sail out of *Denmark*; and with great pomp conveyed to *London*, was there Crowned King by *Elnothus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1040. His first Act, was to be revenged of his deceased Brother *Harold*, whose body he caused to be digged up, and thrown into the *Thames*, where it remained till a Fisherman found it, and buried it in the Church-yard of St. *Clement* without *Temple-Bar*, commonly called St. *Clement Danes*, because it was the burying place of the *Danes*, as some write. But towards his Mother and half Brother Prince *Edward*, he shewed true natural affection, inviting them both to return into *England*; where he received them with all the honour, that from a Son or Brother could be expected.

But now, as the King *Harold*, for his swiftness in running, was surnamed Harefoot; so this King for his intemperance in dyet, might have been surnamed Swinefmouth, or *Bocca di Porco*; for his Tables were spread every day four times, and furnished with all kinds of curious dishes, as defighting in nothing but gormandizing and swilling; and as for managing the State, he committed it wholly to his Mother *Queen Emma*, and to the politick Earl of *Kent*, *Godwyn*; who finding this weakness in the King, began to think himself of aspiring; and to make the better way for it, he fought by all means to alien the Subjects hearts from the Prince; amongst other courses he caused him to lay heavy Taxes upon them, only for Ship-money to pay his *Danes*, amounting to two and thirty thousand pounds: which was so offensive to the people, that the Citizens of *Worcester* slew two of his officers, *Thurstan* and *Fendax*, that came to collect it. But this King had soon the reward of his intemperance; for in a solemn Assembly and banquet at *Lambeth*, revelling and carowing, he suddenly fell down without speech, or breath, after he had reigned only two years, and was buried at *Winchester*. His death was so welcome to his Subjects, that the day of his death is to this day commonly celebrated with open pastimes in the street, and is called

A called *Hocky-tide*, signifying scorn or contempt, which fell upon the *Danes* by his death. For with him ended the Reign of the *Danes* in *England*; after they had miserably afflicted the Kingdom, for the space of two hundred and forty years; though in Regal Government, but only six and twenty.

A day called *Hocky-tide*, and why.

Of ENGLISH Kings again, and first of EDWARD the Confessour.

B King *Hardiknute* dying without issue, as having never been married, and the *Danish* line clean extinguished, *Edward* for his Piety called the Confessour, half Brother to the deceased *Hardiknute*, and Son to King *Ethelred* by his Wife *Queen Emma*, was by a general consent admitted King of *England*, and was Crowned at *Winchester* by *Edsine* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, on *Easter* day, in the year 1042. being then of the age of forty years. He was born at *Islip*, near to *Oxford*, and after his Fathers death, for safety sent into *France*, to the Duke of *Normandy* his Mothers Brother: from whence he now came to take upon him the Crown of *England*. His Acts for gaining the peoples love, were first, the remitting the yearly tribute of forty thousand pounds, gathered by the name of *Danegilt*, which had been imposed by his Father, and for forty years together paid out of all mens Lands, but only the Clergy; and then from the divers Lawes of the *Mercians*, *West Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, he selected the best, and made of them one body certain, and written in Latin, being in a sort the Fountain of those which at this day we term the Common Laws, though the formes of pleading, and process therein, were afterward brought in by the Conquerour. The reign of this King was very peaceable: Only in his sixth year, the *Danish* Pirats entered the Port of *Sandwich*; which with all the Sea-coasts of *Essex* they spoiled, and then in *Flanders* made merchandise of their prey. As likewise the *Irish*, with thirty ships entered *Severn*, and with the assistance of *Griffith* King of *Southwales*, burnt or slew all in their way, till at last, *Reese* the Brother of *Griffith* was slain at *Bulenden*, and his head presented to King *Edward* at *Glocester*. His Domestical troubles were only by Earl *Godwin* and his Sons; who yet after many contentations and affronts were reconciled, and *Godwin* received again into as great favour as before. But although King *Edward* forgave his Treasons, yet the Divine Providence did not; for soon after as he sat at Table with the King, on *Easter* Monday, he was suddenly stricken with death, and on the Thursday following dyed, and was buried at *Winchester*. Some make his death more exemplar, as that justifying himself for Prince *Alfreds* death, he should pray to God, that if he were any way guilty of it, he might never swallow down one morsel of bread, and thereupon by the just Judgement of God was choaked by the first morsel he offered to eat.

Edward the Confessour succeeds Hardiknute.

He remits Danegilt.

He ordained the Common Laws.

Earl Godwyn punished by the Divine hand.

In this Kings time such abundance of snow fell in *January*, continuing till the middle of *March* following, that almost all Cattel and Fowl perished, and therewith an excessive dearth followed.

Extremity of Snow.

Two Acts are related of this King, that seem nothing correspondent to the general opinion E had of his Virtue, one concerning his Mother, the other touching his Wife. That concerning his Mother *Queen Emma* was this, that because after King *Ethelreds* death, she married the *Danish* King *Cnutus*, and seemed to favour her issue by him, more then her issue by King *Ethelred*, therefore he disposset her of all her Goods; and committed her to custody, in the Abbey of *Worwell*; and more then this, so far hearkned to an aspersion cast upon her, of unchast familiarity with *Alwyne* Bishop of *Winchester*, that for her Purgation, she was fain to passe the tryal of Fire Ordeal, which was in this manner; Nine Plow-shares red hot were laid in unequal distance, which she must passe bare-foot and blindfold, and if she passed them unhurt, then she was judged Innocent, if otherwise Guilty. And this tryal she passed, and came off fairly, to the great astonishment of all beholders. The other touching his Wife was this; He had married F *Editha* the beautiful, and indeed virtuous daughter of Earl *Godwyn*, and because he had taken displeasure against the Father, he would shew no kindness to the Daughter; he had made her his wife, but conversed not with her as his Wife, only at board, but not at bed, or if at bed, no other wise then *David* with *Abishag*, and yet was content to hear her accused of Incontinency, whereof if she were guilty, he could not be innocent. So as, what the virtues were, for which after his death he should be reputed a *Saint*, doth not easily appear. It seems he was chaste, but not without injury to his Wife; Pious, but not without ungratefulness to his Mother; Just in his present government, but not without neglect of Posterity; for through his want of providence in that point, he left the Crown to so doubtful succession, that soon after his decease it was translated out of *English* into *French*, and the Kingdom made servile to a fourth forain Nation.

Queen Emma passeth the tryal of Fire Ordeal.

Mat. West.

G One Ability he had which raised him above the pitch of ordinary Kings, and yet at this day is ordinary with Kings, that by his only touching and laying his hand upon it, he cured a Disease, which from his Curing, is called, *The Kings Evil*. His Mother *Queen Emma*, in memory of the nine Plow-shares she had passed in her Tryal, gave nine Manors to the Minister of *Winchester*, and himself remembering the wrong he had done her, bestowed on the same place, the Island of *Portland* in *Dorsetshire*, being about seven miles in compass. He made also of a little Monastery in the west of *London*, by the river of *Thames*, a most beautiful Church, (called of the place *Westminster*) where he provided for his own Sepulchre, and another dedicated to St. *Margaret*,

The first King that cured the Kings evil.

He builds Westminster standing

He first used
the Broad
Seal.

He died in the
Painted Cham-
ber at Westmin-
ster.

standing without the Abbey. This of *Westminster* he endowed with many rich revenues, and confirmed his Charters under his Broad Seal, being the first of the Kings of *England*, who used that large and stately impression in their Charters and Parents. He founded also the Colledge of *St. Mary Otterey* in *Devonshire*, and gave unto it the Village of *Otterey*, and removed the Bishops See from *Cridington* to *Excester*, as a place of far more dignity: and when he had reigned the space of three and twenty years and six moneths, he ended his life, the fourth of *January*, in that room of his Palace at *Westminster*, which is now called the *Painted Chamber*, in the year 1066. and was buried in the Church at *Westminster*, which he had builded.

Of HAROLD the second English King after the Danes.

Harold suc-
ceeds Edward
the Confessor:
setting the
Crown upon
his own head,

Edgar Atheling
made Earl of
Oxford.

King Edward the Confessor, being himself without issue, had in his life time sent into *Hungary* for his Nephew Edward called the Outlaw, the Son of *Edmund Ironside*; with a purpose to design him his Successour in the Crown, but he dying soon after his coming into *England*, King Edward then gave his son Edgar the name of *Etheling*; as to say, Prince Edgar, meaning to design him for his Successour, but being prevented by death, before the Successor was fully established; and Edgar Atheling, though he had right, yet being young, and not of power to make good his Right, Harold the Son of Earl *Godwyn* steps into the Throne, and never standing upon ceremonies, set himself the Crown upon his own head, wherein, though as a violator of holy Rites, he offended the Clergy, yet not any either of Clergy or Laity, durst oppose him, as being at that time the most martial man in the Kingdom; and such a one, as the state of the Realm stood at that time in need of, and besides his own worthiness had the assistance of *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, the two great Earls of *Yorkshire* and *Chester*, whose sister *Algyth* he had married. It is true withall, that King Edward had appointed the Crown after his own decease, sometime to *William* Duke of *Normandy*, sometimes to *Edgar Atheling*, and sometimes to this *Harold*, so as he was Crowned by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, as not coming in by intrusion or wrong, but by the appointment of King Edward, though that appointment of King Edward, was rather to make him Regent, during the minority of *Edgar*, then to make him absolute King; but howsoever being once in the Throne, he was then able to make his own Title, and to make Prince *Edgar* some amends, he created him Earl of *Oxford*, which was indeed to use him like a Childe, take a way a Jewel, and please him with an Apple. Yet *Harold* having once gotten into the Throne, he carryed himself with great Valour and Justice, for the time he fate in it, which was but very short, (only nine moneths) as being indeed but tottering from the very beginning, and that chiefly by means of his own Brother *Toussayne*, who by diverting his Forces to suppress a Rebellion, made him of lesse force to resist an Invasion. But now that we have shewed how *Harold* entred the Throne, we must forbear to shew how he was cast out, till we come to him that cast him out, who because he was not only of another Family, but of another Nation, we must necessarily take the beginning from a deeper root; and indeed, seeing in him, we shall joyn our Island to the Continent, which is a larger world, our Kings hereafter will afford a larger Extent for matter of Discourse then heretofore they have done.

THE
L I F E
O F
KING WILLIAM
THE FIRST:
Called the
CONQUEROUR.

His Parentage and Descent.

A Here were six Dukes of *Normandy* in *France*, in a direct line succeeding from Father to Son. The first was *Rollo*, who of a private man in *Denmark*, coming forth with the exuberancy of his Nation, wrested by force of Armes from *Charles* the Simple King of *France*, to be made Duke of *Normandy*. The second was *William* his Son, called *Long-Espee*, or *Long-Sword*. The third was *Richard* his Son, called the *Hardy*, who had *Richard*, and a Daughter called *Emma*, married to *Ethelred* King of *England*, Father of *Edward* the Confessor. The fourth was *Richard* the second, his Son, called the *Good*. The fifth was *Richard* the third his Son, who by a first Wife had three Sons, *Richard*, *Robert*, and *William*, and by a second, two other Sons, *William* Earl of *Argues*, and *Mauger*, Archbishop of *Roan*. So as *Richard* his eldest Son by his first Wife succeeded him by the name of *Richard* the fourth, and dying without issue, the Dukedom descended to *Robert* his second Son by his first Wife; which *Robert* was Father to our *William* the Conquerour, of whom it is thus recorded; That riding one time abroad, he happened to passe by a company of Countrey Maids that were a dancing, where staying a while to look upon them, he was so taken with the handsomeness and graceful carriage of one of them whose name was *Arlotte*, a Skinners Daughter (from whence as some think our word Harlot comes) that affection commanding him, and authority her, he caused her that night to be brought to his bed; where being together, what was done or said between them is no matter for History to record, though some Historians have recorded both; making her not so modest as was fit for a Maid: only ten moneths after, it appeared that at this time our Duke *William* was begotten; who proving a man of extraordinary spirit, we may attribute it to the heat of affection in which he was begotten. Neither did there want before and at his birth forerunning tokens which presaged his future greatness: for his mother *Arlotte* being great with him, had a dream like that of *Mandane*, the Mother of *Cyrus* the first *Persian* Monarch; namely that her bowels were extended and dilated over all *Normandy* and *England*. Also as soon as he was born, being laid on the chamber floor, with both his hands he took up rushes, and shutting his little fists, held them very fast; which gave occasion to the Gossiping wives to congratulate *Arlotte* in the birth of such a boy, and the Midwife cri'd out, the childe would prove a King.

An. Dom.
1067.

The race of the
Dukes of *Normandy*.

A

*His succeeding in the Dukedom, notwithstanding his Bastardy.*Bastardy no
bar to succeſ-
ſion.Princes to ap-
point their
ſucceſſours.

IT appears by many examples, that Bastardy in those daies was no bar to succession, till a law was afterward made to make it a bar. It brought some disgrace where the Mother was mean, but no impediment where the Father was Noble; and even his Bastardy seemed to have some allay, if it be true (as some write) that his Father took the said *Arlotte* afterward to be his Wife: and yet perhaps he had not the Dukedom so much by succession, as by gift. For when he was about nine years old, his Father calling his Nobility together, caused them to swear Allegiance to this base Son of his, and to take him for their Liege Lord after his decease. Neither was this in those daies unfrequent, for Princes to confer their Principalities after their own deceases upon whom they pleased; counting it as lawful to appoint Successours after them, as Substitutes under them; even in our time and Kingdom the Duke of *Northumberland* prevailed with King *Edward* the sixth, to exclude his two sisters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and to appoint the Lady *Jane Grey*, Daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, to succeed him.

B

His Education and Tuition in his Minority.

HIS Father having declared and appointed him to be his Successor, went soon after (whether out of devotion, or to do Penance for procuring his Brothers death, whereof he was suspected) into the Holy Land, in which Journey he died, having left the tuition of his young Son to his two Brothers, and the Guardianship to the King of *France*, in whose Court for a time he was brought up. A strange confidence, to commit the tuition of a Son that was base, to Pretenders that were legitimate, and to a King of *France*, who aimed at nothing more, then to reannex this Dukedom to his Crown. But it seems his confidence was grounded upon the proximity of blood in his Brothers, and upon the merits of his own service formerly done to the King of *France*; which though it proved well enough with him, yet is not to be taken into example to follow.

C

D

His Troubles in his Minority.

FIRST, *Roger de Tresney*, who derived his Pedegree directly from *Rollo*, and had won much Honour by his Valour in the Wars, (notwithstanding the Oath of Allegiance he had formerly taken) takes exception to his Bastardy, and invites complices to assist him in recovering the Dukedom to a legitimate Race: a fair pretext if the Fate of Duke *William* had not been against it; who though he were himself but young, and could not do much in his own person, yet the Divine Providence raised him up friends that supplied him with Assistance, and particularly *Roger de Beaumont*, by whose valour this *Roger de Tresney*, with his two Brothers, was defeated and slain. After *Roger de Tresney*, *William de Arques* his Uncle layes claim to the Duchy, and assisted by the King of *France* comes to a battail, but by the Valour of Count *Gifford*, the Dukes General, was likewise defeated; and these were troubles before he arrived to seventeen years of age. After this, one *Guy* Earl of *Burgoyne*, Grandchilde to *Richard* the second, Duke of *Normandy*, grew sensible also of his Right to the Dukedom, and joyning with Viscount *Neele*, and the Earl of *Bessin*, two powerful *Normans*, conspired Duke *William's* death, and had affected it, if a certain fool about him, had not stoln away in the night, to the place where the Duke was, and never left knocking and crying at the gate, till he was admitted to his presence, willing him to flie for his life instantly, or he would be murdered. The Duke considering, that being related by a Fool, it was like to be the more palpable, and that there might be danger in staying, none ingoing, rode instantly away, all alone, toward *Falaise*, his principal Castle, but missing his way, he happened to passe where a Gentleman was standing at his door, of whom he asked the way, and was by him, as knowing him, directed; which he had no sooner done, but the conspiratours came presently inquiring if such a one had not passed that way, which the Gentleman affirmed, and undertook to be their guide to overtake him, but leading them of purpose a contrary way, the Duke by this means came safely to *Falaise*; and from thence journeys to the King of *France*, complaining of his injuries; and imploring his aide, as one that was his homager, and committed to his care by his servant his Father. The King of *France* moved with his distress, and remembrance of his Fathers merits, though he wished he was lesse then he was, yet he so aided him, that he made him greater then he was; for himself in person, suffering much in the Battail, procured him the Victory. By which we may see, that Folly, and Fortune, and even Enemies themselves are all assistants to the Destinies; or to say better, indeed to the divine Providence. Many other affronts were offered him, some by meaner Princes; some afterwards by the King of *France* himself, who was now grown jealous of his Greatness; all which he encountered with such dexterity, that made his Bastardy, as it were become Legitimate, and Virtue her self to grow proud of his person.

E

F

G

A Fool saves
Duke William's
life.

His

A

His Carriage afterwards in Peace.

BY this time he was come to the age of two and twenty years, and where all this while he had shewed himself a valiant General in War, he now began to shew himself a provident Governour in Peace, composing and ordering his state, wherein he so carried himself, that as his Subjects did both fear and love him, so his neighbouring Princes did both fear and hate him, or if not hate him, at least emulate him.

B

His incitements for invading of England.

Duke William had incitements to invade *England*, and some shew of a title. To understand this more fully, we will reflect upon some passages transacted betwixt the two former Kings, *Edward* the Confessor, and *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwin*. And this recapitulation will give some light, and is very pertinent to our intended purpose.

Earl *Godwin* falling out with King *Edward*, the business was carried with such heat on both sides, that the Earl and all his Allies were in a manner banished the Realm. *Godwin* makes his refuge to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, *Harold* his Son into *Ireland*. *Emma* the Kings Mother deceasing, they both return with a great Navy, and strong Army. The Nobility fearing a civil War, labour for a reconciliation betwixt the King and the Exiles: but *Edward* jealous of *Godwins* arts and treachery, would by no means hearken to it. At last upon conditions they are restored to the Kings favour and their Countrey: Hostages are delivered; *Walnoth* the Son of *Goodwyn*, and *Harun* his Grandchild; whom the King for more security sends into *Normandy*, there to be detained by Duke *William* his kinsman. After the death of *Godwin*, *Harold* succeeds him Earl of *Kent*, who craves leave of the King to go to *Normandy*, and bring back his Brother and kinsman: the King in this manner answers him; *Harold* you may do your pleasure, and I may permit though will not consent, for I do foresee, that if you undertake this journey, it will prove to the ruine of the Kingdom, and your own confusion. *Harold* notwithstanding, obstinate in his resolution, after a tempestuous voyage, arrives in *France*, where he is taken prisoner by the Lord of *Pontive*, and at the command and threats of Duke *William* dismiss; and though first rob'd of his treasures, and choicest things he transported, at last sent into *Normandy*: where relating the cause of his journey, he was honourably entertained, and fairly promised, unless himself were the obstacle, all things should succeed as he wished. After some time the Duke taking his opportunity entred into private discourse with him, and told him, that K. *Edward* being brought up in his youth together with him, had faithfully promised him, that if ever he came to be King of *England*, he would make him his heir, and settle the Kingdom on him. Wherefore *Harold* (quoth the Duke) if you will assist me in gaining that Crown, when I come over into *England*, you shall have your Brother and Nephew: and to make our tie of friendship the stronger,

E you shall promise to take one of my Daughters for Wife, and send your Sister hither, whom I will bestow on one of my chief Lords; you shall also promise me to secure the Cattle of *Dover* for my service; and I promise you that when I am King of *England*, I will deny you nothing, which in reason you shall demand. *Harold* having heard the Duke, was much perplexed, but seeing himself in such straights, that he must either venture on a promise, or hazard an imprisonment, condescends to all the Duke demanded, and for more security, with a solemn Oath confirms his agreement; and returning into *England* acquaints *Edward* with all these passages, who replied, Did not I know *Williams* disposition, and foretell thee how much mischief this journey would bring upon *England*? Duke *William* having the Word of *Edward*, and the Oath of *Harold*, had sufficient obligations to expect the Kingdom: but hearing of the death of *Edward*, and that

F *Harold* was Crowned King; he thought himself not more forgotten by *Edward*, then wronged by *Harold*, and therefore sent a messenger to put him in minde of King *Edward*'s promise, and his own Oath. *Harold* returns answer, that he could not send his Sister over, because she was dead, but if *William* would have her Carcase, he should. Secondly, that he could neither promise, nor dispose of a Kingdom, which was none of his own. Lastly, he should be injurious to his own Nobility if he should without their consent and advice take a stranger for Wife. *William* having heard his answer was as yet patient, and again sending to *Harold* mildly, demands of him at last to take his Daughter for his Wife and Queen; otherwise by force of armes he would recover that Kingdom, which was his own by the promise of King *Edward*. To this *Harold* peremptorily replies, that as he feared not the one, so by no means would he do the other. Duke

G *William* thus slighted by *Harold* endeavours to make him honest by force, and assured himself he should find him a weak Enemy, who had proved so perjured a friend. These were the incitements which caused *William* in his declining age to undertake this expedition; but who can think himself too old for a Kingdom, when *Galba* above 73 years of age buckled on an Armour on his unwieldy limes for the attaining of the Roman Empire?

The Reasons that facilitated his Conquest of England.

Duke William's number of ships to invade England.

King Harold prepares to resist Duke William.

Duke William at his landing takes a fall.

An. Dom. 1066.

Kentish men are to be placed in the forefront of the battail.

Duke William useth a Stratagem.

Huntingdon.

King Harold is slain.

Duke William incensed with Harold's answers, acquaints the Nobility with his purpose, who with some add consented to aid him, as likewise many other great Lords of France, but specially Baldwin Earl of Flanders, whose daughter he had married: and who being at that time Guardian of the young King of France, procured aide from him also; and to make the Enterprize the more successful, Pope Alexander the second sent him a Banner with an Agnus of Gold, and one of the hairs of St. Peter. So as the preparation of the Duke, both by Sea and Land, was very great, having three hundred sail of Ships, and as some write, 890, and as one Norman, above a thousand, and as *Gemeticensis*, three thousand: and though Harold had likewise provided a warlike Fleet to encounter him, yet it was at that time unfortunately diverted another way; for *Toussayne* his Brother, being then in rebellion in the North, and Harold Harfager King of Norway, at the same time invading those parts, and perhaps upon a brute, that the Dukes Fleet was not yet ready to come forth, removed both his Fleet and Army thither: where though he got the Victory at Stamford, with the death both of his Brother *Toussayne*, and of the King of Norway, yet it made way for the Duke to land quietly, and he entered the Kingdom, as easily as one may enter a house, when the doors are all left open. By this means King Harold's shipping (the best wall of defence to an Island) was utterly frustrate: and as for his Land Forces, they were by his Battail at Stamford, exceedingly both weakened and impaired; yet hearing that Duke William was landed at *Pemsey*, not far from *Hastings* in *Sussex*, he repaired thither with all speed, and gathering together his broken Forces, and increasing them by all the means he could, made himself ready to give the Duke battail. Duke William in the mean time, as soon as he had landed his men, sent his Ships presently away, that there might be no thinking of any thing, but either Death or Victory. And then going himself on land, it is said, his foot slipped, and he fell down; which some that stood by, taking for an evill sign, No, (saith he) I have by this, taken possession of this Land. And indeed prelates are but as *Animus ejus qui presagit*, as in this Dukes fall it afterwards fell out. The like confidence of spirit shewed he not long after, when the Armies were ready to joyn; for he that put on the Dukes Armour, whether out of haste, or out of perturbation of minde, putting the forepart behind, and the backpart before: the Duke seeing it merrily said, I see now by this inversion of my Armour, that my Dukedom will be turned into a Kingdom: taking that for a good omen, which some other of weaker spirits would have taken for a bad. Many wayes of composition between Duke William and King Harold were propounded, yet Harold would hearken to none, as nothing doubting of successe, and perhaps thinking it a disgrace, to capitulate for that, which was now his own: and when one of his Brothers called *Gyrth*, being lesse interested, and therefore clearer sighted, intreated him to consider what a fearful thing it was to break an Oath, which he so solemnly had sworn; Harold seemed to conceive, that nothing which he did being a private man, could be of force to binde him, now being a Prince; and so on the fourteen day of October, being Saturday, in the year 1066. (which day he liked the better, because it was his Birth-day, hoping, that the day of his Birth would not so much degenerate, to prove the Day of his Death, though even this also bred no good blood to the Action: For the Souldiers of Harold, thinking thereby to honour their Kings Birth-day, spent the night before in revelling and drinking, where the Souldiers of the Duke out of consideration of their next daies work, spent the night in quietness and devotion) they joyned battail, (the *Kentish-men* being placed in the fore-front, as by an ancient custom is their due, and King Harold with his *Londoners*, leading the main battail) where though their Armies were not much unequal in number, (for they were each of them near about threescore thousand men) yet there was great oddes in the expertness of their Souldiers, and more in the advantage of their weapons: for, the Duke had with him all the flower of France and Flanders, where King Harold had lost his best men, in his late battail; and for advantage of weapons, the Normans had long Bowes and Arrowes, which among the English at that time were not at all in use: what marvel that the Normans got the Victory, though King Harold losing his life, yet lost no reputation; and though the English Souldiers shewed no lesse valour, in being conquered, then the Normans did in conquering? One circumstance may not be omitted, that King Harold as an expert General, had ordered his men in so firm a Body, that no force of the Normans could disorder their Ranks, till Duke William used a Stratagem, commanding his men to retire, and to counterfeit flight; by which he drew the English on, upon a hollow ground, covered with earth, whereinto many of them fell and perished, and besides into an ambush of his horsemen, which unexpectedly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. Withal, there seems one great error to have been committed (at least, if it were an error, and not rather a necessity) that there was not a supplemental Army provided; (as his Brother *Gyrth* would have had it) which might have come on if the first had failed, and would have been of great advantage against a wearied Army. But when *Sic visum est superis*, all humane force is weak and cannot withstand, all humane Providence is unprovided, and cannot prevent. It is true, Duke William that day fought so valiantly, that he had three horses killed under him: but King Harold shewed no lesse valour, in killing many Normans with his own hands: so as the fight continued doubtful along time; till at last, King Harold being stricken into the b.ains with an arrow, fell down dead: upon whose falling, a

A base Norman Souldier, cut off one of his thighes, while he was yet breathing: which Duke William hearing, was so much offended, that he caused the Souldier to be disarmed, and with shame cashiered. The body of King Harold, his Mother Thyra offered a great sum, to have it delivered to her; but the Duke out of the noblenesse of his minde, would take no money; but delivered it freely, and then it was buried in Waltham Abbey; which himself had begun to build; at least, to repair. But here Gyraldus Cambrensis tels a strange story, that Harold was not slain in the Battail, but only wounded and lost his left eye, and then escaped by flight to Chester, where he afterwards led a holy Anchorets life, in the Cell of St. James, fast by St. Johns Church.

B How Duke William proceeded after his Victory at Hastings.

AS his Valour won him the Victory, so his Victory won him a Crown; that now of an old Duke, he was suddenly become a young King: and indeed, nothing so much renews life, and makes the years in a manner young again, as addition of honour, specially when it is the fruit of merit. First therefore, having given publique thanks to God for his happy successe, he led his Army towards London, not the direct way (perhaps doubting of some new encounter) but coasting about through part of Kent, through Sussex, Surry, Hampshire, and Berkshire, where at Wallingford he passed over the Thames; and then through Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hartfordshire, untill he came to Barkhamstead, where there came unto him Aldred Arch-bishop of York, Woolstan Bishop of Worcester, Wilfere Bishop of Hereford, and many other Prelates, accompnied with Edgar Atheling, with Earl Edwyn and Marchar, Brothers, and men of the greatest sway in the Kingdom, and many others of the Nobility. It is true, upon the defeat at Hastings, Earl Edwyn and Marchar, had a purpose to set up Edgar Atheling, as next Heir of the Royall blood; and Grandchilde to Edmund Ironside, and so beloved of the people, that he was called their Darling: but considering his young years, and other inabilities, but specially finding the minds of the Bishops, (who at that time bare all the sway) to be otherwise inclined, they desisted from that course, and thus the Duke without any opposition, coming to London, was received by Bishops, and Lords, and all, with great joy, though small gladnesse, and if he had not their hearts, yet he had their knees, for in most humble manner they submitted themselves to him, acknowledging him for their Sovereign Lord, and upon Christmas day after, he was Crowned at Westminster by Aldred Archbishop of York, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, not being admitted to do that office, for some defect in his Investiture; and perhaps for some asperion in his manners,

Duke William is Crowned King of England.

How he rewarded his Followers.

THOUGH he hath had the name of Conqueror, yet he used not the Kingdom as gotten by Conquest, for he took no mans living from him, nor dispossessed any of their goods, but such only, whose demerit made unworthy to hold them; as appears by his Act to one Warren a Norman, to whom he had given the Castle of Sherborne in Norfolk; for when Sherborne, who was owner of it, acquainted the King, that the Castle was his, & that he had never born Armes against him; he presently commanded Warren, to deliver it quietly up unto him. Only vacancies of Offices, and filling up the places of those who were slain or fled, were the present means he made use of, for preferring his Followers. One special preferment we cannot omit, that where one Herlowyn a Noble man in Normandy, had married his Mother Arlotte, and had by her a Son named Hugh Lupus, he gave to the said Hugh, the Earl dom of Chester, to hold of him as freely by his Sword, as himself held England by his Crown, by vertue of which Grant, the said Hugh ordained under him four Barons, Nigel he made Baron of Halton; Malbank, Baron of Nantwich; Eustace, Baron of Mampase; and Vernon, Baron of Shipbrooke: Such an Honour, as no Subject before or since, ever enjoyed the like. Also he gave to his Nephew Alane Earl of Britain, all the lands which sometimes belonged to Earl Edwyn: and this Earl of Britain the better to secure the Kings gift, built him a strong Castle near to his Manor of Gillingham, and named it Richmond; from which Castle the Earls of Richmond bear their titles of honour.

He useth his conquest moderately.

What means he used for securing himself in the Kingdom.

BESIDES the Oath of Fealty, which he took of all his Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, at his Coronation; in Lent following going into Normandy, he took along with him the greatest part of the great men of the Kingdom, of whom, Edwin and Marchar, the two Earls of Northumberland and Mercia, Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury, Edgar Atheling, Walthoeff Son to Syward formerly Earl of Northumberland, and Agelnoth Abbot of Glaistenbury were the chief; leaving the care of the Kingdom in his absence to Odo Bishop of Bayeux, his Brother by the Mother; and to William Fitz Osborne, whom he had made Earl of Hereford: and to abate the greatnesse of the Prelates, which at that time was grown in a manner unlimited, he

D

ordained,

He takes from
the Clergie all
Temporall
Authority.

He takes from
the people all
their armour.

He ordains
Counre feu at
eight a clock.

ordained that from thenceforth they should not command with any Temporall Authority what-
soever. And because the common people are no lesse to be feared for their number, then the
Nobility for their greatnesse, he first took from them all their Armour, to the end, that leaving
them without sungs, they might afterward be but D. oans. And because there is seldome any
danger from singular numbers, but all the danger lieth from plurality: therefore to prevent
conspiracies and combinations, which are commonly contrived in the night, he commanded
that in all Towns and Villages a Bell should be rung at eight a clock in the Evening, and that
in every house they should then put out their Fire and Lights (which was called *Counre feu*) and
goe to Bed. And for more security he erected Castles in the most doubtfull places of the King-
dome. One at *Tork*, another at *Lincolne*, a third at *Nottingham*, (at that time called *Snottingham*)
and a fourth at *Hastings*, where he first landed. By these means the Kingdome was quiet all
the time of his being away in *Normandy*, saving only that *Edrick* the Forester, in the County of
Hereford, calling in to his aide the Kings of *Wales*, made some small disturbance, And indeed
all the States of the Kingdome might in his very person finde something to make them apt to to-
lerate his Government. For first, the People might think themselves in a sort advanced, being now
made members of a greater body; when the Dukedome of *Normandy* should come to be annex-
ed to the Kingdome of *England*; and by experience of his good Government being a Duke, they
might well hope, he would not govern worse being made a King. And the Nobility might be
well content, as having a King of their former Kings choosung, and though a stranger, yet no
Alien, as having in him many veins of the same blood, and therefore likely also to have some
veins of the same goodnesse of their good King *Edward*. But specially the Clergy could not chuse
but be content, as having a King who came commended to them, by a commending as strong as a
commanding, the Popes Benediction.

What Troubles or insurrections were during his Reign.

An. Reg. 2.

Edgar Atheling
is cast upon the
shore of Scot-
land.

Whose Sister
Margaret King
Malcolme mar-
ries.

But the body of a State being more obnoxious to cradities and ill humours, then the state of
a Natural body; it is impossible to continue long without dilttempers; notwithstanding any
preservatives that can be applied. And therefore in the second year of his reign, brake forth
the discontentment of *Edgar Atheling*, justly the first, as having most cause, being the next of
the late Royall blood, and therefore most apt to be sensible of servitude; who taking along with
him his mother *Agatha*, and his two sisters, *Margaret* and *Christine*; stole secretly away to
Sea, with intention to passe into *Hungary*, the Countrey where he was born; but by contrary winds
was cast upon the coasts of *Scotland*, where the King *Malcolme*, not only most kindly entertained
him, but for a stricter bond of kindnesse took his Sitter *Margaret* to Wife, by whom he had ma-
ny children, out of which, in the second Generation after, a match was found, by which in the
perion of King *Henry* the second, the *Saxon* and *Norman* blood were conjoynd, the union where-
of continues in the race of our Kings of *England* to this day. Not long after to *Edgar* in
Scotland, came the two great Earls, *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, brothers to *Agatha* the late King
Harolds Wife; also *Hereward*, *Gospatrik*, and *Syward*, with many other Lords; and shortly after
Stigand and *Aldred* Archbishops, with divers of the Clergy. And these Lords being together
in *Scotland*, did but watch opportunity, to recover that, which for want of taking opportunity
they had lost; And assisted by the *Scots*, they invaded the North parts, spoyling the Countrey,
and killing many for the fault they had themselves committed, but all they could do, was but to
forage the Countrey, and so return.

An. Reg. 3.

The Danes in-
vaded England:
and at *Tork*
slay 3000.
Normans.

King William
purchaseth
their departure
with a great
sum of money.

Northumber-
land left deso-
late 60. miles
together.

After this, in the third year of his reign, the two Sonnes of *Swayne* King of *Denmark*, *Harold*
and *Cnutus*, with a fleet of 240. ships, entred *Humber*, and invaded the North parts, with whom
the *English* Lords in *Scotland* joyned, and foraged all the Countrey, till they came near to *Tork*.
When the *Normans* that were in the Town, to save the City, set fire on the suburbs; but the
fire not so contented, by assistance of a violent winde, took hold of the City it self, burning a
great part of it, and which perhaps was more worth then the City, a Library of excellent books;
and the *Normans* that were left in defence of the City, to the number of three thousand, were all
slain. King *William* hearing hereof was so much incensed, that with all speed he raised an Army,
and entred *Northumberland*, wasting the Country that already lay wast; and yet for all this great
rage, was contented with a great sum of money, to purchase the *Danes* departure. By these deva-
stations in many Shires of the Kingdome, but especially in *Northumberland*, so great a Dearth and
Famine followed, that men were glad to eat ho ses and dogs, cats and rats, and what else is most
abhorrent to nature; and between *Tork* and *Durham*, the space of 60. miles, for nine years together,
there was so utter desolation, as that neither any house was left standing, nor any ground tilled.

Anno Dom.
1076.

Many other insurrections there were in his reign; as at *Exceter*, at *Oxford*, in the Isle of *Ely*,
and many times by the *Scots* in the Northern parts; the most dangerous of all the conspiracies,
and most distast of him, was that of *Roger Fitz Aubre*, Earl of *Hereford*, *Ralph*, *Waher* Earl of
Norfolk and *Suffolk*, *Walthoeff* Earl of *Northumberland*, with *Eustace* Earl of *Boloignes*, (sent pur-
posely, as it was thought, by the King of *France* into *England* to incite and joyn with the con-
spirators:) *Ralph Waher* married the Sitter of *Roger* the young Earl of *Hereford*, contrary to the
expres commandement of *K. William*: at the solemnization of the marriage, these Lords conspire
to keep the King now in *Normandy*, and dispossess him of his sovereignty, which to perform, they
agreed

A agreed to joyn theirs with the *Danish* forces, whom they intended to call in. This was the most dangerous combination of all, it happening when he was out of *England* at the siege of *Dol*, a Cattle in *Britain* belonging to *Ralph Wader*, and defended against him by the King of *France*: and at such a time as almost all Christendome had declared their jealousies of him, and ill affections towards him. The King of *Scotland*, and Princes of *Wales* ready to assist the rebels at home; *Swaine* King of *Denmark* invading *England* with a Navie of 200. sail, to which *Drone* King of *Ireland* added 65. Ships. How much such an action did distaste and offend him, may be conjectured, by that most of these great noble men were either his kinsmen, or in affinity nearly allied to him. But *William* fortune secures him as well at home against traitors, as in the field against his enemies. This grand conspiracy is discovered by *Walthoeff* to *Lanfrank* Archb. of *Canterbury*, who perswades the Earl to go over to King *William* and inform him in what danger he was. Notwithstanding this discovery, *Roger* and *Ralph* persist in their intentions, raise forces to prosecute their designs: but by the diligence of *Odo* the Kings Brother, B. of *Bacon*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, and the Abbot of *Evesham*, were so prevented that they could never unite their forces. *Ralph* flies into *France*; *Roger* Earl of *Hereford* is taken, put in prison, and as some report, to death; *Walthoeff*, of all lamented, beheaded. But all these were easily suppressed, for they were but scattered Forces; *Et dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur*; whereas if they had united themselves into an army, they might perhaps have made it a War, which now were little more than Routs and Riots. Yet some write, that King *William* granted *Cumberland* to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, to hold from him conditionally, that the *Scots* should not attempt any thing prejudicial to the Crown of *England*, for which grant King *Malcolme* did him homage.

Malcolmebury.

B The greatest and last was an Insurrection raised in *Normandie*, by his Son *Robert*, the more dangerous because unnatural, for by the instigation and assistance of *Philip* King of *France*, (emulous now of King *William*'s greatness) he entered *Normandie*, and claimed it as in his own right. His father indeed had made him a promise of it long before, but *Robert* impatient of delay, as counting so long staying to be little better than disinheriting, endeavoured by strong hand to wrest it from his father. But his father King *William* hearing hereof, with a strong Army passeth over into *Normandie*, where in a battail meeting hand to hand with his Son, he was by him unhorsed, and hurt in the arme: but his Son perceiving him by his voyce to be his father, suddenly leaps off his horse, takes up his father, casts himself down at his feet, and humbly intreats his pardon, which as a father he easily grants, embraceth his Son, and ever after, the Son from the father had fatherly love; and the father from the Sonne a filial obedience. But though his father did thus pardon him, yet it seemes there is a *Nemesis*, or to say better, a Divine Providence, that did not pardon him; for after this, it is observed he never prospered in any thing he undertook. It cannot perhaps be discovered, whether the Kings severity begat his subjects Insurrections; or his subjects Insurrections the Kings severity; but which of them foever was the mother, it is certain they were nurses each of them to other. Yet after this, King *William* so far trusted his Son *Robert*, that he sent him with an Army against *Malcolme* King of *Scotland*, who had invaded *Northumberland*: but at the coming of Duke *Robert* retired: at which time, Duke *Robert* began the foundation of a Castle upon the River of *Tynes*; whereof the Town of *Newcastle* did after take both beginning and name: which before this time was called *Moncafter*. In his 20. year in *Whitsun* week, he honoured his Son *Henry* with the order of Knighthood, wherein what ceremony he used, is not certainly known; but it is worth observing, that before his time, the custome among the *Saxons* was; first, he who should receive the order of Knighthood, confessed himself in the evening to a Priest. Then he continued all that night in the Church; watching and applying himself to his private devotion. The next morning, he heard Masse, and offered his sword upon the Altar. After the Gospel was read, the sword was halowed, and with a benediction put about his neck. Lastly he communicated the mysteries of the blessed body of Christ; and from that time, remained a perfect Knight. But this custome of consecrating Knights, the *Normans* abhorred.

His son *Robert* riseth in armes against him,

He unharsheth his father,

F His aptnesse to forget Injuries.

Certainly there is no such goodnesse of nature, as aptnesse to be reconciled; of which vertue it seems King *William* had a large proportion, for he seldome remembered injuries after submission. *Edrick* the first that rebelled against him, he placed in Office near about him. *Gospatrick*, who had been a factious man, and a plotter of conspiracies against him, he made Earl of *Glocester*, and trusted him with managing a war against *Malcolme* King of *Scots*. *Eustace* Earl of *Boloigne*, who in the Kings absence in *Normandie* attempted to seise upon *Dover* Castle, he received afterward into great favour and respect. The Earls *Marchar* and *Syward*, with *Volnoth* the brother of *Harold*, a little before his death, he released out of prison. *Edgar*, who as next heir to the *Saxon* kings, had often attempted by Armes to recover his right, he not onely after twice defection pardoned, but gave him also allowance as a Prince: It is said twenty shillings a day, or rather a pound weight of silver, and other large livings beside; so as *Edgar* finding the sweetnesse of safety, and the pleasures of a Country life, spent the rest of his dayes (which were many) retired from Court, neither envying nor being envied. Only *Walthoeff* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Northampton*, of all the *English* Nobility was put to death in all the time of this Kings reign; and not he neither, till he had twice falsified his Oath of Allegiance.

Walthoeff Earl of *Northumberland*, the only Noble man put to death in all this Kings time.

Of new Acquests to this Kingdom, by this Kings means.

An. Regni 13 IN the thirteenth year of his reign, he subdued *Wales*, and made it tributary to him, as before in the seventh year of his reign, he brought *Malcolm King of Scots* to do him Homage, and thereupon to give him Hostages; that if *England* made him greater then he was before, a King of a Duke; he no lesse made *England* greater then it was before; three Kingdomes in one.

Of his Exactions and courses for raising of money.

The Roll of
Winton, or
Doomeday
book.

A Hyde of
Land, how
much it con-
tains.
Wardships or-
dained by K.
William.

For a groat in
weight wan-
ting, a thou-
sand marks
exacted.

THIS Taxations were many in number, so they were various in kinde, not alwayes bringing in money directly, but sometimes obliquely saving it. The first Tax he laid upon his Subjects was in the first year of his reign, after his return out of *Normandy*; a grievous Tax all Writers say, but none what it was. In the third year of his reign he ransacked all Monasteries, and all the gold and silver of either Chalice or Shrines, he took to his own use. Moreover, whereas many of the more principal, and richer persons of the Realm, fearing King *Williams* cruelty, and insatiable desire of moneys, deposited their Treasures, Jewels and chiefest commodities in the Monasteries and Abbeyes, as in sure sanctuaries to be safely kept for their own uses; the King violently seized on all for himself, neither regarding the sanctity of the places, nor what injustice he did to his own subjects, but as a Conquering Tyrant made their poverty his own security. Likewise he seized all Bishops and Abbots what number of Souldiers they should finde to serve him in his wars: also the strangers which he maintained in Pay, he dispersed into Religious houses, and some also among the Nobility to be maintained at their charge. Many other Taxations he made, but last of all in the eighteenth year of his reign, by the advice of *Roger Earl of Hereford*, he caused the whole Realm to be described in a Censual Roll, (whereof he took a Precedent from King *Alfred*) so as there was not one Hyde of Land, but both the yearly rent, and the owner thereof was therein set down: How many Ploughlands, what Pastures, Fens or Marishes, what Woods, Farmes, and Tenements were in every Shire, and what every one was worth: Also how many Villains every man had; what Beasts, what Cattel, what Fees, what other goods, what rent or commodity his Possessions did yeeld. This book was called the Roll of *Winton*, because it was kept in the City of *Winchester*. By the *English* it was called Doomesday book, either by reason of the generality thereof, or else corruptly, in stead of *Domus Dei* book, for that it was laid in the Church of *Winchester*, in a place called *Domus Dei*. According to this Roll Taxations were imposed, sometimes two shillings, and at this time six shillings upon every Hyde of Land, (a Hyde containing, as some account it, twenty Acres, but as Master *Lambert* proveth, a hundred Acres.) In all those Lands which he gave to any man, he reserved Dominion in chief to himself, as also a yearly rent, and likewise a Fine whensoever the Tenant did alien or die. These were bound to him by Oath of Fealty and Homage, and if any died, his heir being within age, the King received the profits of his Lands, and had the custody and disposing of the heirs body, untill his age of one and twenty years. To be short, his greedinesse of money, was so great, that he spared not his own brother *Odo*, but found accusations against him, to the end he might seize upon his Treasure; which was infinite great, and which he had gathered in hope to buy the Papacy. Only one kinde of profit he forbore to meddle with, that is, Vacancies of Abbeyes and Bishopricks; which he alwayes reserved for the Successors: but then he took another course of far greater profit, for he compelled all men to make new Fines at his pleasure, for confirmation of any Grant or Priviledges formerly granted by any Prince of the Realm: by which devise he got into his possession the greatest part of all the riches of the Land, as well of the Clergy, as of the Laity. And one particular may not be omitted that is reported of him, which was this: The Monks of *Ely*, to purchase their peace, agreed to give him seven hundred Marks, when coming to pay it, there wanted a Groat in the weight, (for in those dayes greater sums were not paid by tale, but by weight) which the King understanding, denied them all composition for Peace, untill with much suit he was intreated to accept of a thousand Marks more.

Of his Laws and Ordinances, and Courts of Justice erected by him.

He brings in
the Laws of
Normandy: and
causeth them
to be written
in *French*.

ALTHOUGH at his Coronation he had taken an Oath to observe the Laws of King *Edward* then in use, yet afterwards (perhaps counting his Coronation Oath but a matter of course) he abrogated many, and in their stead brought in the Laws of *Normandy*; commanding them to be written in *French*; and also that all Causes should be Pleaded, and all matters of Form dispatched in *French*; upon a pretense to dignifie the *French* tongue, but with a purpose to intrap men through ignorance of the language, as indeed it did: or perhaps to make the *Norman* language predominant in the Kingdom as he had made their persons; which yet was so far from effecting, that there is not so much as any footsteps remaining of the *Norman* language in the *English* tongue. Formes of Judgement, and tryals by Fire and Water, called *Ordeals*, formerly used,

A used, were in short time after the Conquest disused, and in the end utterly abrogated by the Pope, as derived from Paganisme. That of Combat continued longer, but of no ordinary use: and all actions both criminal and real, began now to be wholly adjudged by the Verdict of twelve men, according to the custome of *Normandie*, where the like form is used, and called by the name of Enquest, with the same cautions for the Jurours, as it is here continued to this day; though by the Lawes of *Ethelred* it appeares, that the trial by twelve men was in use long before his time. And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Judges to determine all businesse in every Shire, and the Bishop, in many Cases shared in the benefit of the Mulcts with the King; now he confined the Clergie within the Province of their own Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to deal only in businesse concerning rule of souls, according to the Canons and Lawes Episcopall. And where the Causes of the Kingdome were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of King *Edward*, all matters in question were upon special penalty decided in their Gemote, or conventicle held monethly in every Hundred: now he ordained that four times in the year, for certain dayes, the same businesse should be determined in such places as he would appoint, where he constituted Judges to attend for that purpose. Also he decreed there should be Sheriffes in every Shire, and Justices of Peace for punishment of Malefactors. Finally, he ordained his Counsel of State, his Chancery, his Exchequer, (*Scacarium*, corruptly called so, of the word *Statarium*, or rather of the boord or Table, where the Officers sat;) also his Courts of Justice, which alwaies removed with his Court. These places he furnished with officers, and assigned four Terms in the year for determining controversies among the people.

C The place of these Courts was *Westminster*, where King *William Rufus* afterwards built a stately Palace. Now for his provisionary Revenues, the Kings Tenants, who held Lands of the Crown, paid him no money at all, but only Corn and other Victuals; and a just note of the quality and quantity of every mans ratement, was taken throughout all the Shires of the Kingdom, and levied ever certain, for maintenance of the Kings house. Only the *Kentish* men procured the continuance of their ancient Lawes by a trick; for King *William* riding towards *Dover*, at *Swanscombe*, two miles from *Gravesend*, the *Kentish* men met him, but in the form of a moving wood, by reason of the great boughs they had cut, and carried in their hands, and compassing the King about, they only made suit for the continuance of their Lawes, and Customes; of which one special was, that the Tenure of their Lands was *Gavelkind*; by which they descended not to the eldest alone, as in other Countries, but were partable between all the Sons: and the Priviledges which the owners of such Lands enjoyed were chiefly these: Not to forfeit them for Felony: Not to be subject to services before the Justices: Not to be challenged for Villains. So the Conquerour considering, that he might as well allow them, as other Kings had done before him, easily condescended to their request. But see the levity of these *Kentish* men, to hazard themselves more, for the preserving a simple Custome; then for preserving the Liberty of themselves, and their Country: But such is the violence of conceit, till it be mastered by time, or rather so very a Changeling is Humane Reason, that what they then cut down great Woods to defend, they have since been content to see abolished, without cutting down so much as a twigge. But one Law especially he made, extremely distasteful to all the Gentry of the Land, for where before they might at their pleasure hunt, and take Deer which they found abroad in the woods; now it was ordained under a great penalty, no lesse then putting out their eyes; that none should presume to kill, or take any of them, as reserving them opely for his own delight. And indeed so great delight he took in that kind of sport, that he depopulated a great part of *Hampshire*, the space of thirty miles, where there had been (saith *Caxton*) six and twenty Towns, and four score Religious Houses, and made it a Habitation for such kind of Beasts; which was then, and to this day is called the New Forest. But the lamentable dysasters that have happened to this Kings issue, do plainly shew, that there is a Power, that observes all our Actions, and which we may know to be *Memorem Fandi atque Nefandi*. But in the first year of this King Reign, he granted to the City of *London*, their first Charter and Liberties, in as large form, as they enjoyed them in the time of King *Edward* the Confessor, which he granted at the suit of *William* a *Norman*, Bishop of *London*; in grateful remembrance whereof, the Lord Major and Aldermen, upon the solemn dayes of their resort to *Pauls*, do still use to walk to the Gravestone, where this Bishop lies interred. Also this King was the first, that brought the Jewes to inhabit here in *England*: as likewise he made a Law, that whosoever forced a woman should lose his Genitals: and in his time, long Bowes came first into use in *England*, which as they were the weapons with which *France* under this King conquered *England*: so they were the weapons with which *England* under after Kings, conquered *France*; as if it were not enough for us to beat them, if we did not beat them with their own weapons. This King also appointed a Constable of *Dover* Castle, and a Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, with Immunities, as they are at this day. And to be short, this King ordained so good Lawes, and had them so well executed; that it is said a girle might carry a bag of Money all the Countrey over without danger of robbing; and in his time, the setting Seals to Bonds and Writings was first used, where before there were onely witnesses to Deeds.

He brought in the trial by verdict of twelve men.

He ordained the four Terms of Law.

He ordained Sheriffes and Justices of Peace.

He ordained the Court of Chancery and Exchequer.

His Tenants pay their rents in corn and other victuals.

The *Kentish* men procure the continuance of their ancient Lawes.

Lamb. 71.

He restrains hunting.

He depopulates 26 Towns to make the New Forrest in *Hampshire*.

He grants to the City of *London* Their first Charter of Liberties.

He first brought Jewes into *England*. Also long bowes.

Affaires of the Church in his Reign.

Bishops See removed.

The Archbishop of York, Primas Angliae, of Canterbury, Primas totius Angliae.

Aldred Archbishop of York, his insulting over King William.

An equivocating Bishop.

A miracle done upon a Bishop.

A miracle done by a Bishop.

Prayers devised secundum usum Sarum.

No Priests to be married.

Eudemare.

IN his time, *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was for divers causes deprived of his dignity, and kept private all his life after in the Castle of *Winchester*: after whom succeeded *Lanfrank* an *Italian*, in that See: who in the twelfth year of this Kings Reign, held a Synod at *London*, where amongst other things he removed Bishops Sees, from small Towns to great Cities, as from *Sillway* to *Chichester*; from *Kyrton* to *Excester*; from *Wels* to *Bathe*; from *Shirborn* to *Salisbury*; from *Dorchester* to *Lincoln*; and from *Lichfield* to *Chester*, and from thence again to *Coventry*: and not long before, the Bishoprick of *Lindisfern*, otherwise called Holy Land, upon the river *Tweede*, had been translated to *Durham*. In the sixth year of his reign, a controversie arising between the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, they appealed to *Rome*, and the Pope remitted it to the King and Bishops of *England*. Hereupon a Synod is holden at *Windsor*, where sentence was given on *Lanfranks*, then Archbishop of *Canterburies* side: that in matters of Religion, the Archbishop of *York*, should ever be subject to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: Only at *Rome* it was decreed, for matter of Title, that the See of *York* should be stiled *Primas Angliae*; and the See of *Canterbury*, *Primas totius Angliae*, as it is at this day. And as the Archbishop of *York* oweth obedience to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; so all the Bishops of *Scotland* owe obedience to the Archbishop of *York*, as to the Primare of *Scotland*. It shall not be amisse here to write the journey of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to *Rome*; who in the fifth year of King *Williams* Reign made Bishop of *Canterbury*, went to *Rome* to obtain the Pall, due to Archbishops, taking for his companions *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, and *Remigius* Bishop of *Lincoln*; arrived at *Rome*, and admitted to the Popes presence, Pope *Alexander* rose from his seat, and gently saluting him, saith withall, This honour I do not give, as due to your Archbishoprick, but as due to my Master; to whose labour I must acknowledge to be due what learning I have. The next day having audience he accused the two companions of his journey.

But as this King took down the Prelates in Temporalities, for he ordained they should exercise no Temporal Authority at all; so in Spiritualities, he rather raised them, as may be seen by a passage between *Aldred* Archbishop of *York* and the King: for at a time, upon the repulse of a certain suit, the Archbishop in great discontentment offered to depart, when the King in awe of his displeasure, stayed him, fell down at his feet, desired pardon, and promised to grant his suit. The King all this while being down at the Archbishops feet, the Noblemen that were present, put him in minde that he should cause the King to rise, Nay (saith the Archbishop) let him alone, let him finde what it is to anger *Saint Peter*. And as by this story we see the insulting pride of a Prelate in those daies: so by another, we may see the equivocating falsehood of a Prelate at that time; For *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury* would often swear, he had not one penny upon the Earth, when under the Earth it was afterwards found he had hidden great Treasure. Also it is memorable; but scarce credible of another Bishop, who being accused of Simonie, and denying it, the Cardinal before whom he was to answer, told him, that a Bishoprick was the gift of the Holy Ghost; and therefore to buy a Bishoprick, was against the Holy Ghost, and thereupon bid him say, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; which the Bishop beginning, and oft assaying, could never say [and to the Holy Ghost] but said it plainly when he was put out of his Bishoprick. And yet was not the Church in that age so barren of virtue, but that it afforded some good Bishops, as *William* Bishop of *Durham*, Founder of University Colledge in *Oxford*, but specially Bishop *Woolstan*; whom upon *Lanfranks* reporting to be insufficient for the place, for want of Learning, the King commanded to put off his Pontifical Robes, and to leave his Bishoprick: when suddenly out of a divine Inspiration, *Woolstan* answered: A better then you, O King, bestowed these Robes upon me, and to him I will restore them. And therewithall going to *St. Edwards* Shrine, who had made him a Bishop, and putting off his Robes, he struck his Staffe upon *St. Edwards* Monument, which stuck so fast in the stone of it, that by no strength it could be drawn forth, till he drew it forth himself: which so terrified both *Lanfrank* and the King, that they intreated him to take his Robes again, and keep his Bishoprick. Also *Oswald* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who devised a Form of Prayers to be dayly used in his Church, and was used afterwards in other Churches, from whence proceeded the common saying of *Secundum usum Sarum*. In this Kings time was *Berengarius*, who denied the true body of Christ to be in the Sacrament; Also in his time, Pope *Gregory* the seventh, removed married Priests from executing Divine Service, whereof great troubles arose in *England*: also in his time was instituted the Feast of the conception of the Virgin *Mary*: also in his time, Pope *Gregory* the seventh, in a Synod holden at *Rome*, ordained that none should be called Pope but only the Bishop of *Rome*; where before all Bishops were called Popes.

A

Works of Piety, by him, and others in his time.

THis King founded the Abbey of *Battell* in *Sussex*, where he overcame *Harold*, as a monument in memory of his victory; but there succeeded a greater monument in memory of this battell, if it be true which *Newbrigenfis* saith, that after every small rain, the grasse where the battell was fought, shews to be of the colour of blood, and had continued to do so, to his dayes, who lived in the time of King *Stephen*, almost an hundred years after the battail was fought. The Abbey of *Selby* in *Yorkshire*; and a third near *London*, called *St. Saviours*. He founded also the Priory of *St. Nicolas* at *Exceter*; and gave great priviledges to *St. Marins le Grand* in *London*; which Church was founded before the Conquest, by *Ingelricus* and *Emardus* his Brother, Cousins to King *Edward*, the Confessour. He also builded the Tower of *London*: namely the great white and square Tower there. These were this Kings works of Piety in *England*; but in *Normandy* he founded also an Abby at *Caen*: where his Wife *Mande* built likewise a Monastery of Nuns. He gave also to the Church of *St. Stephens* in *Caen*, two Manors in *Dorsetshire*, one Manor in *Devonshire*, another in *Essex*, much land in *Barkshire*, some in *Norfolk*, a Mansion in *Woodstreet*, *London*; with many Advowsons of Churches; and even he gave his Crown and Regall Ornaments to the said Church, being of his own Foundation, for the redemption whereof, his Son *Henry* gave the Manor of *Brydleton* in *Dorsetshire*. In this Kings time, *Robert*, Son to *Hyldebert Lacies* founded the Priory of *Ponfraithe*; *Henry* Earl *Ferrers* founded a Priory within his Castle at *Tutbury*; *Alwyne Chylde*, a Citizen of *London*, founded the Monastery of *St. Saviours* at *Burmondsley* in *Southwark*, and gave the Monks there divers Rents in *London*: Also in this Kings time, *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, after the firing of the former Church of *St. Paul* in *London*, began the foundation of the new Church, a work so admirable, that many thought it would never have been finished. Towards the building of the East end whereof, the King gave the choice stones of his Castle, at the west end of the City, upon the bank of the River *Thames*; which Castle having been at that time fired, in place thereof *Edward Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, did afterwards found a Monastery of *Black-fryers*. The King also gave the Manor of *Storford* to the same *Maurice*, and to his successours in that See; after whose decease, *Richard* his next successor, bestowed all the Rents of his Bishoprick to advance the building of this Church, maintaining himself by his private Patrimony; and yet all he could do, made no great shew, but the finishing of the work was left to many other succeeding Bishops. In the fifteenth year of this Kings reign, *William* Bishop of *Durham*, founded *Univerſity Colledge* in *Oxford*: Also one *Gylbert* a *Norman* Lord, founded the Abbey of *Merton* in *Surrey*, seven miles from *London*; and *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, first builded the Minster of *York*. In this Kings sixteenth year, his Brother Duke *Robert* being sent against the *Scots*, builded a Fort, where at this day standeth *New Castle* upon *Tyne*: but the Town and Walls were builded afterward by King *John*. Also in this Kings time *Ledes Castle* in *Kent* was builded by *Creveken*, and the Castle of *Oxford*, by *Robert d'Oylie*: two Noble men that came into *England* with him. *Osmund* Bishop of *Salisbury* built the new Church there; Also *Waring* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, built two Abbeyes, one in the Suburbs of *Shrewsbury*; and another at *Wenlock*.

St. Pauls Church new founded.

Univerſity Colledge in Oxford founded.

New-Castle upon Tyne builded.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN the twentieth year of his Reign, so great a fire happened in *London*, that from the West-gate to the East-gate, it consumed Houses and Churches all the way, and amongst the rest the Church of *St. Paul*, the most grievous fire that ever happened in that City. Also this year, by reason of distemperature of Weather, thunders and lightnings, by which many men perished, there ensued a famine, and afterwards a miserable mortality of Men and cattell; and which is very strange, Hens, Peacocks, Geese and Ducks bred in, and accustomed to houses for-took their wonted hives, and turned wilde. (*Matth. Westmon. An. Dom. 1087.*) Also this year in the Province of *Wales*, upon the Sea shore, was found the body of *Gawen*, sisters Son to King *Arthur*, the great King of the *Britains*: reported to be fourteen foot in length. Also in this Kings time, a great Lord sitting at a Feast, was set upon by Mice, and though he were removed from Land to Sea, and from Sea again to Land, yet the Mice still followed him; and at last devoured him.

A great fire in London.

The body of Gawen, sisters Son to King Arthur, found. A Lord eaten up with mice.

Of his Wife and Children.

Robert Courtois
why so called.

Good Devotion.

HE had to Wife, and her only, *Mathilde* or *Maudes*, Daughter to *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*. She was Crowned Queen of *England*, the second year of his reign: the seventeenth year of his reign, she dyed; a Woman only memorable for this, that nothing memorable is recorded of her, but that she built a Nunnery at *Caen* in *Normandy*, where she lies buried. By her he had four Sons and five Daughters. His Sons were, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*: of whom *Robert* the eldest called Court-cayse, of his short Thighes, or Court-hose, of his short Breeches, or Courtois, of his curteous behaviour: (for so many are the comments upon his name) succeeded his Father in the Duchy of *Normandy*. *Richard* his second Son was kild by misfortune, hunting in the New-Forrest. *William* his third Son, called *Rufus*, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*. *Henry* his youngest Son, called *Beauclerk*, for his learning, had by his Fathers Will, five thousand pounds in money, and the inheritance also of his Mother. His Daughters were *Cicelie*, *Constance*, *Adela*, *Margaret*, and *Elenor*, of whom *Cicelie* was Abbess of *Caen* in *Normandy*. *Constance* was married to *Alan* Earl of *Britain*. *Adela* to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*. *Margaret* affianced to *Harold* King of *England*, but never married, and dyed young. *Elenor*, betroathed to *Alphonfus* King of *Gallicia*, but desiring to die a Virgin, she had her wish, spending her time so much in Prayer, that with continual kneeling her knees were brawned.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was but mean of stature, yet big of Body, and therewithal so strong, that few were able to draw his Bow: growing in years, he was bald before; his beard alwayes shaven, after the manner of the *Normans*; and were in his younger time, he was much given to that infirmity of Youth, which grows out of strength of Youth, Incontinency: after he was once married, whether out of society, or out of Grace, he was never known to offend in that kind. Of so perfect health, that he was never sick, till that sickness whereof he dyed. Of a stern countenance, yet of an affable nature: In War, as expert as valiant: In Peace, as provident as prudent: and in all his Enterprizes, as fortunate, as bold, and hardy. Much given to Hunting and Feasting, where he was no lesse pleasant then magnificent. He made no great proficiency in Learning; as having had his Education in the licentiousness of the *French* Court; yet he favoured leained men; and drew out of *Italy*, *Lanfrank*, *Anselm*, *Durand*, *Tarherne*, and divers others, famous at that time for Learning and Piety. Very devout he was; and alwayes held the Clergy in exceeding great Reverence: And this is one special honour attributed unto him, that from him we begin the Computation of our Kings of *England*.

His Places of Residence.

King William
new crowned
every year.
Westminster
Palace the an-
cient habitation
of the kings
of England.

Westminster
Hall built by
Richard the
second.

White-Hall
when made
the Kings ha-
bitation.

HIS *Christmas* he commonly kept at *Glocester*; his *Easter* at *Winchester*; and his *Whitsontide* at *Westminster*; and once in the year, at one of these places would be new Crowned; as though by often putting on his Crown, he thought to make it fit the easier upon his head. And for the houses which the Kings of *England* had in those dayes in *London*; I finde that at *Westminster* was a Palace, the ancient habitation of the Kings of *England*, from the time of *Edward* the Confessour: which in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eight, was by casual fire burnt down to the ground. A very large and stately Palace this was, and in that Age, for building, incomparable. The Remains whereof, are the Chamber of assembling the High Court of Parliament, and the next unto it; wherein anciently they were wont to begin the Parliament, called *St. Edwards* Painted Chamber, because the Tradition holderth, that the said King *Edward* dyed in it. Adjoyning unto this, is the *White-hall*, wherein at this day the Court of Requests is kept: Beneath this, is the Great Hall, where Courts of Justice are now kept: This Hall which we now have, was built by King *Richard* the second, out of the ground; as appeareth by his Armes engraven in the stone work: (when he had plucked down the old Hall, built before by *William Rufus*) and made it his own habitation. But the aforesaid Palace, after it was burnt down in anno 1512. lay desolate, and King *Henry* the Eight shortly after translated the Kings seat, to a house not far off, built by Cardinal *Woolsey*; and is called *White-hall*. The Tower of *London* was anciently used by the Kings of *England* to lodge in. Other Houses they anciently had; one where *Bridewell* now standeth, out of the ruines whereof, the now *Bridewell* was built. Another called the Tower Royal, now the Kings Wardrobe. Another in *Bucklers-bury*, called *Sernes* Tower. Another where now the Popes-head Tavern is, over against the Old Exchange, thought to have been the Kings house; also another in *Limestreet* called the Kings Artirce. Also another in the Old Jury: and oft-times they made use

A use of *Baynard's Castle*. But these are all long since demolished, that we may see Palaces and places have their fates and periods as well as men. And as for his Armes, he gave Three Lions passant Gold in a Field *Gules*; which have ever since been used as peculiar to the Crown of England; to which the three *Flowers de Lucis* were added by King *Edward the Third*, by reason of his claim to the Crown of *France*.

His Death and Burial.

TOWARDS the end of his reign, he appointed his two Sons *Robert* and *Henry* with joint authority, Governors of *Normandy*. These went together, to visit the King of *France* lying at *Constance*; where entertaining the time with variety of sports, *Henry* played with *Lewis* the Dauphin of *France* at *Chesse*; and winning much money of him, *Lewis* grew so cholerick, that he threw the Chesse-men at *Henries* face; calling him the Son of a *Baltard*: and thereupon *Henry* struck *Lewis* with the Chesse-board, and had presently slain him, if his Brother *Robert* had not stepped in, and stayed him. Upon this the King of *France* invades *Normandy*, and draws *Robert*, King *William's* eldest Son, to joyn with him against his Father: but King *William* coming presently over with an Army, was soon reconciled to his Son, yet being corpulent and in years, was by this means much disordered in body, and so retired to *Roan*, where he stayed, as not being well in health. The French King hearing of his sickness, scoffingly said, that he lay in Childe-bed of his great belly. Which so incensed King *William*, that he swore by Gods Resurrection and his Brightness, (his usuall Oath) that as soon as he should be Church'd of that child, he would offer a thousand Lights in *France*: and indeed he performed it; for he entered *France* in Armes, and set many Towns and Corn-fields on fire, in which he was so violent, that by reason of his travail and the unreasonable heat, being in the month of *August*, it brought upon him a relaps of his sickness, and withall, leaping on horse-back over a ditch, his fat belly did bear so hard upon the pommel of his saddle, that he took a rupture in his inner parts; whereupon returning to *Roan*, his sickness so increased, that in short time he dyed; and that which is scarce credible, yet recorded for certain, the very same day he dyed at *Roan*, his death was known at *Rome*, a thousand miles off: which if it be true, it seems there are certain Invisible Intelligencers, that can make such speed: whereof *Froissard* tells a strange story: and for the strangeness, not unworthy to be there related. There was (saith he) in the time of King *Edward the Third*, a Knight in *France*, called *Corasse*, who could tell any thing that was done all the World over, the very day it was done; or within a day or two, how far so ever it were off: and this he did by such an invisible Intelligencer, for he had gotten a Familiar Spirit, called *Orthone*, who brought him the news continually; and held on this course with him divers years till at last he lost him, by this occasion. He had only heard the voice of his spirit *Orthone*: and now had a great longing to see his shape: whereupon the spirit seeing his earnestness; Well then (saith he) to morrow morning when you rise out of your bed, the first thing you see shall be I. So the Knight rising the next morning, looked out, but could see nothing: whereupon he blamed his spirit *Orthone*, for not keeping his promise with him. *Orthone* answered, he had kept his promise: for saith he, bethink your self, what it was you first saw after your rising. Then the Knight bethinking himself, remembered he saw two straws upon the ground, tumbling upon one another: Why (saith *Orthone*) that was I. Then the Knight desired he might see him in such a shape, as that he might take notice of him. Well then *Orthone*, to morrow morning when you rise, the first thing you see, that shall be I. So the next morning, the Knight rising, and looking out of his chamber window, the first thing he saw was a Sow, so lean and deformed, that he could not abide to see it: and thereupon caused his men to set Dogs upon it, to drive it away: which being done, the Sow vanished away; after this his spirit *Orthone*, never came to him any more. And this Relation *Froissard* had from the Knights own mouth: and by such a like means, it might perhaps be, that the death of King *William* was known at *Rome*, the very day he dyed at *Roan*, though a thousand miles a sunder. And now to go on with the story: *William* the Conqueror in all the time of his sickness retained to the very last his memory and speech: and shewed many demonstrations of his Devotion, and true contrition, specially for his severity used towards the *English*. And thus he who was a Conqueror of men, was conquered himself by death; the ninth day of September, when he had reigned twenty years, and near eleven months, in the threescore and fourth year of his age: *Malmesbury* saith in the fifty ninth. I may well say he was conquered by death; seeing death used him more despitefully, then ever he living used any whom he had conquered: For no sooner was the breath out of his body, but his attendants purloining what they could lay hands on, forsook him and fled: leaving his body almost naked upon the ground. Afterwards, *William* Archbishop of *Roan*, commanded his body should be conveyed to *Caen*, but his command was little regarded: till at last, one *Herlewyne*, a Countrey Knight, at his own charges caused his body to be Embalmed, and conveyed thither; where the Abbot and Monkes meeting the corps, suddenly in the midst of their solemnities, a violent fire brake out in the Town, with the fright whereof, every man left the place; and thus was his body the second time left forlorn. In the end a few Monkes returned, and accompanied the Hearse to the Abbey Church; but when the Divine Office was ended, and the body ready to be laid in the grave,

The French King scoffs at King *William's* great belly.

King *William's* death known the same day he dyed, a thousand miles off.

King *William* being dead, how neglected and molested at his burial.

one *Anselm Fitz Arthur*, stood up and claimed that ground to have been the Floor of his Father's house, which King *William* had violently wrested from him; and thereupon charged them, as they would answer it before the dreadful face of God, not to cover his Body with the earth of his inheritance. Whereupon after some pause, agreement was made with him, and three pound was payed in hand for the ground broken up, and an hundred pounds more afterwards for the ground it self, paid him by *Henry* the Kings youngest Son, who only of all his Sons was present at the Funeral. And yet this was not all, but when his body was to be put in the Earth, it happened that the Sepulchre of stone which stood within the grave, was shewen somewhat too strait for his fat belly, so as they were fain to presse it down with some violence, with which, whether his bowels burst, or whether some Excrements were forced out of their natural passage, such an intolerable stink proceeded from him, that none were able to indure it, but made all the haste they could to be gone. And yet neither was this the last of his miseries: for in the year 1562. when *Castillon* took the City of *Caen*, certain dissolute Souldiers opened his Tombe, and not finding the Treasure they expected, threw forth his bones with great derision: whereof some were afterwar'd brought into *England*. So that if we consider his many troubles in life, and after his death, we may well think, that notwithstanding all his greatness, a very mean man would hardly be perswaded to change fortunes with him. He bare the same Armes as peculiar to the Crown of *England*; which all succeeding Princes have used: naniely, Three Lions passant gold in a Field Gules: for as for the three *Flowers de Lucis*, they were added by King *Edward* the third, upon his claim of the Crown of *France*.

The Armes
born by King
William.

Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Learning in his time, were but rare in this Island, yet some there were, particularly *Marianus Scotus*, a Historiographer, and *Alpheredus* a Monk of *Beverly*, a Writer also of Historical Argument. And as for Men of Valour, they are not to be expected in a time of servitude, but as if all the *English* Valour were now remaining in the *Kentish* men, they only made resistance, when all other Countries had submitted. Yet it is memorable in this time, what a private *Norwegian* Souldier did; who himself alone upon a bridge, resisted the whole Army of the *English*, slew forty of them; and maintained the place for divers hours together, till one getting under the bridge, found means to thrust up a spear into his body and killed him.

THE
REIGN
OF
KING WILLIAM
THE SECOND.

A **K**ING William the second, called *Rufus*, second Son to William the Conquerour, appointed Successor by his Fathers Will; was upon the fifth of *October*, in the year 1087: by *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Crowned at *Westminster* King of *England*. Wherein his Father seems to have followed the example of *Jacob*, who gave to his younger Son *Joseph*, the Land which he had taken with his Sword and his Bow: for with his Sword and his Bow, had King William gotten the Land of *England*; and therefore might justly bestow it on which of his Sons he pleased. And besides, there was cause enough, why he should shew

William Rufus
is Crowned.
Anno Dom.
1087.

this Son of his some extraordinary favour, seeing in the Rebellion of his Brother *Robert*, yet he stood firmly for his Father; and in his quarrell incurred no small hazard of his life, as wherein he received divers wounds: and perhaps also, his Father thought the rough disposition of his Son, fitter to bridle the insurrections of the *English*, then the softly disposition of

B his Son *Robert*.

But though he have thus quietly gotten the Crown, he must not look to hold it so; and indeed at his very beginning is assaulted with two troubles in one: for both his Brother *Robert* prepares to recover it from him, and the Lords of the Kingdom combine with *Robert* to assist him in it. The first mover of this trouble was *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Uncle, who finding himself not to bear the sway he expected, and specially for an old grudge he bore to *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by whose means, in the former Kings time he had been imprisoned, the Archbishop telling him, that though he might not imprison a Bishop, yet he might imprison an Earl of *Kent* (as this *Odo* was made not long before) he draws many other Bishops and Temporal Lords to joyn with him, in behalf of Duke *Robert* against the King: but though

His Brother is
incited to claim
the Crown.

C the storm were violent for a while, yet it soon passed over; that indeed of his Lords, with more difficulty: but that of his Brother *Robert* with more cost: for it was at last agreed, that *Rufus* should pay him three thousand marks a year, during his life, and leave him the Kingdom after his own decease. But there was difficulty in repressing his Rebell Lords by reason of their spending themselves abroad in many quarters. For *Odo* fortified himself in *Kent*, *Roger Mountgomery*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgeshire*; *Hugh de Grandenill*, in *Leicestershire*, and *Northamptonshire*; *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, possessed himself of *Brissow*; *William* Bishop of *Durham*, of the North parts of the Realm; and divers other of the Clergy, and Nobility, fortified themselves in *Herefordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, and all

He is com-
pounded with
for 3000
marks a year.

D the Countries adjoining to *Wales*, thinking by this means to distract the King that he should not know where to begin, nor whither to turn him. But this course, as it made it hard to repress them suddenly, so it made it easie to repress them at leisure; for being thus divided, they were but as single sticks, that are easily broken; where if they had united themselves, as into a Faggot, they might have made a strength of far greater resistance. But the King having *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Woolstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, firm of his side: partly by their Authority and love amongst the people; but chiefly by his own promises, to restore their ancient Laws, and to allow them liberty of hunting in his Forests, he so firmly won the hearts

The Rebell
Lords are won
or overcome.

of

The English
firmer to King
William then
the Normans.

An. Reg. 3.
King William
repel the
Scots.

He represseth
his brother Ro-
bert taking up
Arms for his
Pension not
payed.

An. Reg. 6.
Malcolm King
of Scots with
his eldest son
Edward is
slain.

A most valiant
Prince.

With grief of
whose death his
Queen Marga-
ret dyeth with-
in three days.

A barbarous
custom in Scot-
land obrogated
by her means.

An. Regni.
11.

Wales absolute-
ly conquered
by King Will.

Rees the last
King of Wales
slain.

of all unto him; that some of the Rebell Lords he reconciled with fair words; as *Robert Mount-gomery*; (a principall finew of the Faction) some again he mastered by strong hand; and *Odo* the chief Engineer of all the work, he besieged in the Castle of *Rochester*, took him Prisoner, and forced him to abjure the Realm. And thus this great Rebellion was suppressed: In which it is observable, that though so many hot blouds were up, yet there was but little bloud spilt. A happy rebellion for the English; for the Rebel Lords and Bishops being all Normans, the King had none to trust to, but the English, whom for their faithfulness to him in this service, he ever after respected more then he had done before.

This year dyed *Lanfrank*, after he had been Archbishop of *Canterbury* eighteen yeares, who had brought the Monks to some good order, that before his time followed hunting and hawking, dicing and carding, to the great discredit of their profession.

After this storm was over in the South, there ariseth another in the North; For now *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, thinking it a fit time to doe some feats when King *William* was troubled at home; invades *Northumberland*, and having burnt and spoiled the Country, returns home laden with booties. Which King *William* hearing, he takes his brother *Robert* along with him, and with a mighty Army enters *Scotland*, brings *Malcolm* to acknowledge his antient homage: and upon Faith given, returns to *London*. After this, Duke *Robert* finding his brother King *William* not to keep his promise, in paying his Pension, complains to the King of *France*, and with his aid, assaults and takes some Towns, which he before had delivered in pawn for money to his brother King *William*; who hearing of it, hastens into *Normandie* with an Army, and by the mediation of money takes off the King of *France*, and makes his brother, being left destitute of assistance, to ask him pardon: a wise and mercifull course in King *William*; for to buy his peace with the King of *France*, did cost him but money, where to have purchased it by War, mult besides money, have cost the lives of many.

After this *Malcolm*, K. of *Scots*, came in kindness to visit K. *William* at *Glocester*: but the King not vouchsafing so much as to see him, put him into so great an indignation, that returning home, he makes ready an Army, invades *Northumberland*, making great spoil, and getting great spoils, but by *Robert Mowbray*, the Kings Lieutenant there, was taken in ambush, & together with his eldest Son *Edward*, defeated and slain. This King *Malcolm* was a most valiant Prince, as may appear by an Act of his of an extraordinary strain; for hearing of a conspiracy plotted to murder him, whereof one was author, whose name is not recorded, he dissembled the knowing of it, til being abroad one day a hunting, he took the fellow apart from the company, and being alone, said unto him: Here now is a fit time and place, to do that manfully, which you have intended to do treacherously; draw your weapon, and if you kill me, none being present; you can incur no danger: With which speech of the King, the fellow was so daunted, that presently he fell down at his feet, confessed his fault, humbly asked forgiveness, and being granted him, was ever after serviceable and faithful to him. The death of King *Malcolm* and his Son, was so grievous, and so grievously taken of *Margaret* his Queen, the Sister of *Edgar Atheling*, that she made it her Prayer, and had it granted, not to over-live them, and so within three dayes after dyed: a woman as full of vertues all her life, as at this time of sorrowes; whom yet I should not break order to mention, but for one pious Act of hers, in causing a most barbarous custome of *Scotland* to be abrogated, that when a man marrye, his Lord should lye the first night with his Bride. Which custome by her indeavour was altered to a payment in money.

After these troubles were ended in the North, a new trouble ariseth in the West; for now the *Welsh* men hearing of King *Williams* distractions, enter upon the English borders, making spoil and havock of men and Towns: whom King *William* went with an Army to encounter, but could doe no good upon them, till he was faine to return to *London*, and provide him a stronger Army. About this time also *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, by whom *Malcolm* King of *Scots* was in King *Williams* service formerly slain; finding his service not rewarded as he expected, enters into conspiracy against the King; but the King being informed of the practise, seileth suddenly upon many of his Complices, and himself, after many devises and shifts for flight, is taken and put in prison, in the Castle of *Windsor*. After this, King *William* to take a further revenge of the *Welsh*, and to make an absolute conquest of that unquiet people, with a far greater Army then ever before, enters *Wales*, and thinks with new devises of Castles and Forts, utterly to subdue them, but they defending themselves, with their Woods and Mountainous passages, tyre and weary out the King and his Army, so as he leaves the businesse to two *Hughes*, one Earl of *Salop*, the other of *Chester*, who first invaded and took *Anglesey*, (their Island of refuge) where they used all kind of cruelty, pulling out of eyes, and cutting off hands and noses: in prosecuting of which businesse, *Hugh* Earl of *Salop* was slain, but *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, entred *Wales* and in the end with the slaughter of *Rees*, the last King of *Wales*, made an absolute conquest of the Countrey. For after this, though they often rebelled, yet they were in a true subjection. And these for the most part, were all the troubles of his reign: where we may observe, that none of them did overtake him, but still he met them, and from none of them he ever fled, but was still the pursuer, and yet so many as might well have taken away all the comfort of a Crown, and have made him willing to change his Diadem for a pair of Beads, but that Ambition, though sometimes weary, yet never tires,

A

His Exactions and Courses for raising of money.

IN the second year of his reign, *Laufrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* dyed, who had kept the kingdom and King in some good Order, but as soon as he was dead, the King, as though he were then got loose, ranged without reins, in all licentiousness, preying especially upon the Clergy, as amongst whom he found the richest Booties. When Bishopricks or Abbeyes were vacant, it was familiar with him to seise them into his own hands, as this of *Laufrank's*, he kept to his own use four yeares together, and longer would have kept it, if a sickness of his Body had not healed this disease of his mind: For finding himself in some hazard of death, he then conferred the Archbishopricks of *Canterbury* upon *Anselm*, and the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* upon *Robert Bloet*, two eminent men of that time; but as soon as he was well again, it repented him of that he had done, and was not quiet, till he had drawn from the said *Bloet*, five thousand pounds, and from *Anselm* also good sums of money. For he repented not more in time of sickness for the evil he had done in health, then being in health he repented of the good he had done in sickness; that it may in a manner be said, there was nothing made him sick but health, and nothing made him be in health but sickness. But this preying upon the Clergy was grown into such a custome with him, that he kept in his hands at one time, three Bishopricks; *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, and *Salisbury*; and twelve Abbeyes; all which he let out to Farm, and received the profits: and from this King the use is said to have risen first in *England*, that the Kings succeeding had the Temporalities of Bishop Sees, as long as the y remained void. Having agreed to pay the King of *France* a great sum of money, he raised it in this manner; He caused twenty thousand men to be levied, under pretence for his wars in *Normandy*; but when they were ready to be shipped, it was signified to them from the King, that whosoever would pay ten shillings towards the levying of Souldiers in *Normandy*, should be excused from going, and stay at home; which was so plausible an offer to the Army, that scarce a man was found that accepted not that condition. When Duke *Robert* went into the Holy Land he paied his Dutchy of *Normandy* to his brother King *William* for 6666 pounds, or as some write, for 12600. which money King *William* took up part by a grievous Imposition: so that Bishops melted their Plate, and the Temporal Lords spoiled their Tenants for the payment thereof: and part by loan; but chiefly of Religious Persons. He sold the Abbey of *Glastenbury* to *Thurstan* for five hundred pounds; and when he built *Westminster* Hall, he made that an occasion to lay a heavy tax upon the people, who gruded at it, as done on purpose. He usually sold all Spiritual preferments, to them who would give most; and took Fines of Priests for Fornication: as also he took money of Jews, to cause such of them as were converted, to renounce Christianity, and return to Judaism, as making more benefit by their unbelief then by their conversion. He caused divers of the Nobility to pay grievous Fines for transgressing his Laws, though the fault were never so small. He set forth a Proclamation that none should goe out of the Realm without his Licence, by which he drew much money from many; for either they must tarry at home and live discontented, or else content him for giving them leave to goe abroad. And from thence the Custom or Law of *Ne extas Regum*, seems to have taken its beginning: for Precedents of servitude are sure to live, where Precedents of Liberty are commonly till-born. These were his wayes for raising of money, wherein Promoters and Informers were his darling servants; and the most officious of all was *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, of whom he would often say, there was not such another man in the world to serve a Kings turn. And yet he was not so greedy of lucre but that he did some acts that may serve for examples: as one time, an Abbey being vacant, two Monks of the Covent came suiters to him for the place, offering great sums; and each of them outbidding the other; whereupon the King looking about, and espying another Monk standing not far off, asked him what he would give for the place? Who answering, he neither had any thing to give, nor would give any thing if he had it: Well (said the King) thou hast spoken honestly, thou art fitter to be Abbot then either of these; and so bestowed the place upon him gratis.

King William keeps Abbeyes and bishopricks vacant, in his hands.

From this King the Kings succeeding took the Temporalities of Bishops Sees vacant.

Fines taken of Priests for fornication.

Ne extas Regum, whence it began.

A notable party of King William.

Of his Magnanimity.

WOrd was brought him as he sat at dinner, that his City of *Mans* in *Normandy* was besieged, and in great danger to be taken, if not presently relieved: whereupon the King asked which way *Mans* lay; and then caused *Mafons* presently to take down the Wall, to make him passage the next way, and so rode instantly towards the Sea. His Lords about him, advising him to stay till his people were ready, No (saith he) but such as love me I know will follow me. And being come on Shipboard, and the weather growing very tempestuous, he was advised by the Master of his Ship, to stay for some calmer season: No (saith he) Fear nothing, I never yet heard of any King that was drowned. And thereby coming to *Mans* unexpected, he presently dispersed the Besiegers, and took *Helias Count de la Fleche*, who had been Author of the tumult, prisoner; who vaunting to the King, and saying, Now indeed you have taken me by a wile; but if I were at liberty again, you should find me to doe other manner of feats: at which the King laughing, Well then (saith he) go your wayes and do your worst, and let us see what feats

you will do. Being reconciled to his Brother *Robert*, he assisted him to recover the Fort of A Mount St. *Michael*, which their Brother *Henry* did formerly hold in *Normandy*: during which siege, stragling one time alone upon the shoar, he was set upon by three horsemen, who assaulted him so fiercely, that they drove him from his saddle, and his saddle from his horse; but he taking up his saddle, and withal drawing out his sword, defended himself till rescue came: and being afterward blamed for being so obstinate to save his saddle, he answered: It would have angered me at the very heart, that the knaves should have bragged they had won the saddle from me.

In what he was just in keeping his word, in what he was failing.

THis virtue specially was commended in him, and he would often say, That even God himself was obliged by his Word. But if we observe the course of his life, we shall finde that howsoever he might keep his word in small matters, yet certainly not in great: For he kept not his word with his brother *Robert*, to whom he promised to leave his Kingdom of *England* after his decease, but performed it not. Nor he kept not his word with his subjects, for in the rebellion of the *Norman* Lords, he promised the *English*, if they would now stick to him, they should have their ancient Lawes restored, and be allowed liberty to hunt in his Forests; which promise he kept not at all, or at least soon brake. Nor he kept not his word with God himself; for being sick at *Glocester*, and in some hazard of his life, he made a solemn vow, that if he recovered, he would lead a new life, and give over all his disorderly courses: but being recovered he grew more disorderly then he was before: that if domination be made from the greatest actions, it cannot be truly said, that he was just of his word; but such is the priviledge of Princes over their Subjects, that if they make a promise, it must be believed; and if they break it, it must not be questioned.

Of his Incontinency, and Prodigality.

King William never married.

A costly suit for a King.

Much is spoken of his lascivious life in general, but nothing in particular: for neither is D mentioned any violence he ever offered to any; nor is any woman named to have been his Concubine; and Princes Concubines are seldom concealed. It is true he was never married, and of a strong constitution of body, and so probable he might be inclined to that vice: but probabilities are not always concluding, and therefore whether it be a true accusation, or but a slander, it may well be doubted: only one base Son is spoken of, called *Bertrannus*, whom he advanced in honour, and married in a Noble Family. But why should we look more for particulars of his Incontinency, then of his Prodigality? for he was taxed no lesse for being Prodigal, then for being Incontinent; and yet for his Prodigality there is not so much as one instance recorded, unlesse we take this for an instance; that when his Chamberlain brought him a pair of hose, which because they were new, he asked what they cost? And being told they cost three shillings, in a great chafe he threw them away; asking him, If he thought a pair of hose of three shillings to be fit for a King to wear? Get thee gone (saith he) and let me have a pair of a Mark. His Chamberlain went, and bringing him another pair scarce so good as the former, and telling him they cost a Mark; I marry (saith the King) these are something like, and was better satisfied with hearing what they cost, then with seeing what they were worth: and yet was this no imputation to his wisdom, for to say the truth, it is no defect of wisdom in a King to be ignorant what his clothes are worth.

Of his wavering in Religion.

Eadmerus.

King William takes money to persuade a Christian Jew to turn to Judaism.

HE appointed a disputation to be held between Christians and Jews, and before the day came, the Jews brought the King a Present, to the end they might have an indifferent hearing; The King took the Present, encouraging them to quit themselves like men: and swore by St. *Lukes* face (his usual Oath) that if they prevailed in Disputation, he would himself turn Jew, and be of their Religion. A young Jew on a time was converted to the Christian Faith, whose Father being much troubled at it, presented the King sixty Marks, intreating him to make his Son to return to his Judaism; whereupon the King sent for his Son, commanding him without more ado to return to the Religion of his Nation. But the young man answered, he wondred his Majesty would use such words; for being a Christian, he should rather perswade him to Christianity: with which answer the King was so confounded, that he commanded the young man to get him out of his sight. But his Father finding the King could do no good upon his Son, required his money again. Nay (saith the King) I have taken pains enough for it, and yet that thou maist see how kindly I will deal, you shall have one half; and the other half you cannot in conscience deny me. There were fifty Gentlemen accused for hunting and killing the Kings Deer, which they denied, and were therefore condemned to the tryal of fire; which by Gods merciful judgement they passed through unrouched: the King hearing it, and deceived of the confiscation

A tion expected is said in a great chafe to say ; How happens this ? Is God a just Judge in suffering it ? Now a murrain take him that believes it. It seems also he doubted of many points of Religion, then in credit. For he would often protest, that he believed not that Saints could profit any man in Gods fight, and therefore neither would he, nor any other that were wise (as he affirmed) make Intercession either to *Peter*, or to any other for help.

A blasphemous speech of King William. King William trusted not to the prayers of Saints.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

B THe King claimed the Investiture of Bishops to be his right, and forbade Appeals and Inter-course to *Rome*; for Appeals had been seldom used till *Anselm* in this Kings reign appealed to the Pope; upon whose complaint the Pope was about to Excommunicate the King, but having a little before Excommunicated the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, he forbore at that time to do it, lest by making Excommunication common, he should make it be slighted. At this time great contention arose between the King and Archbishop *Anselm*: and *Anselm* not yeelding to the King in any point prejudicial to the Popes authority; nor the King yeelding to *Anselm* in any point prejudicial to his own Perogative; (which were points indeed incompatible) the contention continued long and hot, and the hotter, because there were at that time two Popes on foot at once: one elected by the Conclave, called *Urbanus* the second; another set up by the Emperour called *Clement* the third: for *Anselm* held with *Urban*, the King with *Clement*: and thus not agreeing in a third, it was impossible they should agree between themselves; and this contention, though palliated with pretensions, sometimes of one side, sometimes of another, yet brake out again, and was renewed both in this Kings time, and in the time of many Kings after. *Anselm* often threatening his going to *Rome*, the King told him plainly he would not thrust him out of the Realm, but if he would go without his leave, he would then keep him out during his pleasure; and besides, he should carry nothing out of the Realm with him: yet *Anselm* ventured it, and the King performed it; for *William Warlewast* was sent to rattle him in his passage at Sea of all he had, neither was he suffered to return as long as the King lived; during all which time, the King took the profits of his Archbishoprick to his own use. It may not be amisse to shew a passage here concerning the first cause of contention between the King and *Anselm*, which some say was this; The King required a thousand Marks of him for having preferred him to that See: which *Anselm* refused to give, as judging it no lesse Simony to give after the preferment then before; but yet afterward offering five hundred pounds, the King refused to accept it, as being worth (he said) five times as much: whereupon *Anselm* told him, Your Grace may have me, and all that is mine, to serve your turn in a friendly manner; but in the way of servitude and bondage, you shall neither have me nor mine: Which words so angered the King, that they could never after be reconciled. In this Kings reign Pope *Urban* exhorted all Christian Princes to joyn together for recovery of *Jerusalem* and the Holy Land: and by the soliciting of *Peter* an Hermite, there assembled for that enterprise, under the conduct of *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne*, to the number of three hundred thousand men; amongst whom was *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who so valiantly carried himself in the action, that after *Jerusalem* was won, the Kingdom of it (as some write) was offered to him: but he looking more after the Kingdom of *England*, and therefore refusing it; it is observed he never prospered all his life after. In this Kings reign, although he had no command in *Ireland*, yet their Bishop of *Dublin* was sent over to *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to be consecrated by him; and the Citizens of *Waterford* also desiring to have a Bishop procured *Mercherdach*, King of *Ireland*, to write to *Anselm*, to give his consent. Also in this Kings dayes the Pope forbade the marriage of Priests. And in his time, was the first Appeal to *Rome*, made by *Anselm*, that ever before had been made in *England*.

* *Wilfrid* before this appealed to the Pope; as *Bede* largely relateth.

Contentions between the King & Archbishop *Anselm*.

Anselm fleeth the Realm, and not suffered to return, during the Kings life.

Liberty of the subject.

Godfrey of *Bulloigne* undertakes the recovery of *Jerusalem*.

Robert Duke of *Normandy* refusing the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* never prospered after.

Works of piety by this King, or by other in his time.

THis King gave to the Monks of *Southwark*, the Church of *St. Saviour* of *Bermondsey*, and *Bermondsey* it self; he also Founded at *York* the Hospital of *St. Leonards*: He gave the Church of *St. Peter* in the City of *Bathe* to be a Bishops See. *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* in this Kings dayes builded the Abbey of *Chester*: *Oswald* Bishop of *Salisbury*, founded the Cathedral Church of *Salisbury*: *Remigius* Bishop of *Dorchester*, to the end his Bishoprick might be removed to *Lincolne*; began to build the Cathedral Church of *Lincolne*; and *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* builded two Hospitals without the City; the one of *St. John*, the other at *Harbaldown*; repaired Christs Church, and caused five and twenty Manours to be restored to that See, which had unjustly been withholden. He repaired also the Abbey of *St. Albans*, and the Church of *Rocheſter*, where for four secular Priests, he placed to the number of fifty Monks. In the sixth year of this Kings reign, *William Warren* the first Earl of *Surrey*, (who came with Duke *William* into *England*) and *Gundred* his Wife, founded the Abbey of *Lewis* in *Suffex*: and *Warren* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, built two Abbeys, one in the Suburbs of *Shrewsbury*, the other at *Vvenlock*. In his twelfth year, *Robert Loſaunge* Bishop of *Therford*, removed his See from *Therford* to *Normich*, and founded there a fair Monastery.

Bathe made a Bishops See.

The Abbey of *Lewis* in *Suffex* is founded.

His buildings and Structures.

Westminster Hall
built by this
King.

THIS King enlarged the Tower of *London*, and compassed it with new walls: he also built the great Hall at *Westminster*, being 270. foot in length, and 74. in breadth; but thinking it too little, he intended to have built another Hall which should have stretched from the Thames to the Kings street. He repaired the City and Castle of *Carlisle*, which had been wasted by the *Danes* two hundred years before, and because it had but few Inhabitants, he brought a Colony thither out of the Southern parts. He finished *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, and many other Castles erected or repaired upon the borders of *Scotland*; many also upon the frontiers, and within the very breast of *Wales*.

Casualties happening in his Reign.

A strange Fall
The streets in
this Kings time
not paved with
stone.
Godwins sands
in *Kent*.

IN the fourth year of his reign, on *St. Lukes* day, above six hundred houses in *London* were thrown down with tempest; and the roof of *St. Mary Bow Church* in *Cheapside*, was so raised, that in the fall six of the beams being 27. foot long, were driven so deep into the ground: (the streets being not then paved with stone) that not above four foot remained in sight, and yet stood in such rank and order as the workmen had placed them upon the Church. Also in this Kings reign all the Lands in *Kent*, sometimes belonging to Earl *Godwin*, were by breaking in of the Sea covered with sands, and are called *Godwins Sands* to this day. In his eleventh year, at a Town called *Fimchamstead* in the County of *Barkshire*, a Well cast out blood, as before it had done water: and after by the space of fifteen dayes, great flames of fire were seen in sundry places, and at sundry times.

Of his Personage and Condition.

HE was but mean of stature, thick and square bodied, his belly swelling somewhat round, his face was red, his hair deep yellow, whereof he was called *Rufus*, his forehead four square like a window; his eyes spotted, and not one like another; his speech unpleasant, and stammering, specially when he was moved with anger. Concerning the qualities of his minde, they may best be known by looking upon the actions of his life; in which we shall finde he was never more assured, then when he was least sure; never lesse dejected, then when in most extremity; being like a Cube, that which way so ever he fell, he was still upon his bottom. For his delights to passe the time, there was none in more request with him then hunting, a delight hereditary to him; which was the cause that as his Father had begun the great new Forest, so he enlarged it to a far greater extent. Other delights of his we finde not any, unless we shall reckon his Wars for delights: for though they were oftentimes forced upon him, when he could not avoid them; yet sometimes he entred into them when he needed not, but for his pleasure. And in general, it may be said that one of his greatest virtues, was that which is one of the greatest virtues, Magnanimity; and his worst vice, was that which is the worst of vices, Irreligion.

Presages that preceded his Death.

No warning
can prevent
destiny.

AT *Finchamstead* in *Barkshire*, near unto *Abington*, a spring cast up liquor for the space of fifteen dayes, in substance and colour like to blood. The night before the King was kild, a certain Monk dreamed, that he saw the King gnaw the Image of Christ crucified with his teeth; and that as he was about to bite away the legs of the same Image, Christ with his feet spurned him down to the ground: and that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, with abundance of smok. This being related to the King by *Robert Fitz-Mammon*; he made a jest of it, saying, This Monk would faine have something for his Dream: Go, give him a hundred shillings; but bid him look that he dream more auspicious Dreams hereafter. Also the same night, the King himself dream'd that the veins of his arms were broken, and that the blood issued out in great abundance: and many other like passages there were, by which it seems he had friends somewhere, as well as *Julius Caesar*, that did all they could to give him warning: but that as *Caesars*, so his *malin Genius* would not suffer him to take;

Of his Death and Burial.

King William
is slain in hun-
ting in the
New Forest.

KING William having kept his Christmas at *Glocester*, his Easter at *Winchester*, his Whitson-tide at *Westminster*, notwithstanding forewarned by many signes of some great dysaster toward him, would needs the day after *Lammas*, go a hunting in the New Forest; yet something resenting the many presages, he stayed within all the forenoon: about dinner time, an Artificer came

A came and brought him six Crosse-bow Arrowes, very strong and sharpe; whereof four he kept himself, and the other two he delivered to Sir *Walter Tyrell*, a Knight of *Normandy* his Bow-bearer; saying, Here *Tyrell*, take you two, for you know how to shoot them to purpose: and so having at dinner drunk more liberally then his custom, as it were in contempt of Presages, out he rides into the New Forest, where Sir *Walter Tyrell* shooting at a Deer, at a place called *Charingham*, (where since a Chappel hath been erected) the arrow glanced against a tree, or as some write, grazed upon the back of the Deer, and flying forward, hit the King upon the breast: with which he instantly fell down dead. Thus it is delivered by a common consent of all; only one *Sugerius*, a writer that lived at that time, and was a familiar acquaintance of the said *Tyrels*; against the current of all Writers, affirms that he had often heard the said Sir *Walter* swear that he was not in the Forest with the King all that day. I have been the longer upon this point, because a more pregnant example of Gods judgement remains not any where upon record. For not only this King at this time, but before this, a Brother of his named *Richard*, a young Prince of great hope; and also a Nephew of his, the Son of his Brother *Robert*, came all in this place to violent deaths: that although King *William* the Founder of the Forest escaped the punishment in his own person, yet it was doubled and trebled upon him in his issue. Thus dyed King *William Rufus*, in the three and fortieth year of his age, and twelfth and some moneths of his reign. His body was drawn in a Colliers Cart with one Horse to the City of *Winchester*, where the day following it was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Swithen*, and was laid there in the Quire under a Marble stone; till after-ward it was translated, and laid by King *Cannus* bones.

Sugerius differs from all other Writers.

Men of Note in his time.

FOR men of Valour, he must stand alone by himself: for men of Learning, there was *Lanfrank*, a *Lombard*, but Bishop of *Canterbury*: also *Robert*, a *Lorayn*, who Epitomized the Chronicle of *Marianus Scotus*: also *Turgotus* an *English* man, Dean of *Durham*, who wrote the Annals of his own time, and divers other works: but especially *Osmond* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who composed the ordinary Office, or Book of Prayer.

THE
REIGN
OF
KING HENRY
THE FIRST.

Of his coming to the Crown.

Anno Dom.
1100.



King Henry is
crowned.

The Bishop of
London is as
Dean to all the
Bishops of Eng-
land.

Why Henry
preferred be-
fore Robert his
elder Brother.

Although Henry came not to the Crown, as his Brother *William* did, A
by the gift of his Father, yet he came to it by the prophetic of his
Father: For when his Father made his Will, and divided all his Estate
in Land between his two eldest Sons, giving to *Henry* his youngest only
a portion in money, with which division he perceived him to be
much discontented; he said unto him, Content thy self *Harry*, for
the time will come, that thy turn shall be served as well as theirs. And
now the time was come that his Prediction was accomplished; of on
the fifth of *August*, in the year 1100. he was Crowned King for Eng-
land, at *Westminster*, by *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, (as Dean of all the Bishops of *England*,
and therefore might do it without any prejudice to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though B
he had been present, who was indeed at this time in Exile.) But though it appears *fuisse in*
Fatis, to be decreed by the Divine Providence that it should be so, yet it would not have
been so, if his own endeavours had not been concurring. And therefore being in the New
Forest, when his Brother King *William* was killed, he never stayed to complement the
Dyaster, but rode presently to *Winchester*, and there, not without some opposition for the
keepers, seized upon his Brothers Treasure, as knowing Treasure to be the means of get-
ting of Friends, and Friends the means for getting the Crown; and having now gotten the
first means, he made use of it for the second; and both of them together brought him to
the Crown. Yet withall there were circumstances in his own person that conduced to
it; his Brother was born, when their Father was but a Duke, he, when he was a King; C
Robert but a Forainer, being born in *Normandy*, himself a Native, born at *Selby* in *York-*
shire; and it was not the least circumstance, that he was called *Beauclerk*, as much as to
say, a good Scholar, having been bred in *Cambridge*; not perhaps that his learning was so
great, but that it was great, either in respect of that age, which had but little; or in respect
of his Brothers, who had none at all: and the People having been oppressed before,
by the ill Government of two Kings, that were illiterate; could not chuse but be glad
to come under the Government of a King that was learned. And though his Brother
Robert, as being the Elder had right unto it, yet he as out of sight was out of minde,
and perhaps neglected, as being himself negligent; withall it was given out, that he
was chosen King of *Hiernsalem*, and therefore no looking for him to come home; and D
to give force to all these reasons, *Henry Newborough* Earl of *Warwick* was a principal
furtherer.

His course for establishing himself in the Kingdom.

IT is a hard matter to keep that safely, which is unjustly gotten; and therefore he took all possible care to overcome that hardnesse; which he effected by these means; First he called *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* home from Exile; placed *William Gyfford* a learned man, in the Bishoprick of *Winchester*; and Monasteries that had been long vacant, he furnished with good Abbots. And because it is no lesse pleasing to the People, to have bad instruments punished, then the good to be advanced, he cast *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham* (a principall cause of their late oppressions) into prison: then mitigated the rigour of the new Laws; and promised restitution of the old. And that there might be no abuse in measures, he ordained a measure, made by the length of his own Arme, which is called a Yard. He restored to his Subjects the use of Lights and Fire in the night, which before had been forbidden after eight a clock at night. He acquitted the People from the Tax of Dane-gelt, and from all other unjust payments, which had been imposed upon them by the two former Kings. He gave free liberty to the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, to inclose Parks for Deer, and Warrens for Coneyes; and such like game. And because he knew *Scotland* might be an ill Neighbour to him, if not tyed by some Bond, and none so sure as the Bond of Alliance, he therefore takes *Matild* sister of the present King *Edgar* to be his Wife.

Anselm called home from exile.

The measure of a Yard ordained by King *Henry*. Dane-gelt remitted.

He marries the King of Scots Sister.

His troubles during his Reign.

Ralph Bishop of *Durham*, the late King *William's* great Instrument for Exactions, that had by this King been committed to the Tower, made an escape, and passing over to Duke *Robert* in *Normandy*; incensed him, not to suffer himself to be baffled by a younger brother; as for his Brother *William* there was some reason, because his Father had given him the Kingdom by his Will, but what could *Henry* pretend, who had his Portion given him in money? Besides, it was an agreement with his Brother *William*, with consent of all the Lords of the Realm, that the Survivor of them should succeed. With such like instigations, and withall assuring him, there were many in *England* would take his part; he easily perswaded the Duke to that, from which he could have hardly have dissuaded him; who thereupon with a convenient Army puts to Sea, and lands at *Portsmouth*, while *Henry* waited for his coming about *Hastings*; and being landed there, much people resorted to him, that it was like to have been a bloody businesse; but by mediation of Friends, working upon the flexible nature of Duke *Robert*, it was brought at last to this agreement, that King *Henry* should pay to Duke *Robert*, three thousand marks yearly, and Duke *Robert* should succeed him in the Kingdom, if he survived. And thus, this cloud, that threatened so great a storm, brought with it rather Sunshine and fair weather: for now to his possession of the Kingdom, there was added a right, and he might now justifie his being a King, without any scandall or usurpation. After this another little cloud arose, but was soon dispersed: For *Robert de Belesm* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a rash young man of disposition, but more through discontentment, though discontented for nothing, but that having a great Estate, he was not a King as well as some others, fortified the Town of *Shrewsbury*, and the Castle of *Bridge-north*, and got many *Welshmen* to assist him, but the King coming with a mighty Army, so terrified the *Welsh*, that they abandoned the Earl, and left him a prey to the King in his person, and more in his Estate, for the King seized his Estate into his hands, but for his person he only banished it the Realm. For as yet the shedding of blood and putting to death, though for great Treasonable practises, was not much in use; Policy of State was not yet grown to that height of severity. The like attempt, and upon the like occasion, was made by *William* Earl of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*, and of *Cornwall* in *England*, Uncle to the King, only for denying him the Earldom of *Kent*, which because he could not obtain, he entred into Treasonable practises, by which he lost the Earldoms he had before. But these troubles were but as the labour of a Woman that is safely delivered; painfull for a time, but ending in joy: and indeed for the most part this King had the fortune to be a gainer by his losses.

An. Reg. 20. Ralph Bishop of *Durham* incensed Duke *Robert* to claim the Crown.

Duke *Robert* comes with an Army into *England*.

Is compounded with upon certain conditions.

Robert de Belesm Earl of *Shrewsbury* rebels.

Banishment as yet the greatest punishment, though for Treason.

William of *Cornwall* rebels.

After this, Duke *Robert* came in kindnesse into *England*, to visit his Brother *Henry*; where he was so well pleased with his entertainment, that in requital thereof, and to do a favour to the Queen, that was his God-daughter; he released to King *Henry*, the three thousand marks, which he was yearly to pay him. But returning into *Normandy*, and considering better what he had done, he so repented him, that he spared not to give out, that his Brother had directly conspired him. Which coming to King *Henries* ear, so incensed him, that he presently sent over a mighty Army, which foraged the Countrey, and won many Towns and Cities, and soon after went over himself; where he so prevailed, that he left Duke *Robert* but only *Roan* in all *Normandy* to put his head in, and this done returns into *England*. And now Duke *Robert* begins to be sensible of his own weaknesse, and therefore comes over into *England* to try the utmost of his Brothers good nature; Himself had sent him a Tun of Wine to refresh him withall, when in a siege he was ready to perish for want of water: and it cannot be, but that gratefulnesse and natural affection, meeting together, must needs work something in the minde of a Brother.

An. Reg. 14. Duke *Robert* remits his annuity.

He gives out that his brother had conspired him.

Duke Robert
is invaded by
King Henry.

Is taken pri-
soner, brought
into England,
and hath his
eyes put out.

King Henry's
Son William
marries the
Earl of Angious
Daughter.

The King of
Englands eldest
Son alwayes
Duke of Nor-
mandy.

William Son to
Duke Robert, is
wounded and
dyeth.

King Henry in
distresse in
Wales.

Brother. Thus resolved, he presents himself to the King, referring both his Dukedom and him- A
self, and all differences and debates to his will and pleasure. But whether incensed with the
scandalous words Duke Robert had given out of him, or whether aspiring to joyn Normandy to
England, as his Father had done before, King Henry scarce vouchsafed to hear him speak, at least
vouchsafed not to make him any answer, but in a sullen manner turned away, and so left him: which
scornful usage put the Duke into such indignation, that he resolved to set his whole state to stake,
and either to redeem his disgrace, or to forfeit his life. So returning into Normandy, he uteth all
his force in raising of Forces, but King Henry suspecting his intentions, and not using to give Insur-
rections time to ripen, came upon him so suddenly with a mighty Army, that he drew him to a
battail before he was half ready to fight. In which battail King Henry received sundry stripes on
the head, at the hands of one William Crispine Count de Eureux; so as the blood burst out of his
mouth; yet nothing abashed, he struck down divers of his enemies: and particularly the said
Crispines, who was there taken prisoner at the Kings feet. And now desire of revenge so anima- B
ted the Duke, and the Duke his Soldiers, that never battail was more fiercely fought, and the
Normans seemed at first to have the better, till King Henry shewing himself in the Army, put
such courage into his Souldiers, that they quickly made good the advantage they had in number,
and King Henry obtained a complete victory, both in slaughter of men, (of whom there were
slain above ten thousand) and in taking of Prisoners (to the number of four hundred:) amongst
whom, besides other Great ones, as the Earl of Mortaigne, William Crispine, and William Fer-
rers, was Duke Robert himself, whom the King (having first taken order for all things, in his new
State of Normandy) brought over with him into England, and committed him to the Castle of C
Cardiffe in Wales, where he remained a Prisoner till he died, used for a time with reasonable
liberty for Recreation, till attempting to make an escape, it was thought fit to put out his eyes;
which though it encreased his misery, yet it shortened not his life, for he lived many years after,
in all, from the time of his first imprisonment, eight and twenty. And thus this great Duke, who
in his birth was the joy of Nature, in his life was the scorn of Fortune; and it is not unworthy
the observing, that the English won Normandy, the very same day fortieth year, the Normans had
won England. Such Revolutions of Fortune there are in Kingdoms, and so unstable is the state
of all worldly Greatnesse. He died, Anno Dom. 1134. and lies buried at Gloucester. Matth.
Westmon. writes that King Henry his Brother sent him according to his custom a Robe of
Scarlet, and putting it first on himself perceived the Capouch to be somewhat strait: whereupon D
he said, Carry this garment to my Brother, for his head is lesse then mine; the messenger deli-
vering the Robe, Duke Robert demanded, if any had worn it, and being told him the King had first
assayed it, and what speeches he had used; the Duke replied; I have now too long protracted
a miserable life, since my Brother is so injurious to me, that he sends me his old cloaths to wear,
and from that time would never eat any meat, nor receive any comfort.

And now is King Henry as great as ever his Father was, and as Greatnesse draws envy, as much
envy as ever his Father was; and as Envy makes Enemies, as much opposed as ever his Father
was: for now Fulke Earl of Angions, and Baldwyne Earl of Flanders, upon small occasions, and
Lewis the Grosse, King of France, upon none but such as envy suggested, seeking to place William,
Son to Duke Robert, in his Right to Normandy, assaulted the Kings Dominions, perhaps to try E
whether greatnesse had not made him unwieldy; but King Henry, to shew that greatnesse had
made him more active, went over into Normandy with a mighty Army, and at Nice encountered
the French King, where a bloody battail was fought, with exceeding valour on both sides, but at
last King Henry repelled the French King, and recovered Nice, and after many other conflicts be-
tween them, with variety of Fortune, at last the King made peace with the Earl of Angions; con-
firmed by a marriage of the Earls Daughter with his Son William: and upon this also the two
Kings grew to a peace, in which William, Son to King Henry, being about seventeen years of age,
was invested into the Duchy of Normandy, doing homage for the same to the King of France:
From whence it was afterward a custom, that the King of Englands eldest son (as long as Nor-
mandy remained in their hands) was made alwayes Duke of Normandy. After this, Charles Earl F
of Flanders, being slain at Brussels by a conspiracy of his own people, and leaving no issue be-
hinde him, Lewis King of France invested William, Son to Duke Robert, in the Earldom of Flanders,
as descended from Earl Baldwyn, whose daughter Maude was Wife to King William the first, and
Grandmother to this William: so as William now having gotten this step of advancement, seeks
to go on, and to recover Normandy, and was thereof, by the assistance of the King of France, in a
fair possibility, when in a certain light conflict, receiving a wound in his hand, the thread of his
fair possibility was upon a sodain cut off, and of that light wound, he shortly after died.

King Henry now in perfect peace abroad, was not without some little disquietings at home,
and marching through Powis-land in South Wales, to repress some insurrections of the Welsh,
he came to certain straights, where his main Army could not passe, in which place the King was G
smitten with an Arrow full upon the breast, whereat he swore by our Lords death. (his usual
Oath) that it was no Welsh arme, had shot that Arrow, yet in his distresse, for a thousand head of
Cattel, he had the passage left open, and came safely off. And these were his troubles of Armes,
both at home and abroad, during all his reign.

A

His Taxations and wayes for raising of Money.

TOwards the marriage of his Daughter *Mauve* with the Emperour, he obtained at his first Parliament at *Salisbury*, three shillings upon every Hide of Land, throughout the Kingdom, which was afterwards drawn to a custom, to receive aid from the Subjects, whensoever the King gave his eldest Daughter in marriage. Besides this he had no more in all his reign, but only one supply for his wars in *France*; but he kept Bishopricks and Abbeyes void in his hands, and that of *Canterbury* five years together. By an Act of Parliament, or rather by a Synod of Bishops holden at *London*, he was authorized to punish marriage, and incontinency of Priests; which the Bishops afterwards repented, for he suffered Priests to have Wives for Fines, or rather took Fines of them, whether they had Wives or no, because they might have them if they would. Punishments which before his time were mutilation of Member, he made Pecuniary. And the Provisions of his house, which were used to be paid in kinde, were in his time rated at certain prices, and received in money. By this Chapter and the next before, it appears there were in this Kings dayes, but few troubles at home, nor but few Taxations; whereof the one may be thought to be cause of the other, the first perhaps of the second, but certainly the second of the first.

The custom of giving aid for marrying the Kings eldest daughter, when it first began.

Punishments made pecuniary.

His rents paid now in money.

C

Laws first instituted in his time.

HE first instituted the form of the High Court of Parliament, for before his time, only certain of the Nobility, and Prelates of the Realm were called to consultation, about the most important affairs of State, but he caused the Commons also to be assembled, by Knights and Burgesies of their own appointment, and made the Court to consist of three parts, the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Common people, representing the whole body of the Realm, and appointed them to sit in several Chambers; the King, the Bishops, and Lords of the Realm in one Chamber, and the Commons in another, to confer together by themselves. Other Orders of that Court he Ordained, as they are in use at this day. The first Councell of this sort was held at *Salisbury*, on the 19. day of *April*, in the 16. year of his reign. He forbade the wearing of long hair, which at that time was frequent, after the manner of the *French*. He commanded Robbers upon the High way, to be hanged without redemption: of whom a famous one at that time was one *Dunne*, and of him, the place where he most used, by reason of the great Woods thereabout, is to this day called *Dunstable*, where the King built the Borough as now it standeth. Counterfeiters of money he punished with pulling out their eyes, or cutting off their privy members, a punishment both lesse then death, and greater.

The Court of Parliament first instituted by King Henry.

Long hair forbidden.

Dunstable why so called.

Counterfeiters of money how punished.

E

Affaires of the Church in his time.

AT his first coming to the Crown, he forbore his claim to the investitures of Bishops, but after he had been King some time, he claimed that both to invest Bishops, and to allow, or hinder appeals to *Rome*, belonged to him. In these *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was now returned into *England*, opposed him, affirming that both of them belonged to the Pope: the contention at last was brought to the Pope, to whom King *Henry* sent *William Warlestaff*, elect Bishop of *Exeter*, who saying to the Pope, that his Master would not for the Crown of his Realm, lose the Authority of Investing his Prelates; the Pope started up and answered, Neither will I lose the disposing of Spiritual Promotions in *England*, for the Kings head that wears the Crown; before God (said he) I avow it. So the contention grew long and hot, and many messengers were sent to and fro about it, the conclusion was (which proved no conclusion) that the King should receive homage of the Bishops elect; but should not invest them by Staffe and Ring: to which the King said nothing for the present, but forbore not to do it ever the lesse: for five years after the death of *Anselm*, *Ralph* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, was by the King made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and notwithstanding all former Decrees and Threatnings of the Pope, he received his Investiture of the King. About this time a Councell of Bishops was held at *London*; at which the Temporal Lords were present: to the end that the Decree of the Councell might be confirmed by both Orders. If any man desire to know more of the passages between the King and *Anselm*; and of the many great virtues of *Anselm*, let him read *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who was as his Secretary, and hath written of purpose to set forth his praises. About this time a Canon was made against the marriage of Priests, to which purpose *Johannes Cremenſis*, a Priest Cardinal, by the Kings license came into *England*, and held a solemn Synod at *London*, where inveighing sharply against it, affirming it be no better then profest Adultery, he was himself the night following taken in bed with a common Harlot. Even *Anselm* himself, the most earnest

Contention between the King and the Pope about investiture of Bishops

Eadmerus. Marriage of Priests forbidden. Cardinal *Cremenſis* taken in bed with a harlot.

earnest enforcer of single life, dyed not, it seems, a Virgin, for else he would never in his writings make such lamentation for the losse thereof. A little before this, *Anselm* being at *Roan*, *Boemundus* one of the chief Princes that had been at *Jerusalem*, came thither; and amongst other holy Reliques, gave unto him certain hairs of the blessed Virgin *Mary*; which *Anselm* held alwayes in great veneration, and * my self having the custody of them committed to me, have found by experience so great holiness to be in them. About this time *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, held a Councell at *Westminster*: where divers constitutions were made; of which these were two, That Priests should no more be suffered to have Wives: and that there should be no more buying and selling of men in *England*, which was hitherto accustomed, as if they had been Kine or Oxen. *Anselm* about this time dying at the age of 76. years, *Rodolph* succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*, but not till five years after the death of *Anselm*; and *Thomas* dying, *Thurstine* succeeded in the Archbishoprick of *York*: between which two Prelates, there arose great contention; *Rodolph* would not consecrate *Thurstine*, unlesse he would professe obedience; *Thurstine* was content to embrace his benediction, but professe obedience he would not: In this contention the King takes part with *Rodolph*, the Pope with *Thurstine*: after many passages, in the business, upon the Popes threatening to Excommunicate the King, *Thurstine* entred upon his Bishoprick, and the King connived. In the tenth year of his reign, the Abby of *Ely* was made a Bishops See, and *Cambridgeshire* was appointed for the Diocese thereof, which because it belonged before to the Jurisdiction of *Lincoln*, the King gave the Bishop of *Lincoln*, in recompense thereof, the Manor of *Spalding*. This King also created a Bishoprick at *Carlisle*, and endowed it with many Honours. In his time, the Order of the *Templars* began, in the 27. year of his reign, the *Grey Fryers*, by procurement of the King, came first into *England*, and had their first house builded at *Canterbury*. Also in this Kings time, the first Legit to supply the Popes room came into *England*, but as yet not admitted. I may here have leave to tell two stories of Church-men, for refreshing of the Reader: *Guymond* the Kings Chaplain, observing that unworthy men for the most part were advanced to the best dignities of the Church, as he celebrated Divine Service before him, and was to read these words out of *St. James*, [It rained not upon the Earth, I II years and VI moneths] he read it thus; It rained not upon the Earth, one, one, one years, and five one moneths. The King observed his reading, and afterwards blamed him for it; but *Guymond* answered, that he did it of purpose, for that such Readers were soonest preferred by his Majesty. The King smiled, and in short time after preferred him to the Government of *St. Frideswids* in *Oxford*. The other is this, *Thomas* Archbishop of *York* falling sick, his Physicians told him, that nothing would do him good, but to company with a woman; to whom he answered, that the Remedy was worse then the Disease, and so dyed a Virgin. This King granted to the Church of *Canterbury*, and to *William* and his successors, the custody of Constableship of the Castle of *Rochester* for ever. In this Kings time the errors of *Gilbertus Porretas*, were condemned in a Councell, holden at *Rheims*, by Pope *Calixtus*: also in his time *Innocentius* and *Anacletus* contended for the Papacy, whereby a great Schism arose in the Church.

Works of Piety done by this King, or by others in his time.

THIS King founded and erected the Priory of *Dunstable*, the Abbey of *Cirester*, the Abby of *Reading*, the Abby of *Hildesheim* without the Walls of *Winchester*, the Abby of *Shirborne*. He also new builded the Castle of *Windsor*, with a Colledge there: He made also the Navigable River between *Torkesay* and *Lincoln*, a work of great charge, but greater use. His Wife Queen *Maud*, passing over the River of *Lue*, was somewhat endangered; whereupon she caused two Stone-Bridges to be built, one at the head of the Town of *Stratford*, the other over another stream there, called *Channel-bridge*, and paved the way between them with gravell. She gave also certain Manours, and a Mill called *Wyggon* Mill, for repairing the same Bridges and Way. These were the first Stone Bridges that were made in *England*, and because they were Arched over like a Bow, the Town of *Stratford* was afterward called *Bow*. This Queen also founded the Priory of the Holy Trinity, now called Christs Church, within the East Gate of *London* called *Aldgate*; and an Hospital of *St. Giles* in the Field, without the West part of the City. In this Kings time *Jordan Briset* Baron, founded the House of *St. John* of *Hierusalem* near to *Smithfield*, in *London*, and gave 14. Acres of ground, lying in the field next to *Clerkenwell*, to build thereupon a House of Nuns, wherein he with *Myriol* his Wife were buried in the Chapter House. *Robert Fitzham*, who came out of *Normandy* with the Conquerour, Fornded anew the Church of *Tukesbury*, and was there buried. *Herbert* Bishop of *Norwich*, founded the Cathedral Church there. The Priory and Hospital of *St. Bartholomew* in *Smithfield*, was founded by a Minstrel of the Kings, named *Reior*, who became first Prior there. Before this time *Smithfield*, was a Laystall of all ordure and filth, and the place where Felons were put to Execution. *Hugh Lacy* founded the Monastery of *St. John* at *Lanthyony* near to *Glocester*. *Juga Baynard*, Lady of little *Dunmow*, founded the Church there, and gave to maintain it half a Hyde of Land. This Lady *Juga* was late Wife to *Baynard*, that first built *Baynards* Castle in *London*. *Endo* the Kings Sewer, founded the Monastery of *St. John* at *Colechester*.

- A Colchester, of black Chanons, and those were the first of that Order in England. Simon Earl of Northampton, and Maud his Wife, Founded the Monastery of St. Andrew in Northampton. In the seventh year of this Kings reign, the first Chanons entered into the Church of our Lady in Southwarke, called St. Mary Overy; founded by William Pountlarge Knight, and William Dancyes, Normans. Robert the first Earl of Gloucester, the Kings base Son, builded the Castles of Bristow and Cardyffe, with the Priory of St. James in Bristow: and his Son Earl William began the Abby of Kensham. Geoffery Clinton, Treasurer and Chamberlain to the King, founded the Priory at Kenelworth, of Regular Chanons. Henry Earl of Warwick, and Margaret his Wife, Founded the Colledge of St. Mary, in the Town of Warwick; and Roger de Belemond, his Son, and Ellyne his Wife, translated the same Colledge into the Castle of Warwick, in the year 1123. Roger Bishop of Salisbury built the Devises in Wiltshire; the Castles also of Malmesbury and Shirbourne. He repaired the Castle of Salisbury, and environed it with a Wall; he also built the stately Church of Salisbury: destined to a longer life then any of his other works. Ralph Bishop of Durham began to build the Castle of Norham, upon the bank of the River Tweed. In the 32 year of this Kings reign, the Priory of Norton in Cheshire, was founded by one William the Son of Nychel, and the Abby of Cumbermere in the same shire. The Colledge of Secular Canons also in the Castle of Leyecester, and the Abby without the North gate of the same Town, called St. Mary de Prato. Also in this Kings reign was founded the Monastery of Plimpton in Devonshire, with the Cathedral Church of Exeter; the Priory of Merton, the Hospital of Kepar, the Priory of Osene near Oxford, by Robert de Oylve Knight: and the Hospital of St. Crosse near Winchester, by Henry Blois Bishop there: also Robert Earl of Ferrers founded the Abby of Merivall: and indeed so many in his time were built, that one would think the Inhabitants of England to be all Carpenters and Masons, that were able to finish so many great buildings in so short a time as this Kings reign.

The Devises
in Wiltshire by
whom built.

The Church
of Salisbury by
whom built.

The Cathedral
of Exeter when
built.

The Hospital
of S. Crosse by
whom found-
ed.

Casualties happening in his time:

- D In this Kings dayes all the four Elements were guilty of doing much mischief, but chiefly the water: For King Henry returning into England after his conquest of Normandy, left his Son William with his Sister Mary Countesse of Perche, Richard his Son by a Concubine, the Earl of Chester with his Wife Lucie, the Kings Neece by his sister Adela, and other Lords and Ladies, and passengers to the number of 180. to follow after him: who taking shipping (and the best Ship the King had) whether by carelesness, or drunkenness of the Sailours were all drowned. The Prince indeed was got into the Ship-boat, and out of danger; but hearing the lamentable cries of his Sister, compassion wrought so in him, that he turned about his boat to take her in, which overcharged with the multitude, over-turned, and they all perished: none escaped but only one Sailour, who had been a Butcher, who by swimming all night upon the Mast, came safe to land. An accident not more grievous then exemplary; for amongst other conclusions, from hence we may gather, that no state is so uncertain as prosperity; no fall so sudden as into adversity; and that the rule [He that stands, let him take heed he fall not] cannot always be observed, because a man happens sometimes to fall before it is possible for him to take heed. Another great mischief was in this Kings dayes wrought by the water; for by the breaking in of the Sea, a great part of Flanders was drowned: whereupon a great number of Flemmings being suiters to King Henry for some place to inhabit; he assigned them a part in Wales near the Sea, called Pembroke shire, where they have inhabited to this day: the King by this one action, working two good effects, both shewing compassion to distressed strangers, and putting a bridle upon unquiet Natives. But the water had another way to do mischief as much by defect, as this was by excessse; for upon the tenth of October, the River of Medway many miles together did so fail of water, that in the midst of the Channel, the smallest vessels could not passe: and the same day also in the Thames, between the Tower of London and the Bridge, men waded over on foot for the space of two dayes: also at another time the River of Trent at Nottingham was dried up a whole day. Now for the Earth, though naturally it be without motion, yet it moves sometimes when it is to do mischief, specially being assisted by the Air; as in this Kings dayes, it moved with so great a violence, that many buildings were shaken down, and Malmesbury saith, that the house wherein he sat, was lifted up with a double remove, and at the third time setled again in the proper place. Also in divers places it yeilded forth a hideous noise, and cast forth flames at certain rifts many dayes together, which neither by water, nor by any other means could be suppressed. But yet the active Element of Fire was busiest of all, for first Chichester with the principal Monastery was burnt down to the ground. From West-cheap in London to Aldgate, a long tract of buildings was consumed with fire: Worcester also and Rochester, even in the Kings presence; then Winchester, Bath, Gloucester, Lincoln, Peterborough, and other places did also partake of this calamity, that there could be no charging the fire with any partiality: and to speak of one forain casualty, because a strange one; in Lombardy this year was an Earthquake that continued forty dayes, and removed a Town from the place where it stood, a great way off. In the thirteenth year of this King, many prodigies were seen; a Pig was farrowed with a face like a Childe; a Chicken was hatched

The Kings
children drown-
ed.

Pembroke shire
assigned to the
Flemmings to
inhabit.

A strange
Earthquake.

Great Fire in
many places.

Housten.
A long Earth-
quake.

hatched with four legs; and the Sun was so deeply eclipsed, that by reason of the darkness, many stars did plainly appear. In this Kings time, *Gerard* Archbishop of *Tork*, a man though learned, yet of many ill parts, sleeping one day in his garden after dinner, never waked again, but was there found dead.

Of his Wives and Children.

King Henry takes a wife out of a Nunnery,

Her great humility and devotion,

Monuments for great personages erected in divers places.

An insolent part of Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury.

AT his first coming to the Crown, he married *Matild* or *Maunder*, Sister to *Edgar* then King of *Scotland*, and Daughter to *Malcolm* by *Margaret* the Sister of *Edgar Atheling*. This *Matild*, if she were not a veiled Nun, she was at least brought up in a Nunnery, and thereby grown so averse from marriage, that when the motion was first made her to marry with King *Henry*, she utterly refused it, as resolved, though perhaps not vowed to die a Virgin; till at last importuned, and even forced by the authority of her Brother, she rather yeelded then consented; for she did it with so ill a will, that it is said, she prayed, if ever she had issue by the marriage, that it might not prosper: and indeed it prospered but untowardly, as will be seen in the sequell. But though she made this imprecation before she knew what it was to be a Mother, yet when she came to be a Mother, she shewed her self no lesse loving and tender of her children, then loyall and obsequious to her Husband. And to make amends for this seeming impiety towards her children, there is a story related of her reall piety towards the poor: for a Brother of hers coming one morning to visit her in her Chamber, found her sitting amongst a company of *Lazar* people, washing and dressing their Ulcers and sores; and then kissing them after she had done: who wondering at it, and saying to her; How could she think the King should like to kisse that mouth, which had kissed such filthy Ulcerous people? she answered, she had a greater King to kisse, who she knew would like her never the worse for it. By this Queen *Matild*, King *Henry*, according to some Writers, had four children; but as the received opinion is, only two, a Son named *William*, and a Daughter called *Maunder*; of whom the Son at fourteen years old had fealty sworn to him by the Nobility of *Shrewsbury*: at seventeen married the Daughter of *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou*: and at eighteen was unfortunately drowned, as hath been shewed. The Daughter lived to be an Emperesse, and afterwards a Dutchesse; but could never come to be a Queen, though born to a Kingdom; as shall be shewed hereafter. She survived her second husband seventeen years, living a Widow, and at *Roan* in *Normandy* dyed, and was buried there in the Abby of *Bec*; though there be a tradition that she was buried at *Reading*, in the Abby there beside her Father: but it appears to have been a custom in those dayes, for great personages to have their Monuments erected in divers places. After the death of this Queen *Matild*, who dyed at *Westminster*, in the eighteenth year of his reign, King *Henry* married *Adeliza*, the Daughter of *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorraine*; who though she were a beautiful and accomplished Lady, yet had he never any issue by her. When she was to be crowned, *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was to do the Office, came to King *Henry*, sitting Crowned in his Chair of State, asking him who had set the Crown upon his head? the King answering, he had now forgotten, it was so long since. Well (said the Archbishop) whosoever did it, did me wrong, to whom it belonged; and as long as you hold it thus, I will do no Office at this Coronation. Then (saith the King) do what you think good: whereupon the Archbishop took the Crown off from the Kings head; and after at the peoples entreaty, set it on again, and then proceeded to Crown the Queen. By Concubines King *Henry* had many children; it is said seven Sons, and as many Daughters; of whom some perished in the great Shipwrack; of the rest, two of the Sons, *Reynold* and *Robert*, were made Earls: *Reynold* of *Bristol*, *Robert* of *Glocester*, and was a great assister of his sister *Maunder*, in her troubles with King *Stephen*; who after many acts of valour performed by him, in the twelfth year of King *Stephen* died, and was buried at *Bristol*. The daughters were all married to Princes and Noble men of *England* and *France*, from whom are descended many worthy Families: particularly one of those Daughters by *Anne Corbet*, was married to *Fitz-herbert*, Lord Chamberlain to the King: from which *Fitz-herbert*, our Family (*absit invidia verbo*) is by Females descended; passing by the names of *Cummin*, *Chenduis*, *Brimpton*, *Stokes*, *Foxcote*, *Dynebey*, and so to *Baker* and *Barret*.

Of his Incontinency.

OF this enough hath been said, in saying he had so many children basely begotten: but if comparison be made between his Brother *Rufus* and him; it may be said, that howsoever they might be equall in looseness of life; yet in that looseness, *William Rufus* was the baser, and King *Henry* the more Noble; for King *Henry* had certain selected Concubines, to whom he kept himself constant; where King *William* took only such as he found; constant to the pleasure, but not to the persons.

A His course for establishing the succession in Maude and her issue.

H E married his only daughter *Maude*, being but six years old, to the Emperour *Henry* the fourth; but he leaving her a Widow without issue, he married her again to *Geoffry Plantagenet*, Son to *Fulke* Duke of *Anjou*: not the greatest Prince that was a Sutor for her; but the fittest Prince for King *Henries* turn: for *Anjou* is neighbouring upon *Normandy*, a great security to it, if a friend; and as great a danger, if an enemy. And having thus placed her in marriage, he now considers how to establish her succession in the Crown of *England*; whereupon he calls his Nobility together, and amongst them *David* King of *Scots*, and causeth them to give their Oaths of Allegiance to her and her issue: and as thinking he could never make her succession sure enough, he causeth his Lords the year after again to take the like Oath, and after that a third time also; as conceiving that being doubled and trebled, it would make the tie of Allegiance the stronger: wherein nothing pleased him so much, as that *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, was the first man that took the Oath, because he was known to be, at least known he might be a pretender. But the King should have considered that *Nulla fides Regnis*, and therefore no Oath, though never so often iterated, sufficient to warrant loyalty in persons so deeply interested, as *Stephen* was: yet providence could do no more, and the King was well satisfied with it; especially when he saw his Daughter a Mother of two Sons: for this, though it gave him not assurance, yet it gave him assured hope to have the Crown perpetuated in his Posterity.

King Henry causeth his Nobility to swear Allegiance to his daughter Maude.

Of Ireland in his time.

T He King of *England* as yet had nothing to do with *Ireland*, the Countrey was governed by its own Kings: and the people of both Nations, though they were neighbours, yet divided by a rough Sea, but little acquainted; but now began intercourse to be more frequented: and *Mercherdach*, chief King of the *Irish*, bore such awful respect to King *Henry*, that he would do nothing but by his counsel and with his good liking.

Mercherdach King of Ireland is much ruled by King Henry.

Whom King Henry used as his Vicegerent in his absence.

H E was absent sometimes in *Normandy*, three or four years together; during which times, he committed commonly the care of the Realm to *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, a politic Prelate; and one as fit to be the second in government, as King *Henry* to be the first.

E His Personage and Conditions.

H E was a person tall and strong, broad breasted, his limbs well knit, and fully furnished with flesh; his face well fashioned, his colour clear, his eyes large and fair, his eyebrows large and thick, his hair black and somewhat thin towards his forehead; his countenance pleasant, specially when he was disposed to mirth. A private man, vilified, and thought to have but little in him: but come to the Crown, never any man shewed more excellent abilities, so true is the saying, *Magistratus indicat virum*. His natural affection in a direct line was strong; in an oblique, but weak; for no man ever loved Children more, nor a Brother lesse. Though a King in act, yet he alwayes acted not a King; but in battails sometimes the part of a common Souldier, though with more then common valour: as at a Battail in *France*, where he so far hazarded himself, that though he lost not his life, yet he lost his blood. He delighted much in Beasts of forain Countries; as in Lions, Leopards, Camels, and such like, for which he inclosed a place at *Woodstock* of purpose to keep them.

Huntington.

King Henrys valour,

Of his Death and Burial.

G A Discontent of minde upon some differences between him and his Son-in-law, the Earl of *Anjou*, brought upon him a distemper, which encreased by eating, against his Physicians advice, of a Lamprey; a meat alwayes pleasing to him, but never agreeing with him; cast him into a Fever, which in few dayes put a period to his life: So certain it is, that one intemperate action is enough to overthrow the temperance of a whole life; as of this King *Henry* it is said, that he seldom did eat but when he was hungry, never did drink but when he was athirst: yet this but once yeelding to his sensual appetite, made him forfeit all benefit of his former abstinence: though some write he took his death by a fall off his horse. He dyed upon the first of *December* at night, in the year 1135, when he had reigned five

King Henry surfeits of eating of a Lamprey.

The time of
the Norman
Kings ends.

and thirty years; lived threescore and seven. His bowels, brains, and eyes, were buried ^A at *Roan* in *Normandy* where he dyed: the rest of his body was stuffed with Salt, wrapped in Oxe hides, and brought over into *England*, and with honourable Exequies buried in the Monastery of *Reading*, which himself had founded. The Physitian that took out his brains, with the intolerable stench shortly after dyed. In this King *Henry* ended the line of the *Normans*, as touching the Heirs Males; and then came in the *French*, by the title of Heirs general.

Men of Note in his time.

^B
MEn of Learning in his time were many: first, *Stephen Harding* a Benedictine Monk, who was founder of the Cistercian Order. Then *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who besides his activeness in matters of State, writ many great and learned Books. Then *Walter Calene*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, who delivered a History written in the *British* tongue, from *Brute* to *Cadwallader*, to *Geoffry* of *Munmouth* to translate; and added forty years of his own time. Also *Florentius* a Monk of *Worcester*, who writ *De rebus Gestis Anglorum*. Also *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who besides other works, writ the History of his own time, under the two *Williams* and *Henry* the first.

THE

THE
REIGN
OF
KING STEPHEN.

A



After the decease of King Henry, presently steps upon the Stage of Royalty, *Anno Domini*
1135.

Stephen Earl of *Boleyne*, Son to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by *Adela*, Daughter of King *William* the Conqueror; and though there were two other before him, *Maude* the Emperesse, and *Theobald* his elder Brother, She in a substantial right, He in a colourable, yet taking advantage of being *primus Occupans*, the first Invader; (as being quickly here after King *Henries* death, where the other staid lingering about other affairs) he solicits all the Orders of the Realm, Bishops, and Lords, and People, to receive him for their Sovereign: wherein besides his own large promises, what great matters he would do for them

B

all, he had also the assistance of *Henry* his Brother, Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Popes Legate, and of *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, his great friend; (two the most powerful men at that time in the State) who partly by force of Reasons, but more indeed by Force then Reasons, procure the State to accept him for their King, and so upon St. *Stephens* day, in *Anno* 1135. he was Crowned at *Westminster*, in presence of but three Bishops, few of the Nobility, and not one Abbot, by *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with great solemnity. That which put a scruple in mens mindes, and made them averse at first, from consenting to *Stephen*, was the Oath they had taken to receive King *Henries* Daughter *Maude* to be their Queen, after his decease; but the weight of this scruple was something abated, when it was urged, that no Precedent could be shewed, that ever the Crown had been set upon a womans head, And *Robert* Bishop of *Salisbury*, brought another Reason, because they had taken that Oath but upon condition, that the King should not marry her out of the Realm without their consents, and the King having broken the condition, was just cause to nullifie their Obligation; to which was added, that the Oath having been exacted by Authority, which is a kinde of forcing, it might have the Plea of *Per minas*, and therefore void. And yet more then all these, *Hugh Bigot*, sometime Steward to King *Henry* immediately after his decease, came over into *England*, and took a voluntary Oath before divers Lords of the Land, that he was present a little before King *Henries* death, when he adopted and chose his Nephew *Stephen* to be his Successour, because his daughter *Maude* had grievously at that time displeased him. But howsoever their breach of Oath was thus palliated; it is certain that many of them, as well Bishops as other Lords, came afterward to an evill end, at least to many calamities before their end,

C

as well Bishops as other Lords, came afterward to an evill end, at least to many calamities before their end,

D

King *Stephen*
in Crowned,

Upon what
reasons the
Oath before
taken to *Maude*
was slighted.

What course he tooke to establish himself in the Kingdom.

He marries his son *Eustace*, to the King of *France* daughter.
King *Henrie* had left a hundred thousand pounds in ready money.

It is a true saying, *his rebus optime servatur Imperium, quibus paratur*; and this was *Stephens* course, he got the Kingdom by promises, and he established it by performances; He pleased the People with easing them of Taxes and Impositions: He pleased the Clergy with forbearing to keep Bishopricks and Abbeyes vacant, and with exempting them from the Authority of the Temporall Magistrate; He pleased the Nobility with allowing them to build Castles upon their own Lands; He pleased the Gentry with giving them Liberty to hunt the Kings Deer in their own Woods; and besides with advancing many of them in Honors: and for his brother *Theobald*, who being the elder, was before him in pretence to the Crown, he pleased him with a Grant to pay him two thousand Marks a year; and then to strengthen himself abroad no lesse then at home, he married his Son *Eustace* to *Constance* a Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, which alliance alone might be thought a sufficient security against all opposition. And yet one thing more, which established him more then these, at least these the more for this, that he had seized upon King *Henries* treasure, which amounted to one hundred thousand pounds, besides Plate and Jewels of inestimable value, which he spent not in vain riot, but employed to his best advantage, both in procuring of Friends, and in levying of Soulders out of *Britany* and *Flanders*.

Of His Troubles in his Reign.

An. Reg. 4.
The King of *Scots* in *Mauds* cause, enters *England* with an Army: but is compounded with.

There may well be made a chapter of the troubles of his reign, seeing his whole reign was in a manner but one continued trouble, at least no longer intermission, then as to give him breath against new encounters; till at last, when he grew towards his last, he rather left to be in trouble, then was at quiet, being forced to make his adversary his Heir; and to leave his Crown to him that had fought his life. For he was no sooner set in his Chair of State, but he was presently disquieted and made to rise, by the provocation of *David* King of *Scots*, who solicited by some Lords of *England*, but chiefly by *Maude* the Emperesse (whose right he had sworn to defend) with a mighty Army entred *Northumberland*, took *Carlisle* and *Newcastle*, and was proceeding further, till King *Stephen* with a greater Army coming against him, yet rather bought his Peace then won it; for to recover *Newcastle* out of his hands, he was fain to let King *David* hold *Cumberland*, and his Son *Henry* the Earldome of *Huntington*, as their Inheritance, for which, the Father would not for his, as being engaged, but the Son for his as being free, did Homage to King *Stephen*.

Upon a bruit of King *Stephens* death, the Lords possesse themselves of severall Castles.

No sooner was this trouble over, but he was presently under another; for being faine somewhat ill at ease, it was bruited abroad that he was dead; which so distracted mens mindes, that every one thought it wisdom to shift for himself; and the Great Lords made a contrary use of Castles, to that which King *Stephen* intended, when he gave liberty to build them, for the King intended them for his own defence against his Enemies, and they made use of them in their own defence against the King; for now *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk* possesseth himself of *Norwich*, *Baldwyn Rivers* of *Oxford*, and *Robert Quesnerius* of other Castles. In these difficulties King *Stephen*, though he could not in person be in all places at once, yet in care he was; and there most, where was most danger; employing others against the rest: Against *Baldwyn* he went himself, whom, driven before out of *Oxford*, and gotten to the Isle of *Wight*, the King followed and drove him also from thence, and at last into Exile.

Geoffry Duke of *Anjou* enters upon *Normandy*: but is compounded withall.

And now *England* afforded him once again to take a little breath, but then *Normandy* presently begins with him afresh: For now *Geoffry Plantagenet* Duke of *Anjou*, in right of *Maude* his wife, enters upon his Towns there, and seeks to get possession of the Country; when K. *Stephen* passeth over with an army, and arrests his proceedings: and after some small defeats of his Enemies, brings the matter at last to a pecuniary Composition: He to pay the Duke five thousand Marks a year, and the Duke to relinquish his claim to *Normandy*. This done, he returns into *England*, where new commotions are attending him: For the Lords in his absence, resenting his breach of Promises upon which they had admitted him to the Crown, make use every one of their Castles, and stand upon their Guard: The Lord *Talbot* held *Hereford*; Earl *Robert Mauds* Brother, *Bristol*; *William Lovell*, the Castle of *Cary*; *Paganell*, the Castle of *Ludlow*; *William Mounce*, the Castle of *Dunster*; *Robert of Nichol* now called *Lincoln*, the Castle of *Warham*; *Eustace* the Son of *John*, the Castle of *Melton*; *William* the Son of *Alan*, the Castle of *Shrewsbury*; and withall *David* King of *Scots*, never regarding his former agreement, enters *Northumberland* with an army, committing so great cruelty, in ravishing of Maids, murdering of Infants, slaughtering of Priests, even at the Altar, that never any barbarous Nation committed greater. Thus the kingdom from the one end to the other was in combustion; that if the King had had as many hands as *Briareus*, there would have been work enough for them all. Yet all this dismayed not the King, but as having learned this lesson, *Tu ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito*, growes the more in confidence, the lesse he was in assurance; and as if danger were the fire of courage, the more erected in himself, the lesse he was upheld by others; and so, venturing what his Rebels at home would doe in his absence, he passeth himself in person against *David* King of *Scots*; as being most dangerous, and therefore the first to be repressed: but

A but finding it hard to draw him to a battail, and impossible without a battell to doe any good upon him; he leaves the care of that quarrell to *Thurfsine* Archbishop of *York*, and returnes himself home, if it may be called home, where he scarce had a safe place to put his head in. But though many Lords were rebellious against him, yet some there were that stuck firmly to him, by whose assistance and his own industry, partly by inticements, partly by inforcements, he reduced most of them to obedience, and all of them to submission; when in the mean time *Thurfsine* Archbishop of *York*; and in his sickness, *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, assisted with *William* Earl of *Aumerle*, *William* Piperell of *Nottingham*, and *Hnbert de Lacy*, fought a memorable battell against *David* King of *Scots*; wherein though King *David* himself, and his Son *Henry* performed wonderfull Acts of Prowesse, yet the *English* got the Victory, with the slaughter of eleven thousand *Scots* in the Fight, besides many other slain in the flight; where of the *English* none of account were slain, but onely a Brother of *Hubert Lacy*, and some small number of common fouldiers. This Victory infinitely pleased and comforted King *Stephen*, who not long after to make an absolute suppression of the *Scots*, passeth again with an Army, and inforceth King *David* to demand a Peace, delivering his Son *Henry* into King *Stephens* hands for a pledge; and coming homeward, by the way he besieged *Ludlow* one of the Rebels nests, where Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* had been taken Prisoner, if King *Stephen* in his own person had not rescued him.

Therebell
Lords are
reduced to obe-
dience.

Eleven thou-
sand *Scots*
slain, and but
very few *Eng-
lish*.

King *Stephens*
good nature
and valour.

The Emperesse
Maude comes
now into *Eng-
land*, and hath
many adhe-
rents.

C After this once again the King got a little breathing time, but it was but to prepare him for greater Encounters: For now *Maude* the Emperesse her self in person comes into play; in whom the Oath before taken was to have its tryall; for till now, though never so really intended, yet it could not actually be performed; for how could they receive her for Queen, who came not in place to be received? but now that she came in person, now was the time of tryall, how the Oath would work; and work it did indeed with many, and that strongly; For *Maude* coming into *England* with *Robert* Earl of *Glocester* her base Brother was most joyfully received at *Arundel* Castle, by *William de Aubigny*, who had married *Adeliza* the Queen Dowager of the late king *Henry*, and had the said Castle and County assigned for her Dower. King *Stephen* having intelligence hereof, cometh to *Arundell* Castle with an Army, and besiegeth it; but either diverted by counsell, or else finding the castle to be inexpugnable, he left the siege, and suffered the Emperesse to passe to *Bristol*. The king hearing, that *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester*, Son in law to *Robert* Earle of *Glocester*, had posselt himself of the City of *Lincoln*, thither he goeth with an Army and besiegeth it: thither also came the said Earl of *Chester*, and *Robert* Earl of *Glocester* to raise his sieges; at which time a most fierce battell was fought between them, upon *Candlemasse* day, wherein it is memorable what wonders of valour King *Stephen* performed; For when all his men about him were either fled or slain; yet he kept the field himself alone: no man daring to come near him; *Horrentibus inimicis incomparabilem illiun ejus immanitatem*, saith *Hoveden*: yet overmastered at last by multitude, he was taken prisoner, and brought to *Maude* the Emperesse; who sent him to be kept in safe custody in the Castle of *Bristol*, where he remained till *All-hollantide* after. And now the Emperesse having gotten king *Stephen* into her hands, she takes her journey to *London*; received in all places, as she went, peaceably, and at *London* joyfully; where Queen *Matild* made humble suit unto her, for the liberty of King *Stephen* her husband; and that he might but be allowed to live a private life: the *Londoners* also made suit to have the Laws of king *Edward* restored; but the Emperesse not onely rejected both their suits, but returned them answers in harsh and insulting language: Indeed most unseasonably; and which gave a stop to the current of all her fortunes: for Queen *Matild* finding thereby, how high the Emperesses pulses did beat; sent presently to her Son *Eustace*, being then in *Kent*, to raise Forces with all speed, with whom the *Londoners*, as much discontented as she, doe afterwards join; and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, as much discontented as either of them, fortifies his Castles at *Walsingham* and *Farnham*, and especially *Winchester*, where he stayes himself, attending upon what Coast the next wind of the Emperesse would blow. Of all these things the Emperesse had intelligence, and thereupon secretly in the night she fled to *Oxford*, sending straight charge, to have king *Stephen* more narrowly watched, more hardly used, put (as some write) into fetters; and fed with very bare and poor commons; withall she sends to her Uncle *David* king of *Scots*, to come unto her with all speed possible, who coming accordingly, they fall into consultation what is first to be done; the lot falls upon *Winchester*, as being their greatest adversary, now, no lesse in appearance then in power: so *Winchester* they besiege, which Queen *Matild* hearing, she with her son *Eustace* & the *Londoners*, came presently to the succour, where a fierce battell being fought, the end was, that the party of Queen *Matild* prevailed, and the Emperesse to make her escape, was faine to be laid upon a Horse back in manner of a dead Corps, and so conveyed to *Glocester*; while Earle *Robert* her brother disdainig to flie, was taken prisoner, whom Queen *Matild* caused to be used the more hardly, in retaliation of the hard usage which the Emperesse be- re had shewed to king *Stephen*. Things standing in these terms, propositions were made by the Lords for pacification, but such were the high spirits of the Emperesse and her brother *Robert*, that no conditions would please them, unless the Emperesse might enjoy the Crown. But after long debate, whether by agreement between themselves, or by connivence of the keepers, both king *Stephen* and Earle *Robert* got to be at liberty. When the first thing king *Stephen* did, was to looke out the Emperesse to requite the kindnesse she had shewed him in prison; and hearing her to be at *Oxford*, he layes siege to the Town, and brings the Emperesse to such distresse that

King *Stephens*
valour.

Is taken pri-
soners and car-
ried to *Maude*.

Maude is recei-
ved of the *Lon-
doners*.

She is beaten
by *Matild*.
King *Stephens*
wife, and her
brother the
Earle of *Gloce-
ster* taken pri-
soner.

King *Stephen*
and Earle *Ro-
bert* both get to
be at liberty.

Maude besieged
at *Oxford*, flieth
away secretly.

that she had no way to free her self but by flight; and no way to flie but with manifest danger, A yet she effected it by this devise: It was in the Winter season, when frost and snow covered all the ground over; she therefore clad her self, and her four servants that were with her in white clothes, which being of the colour of snow, made her passe the Watches without being discerned, and by this meanes came safe to her friends at *Wallingford*. Yet *Malmesbury*, who lived at that time, confesseth he could never learn certainly by what means she made her escape. But howsoever she escaped this present danger; yet it left such an impression of fear upon her, that she never had after any mind to appear upon this Stage of War; but left the prosecution of it to her Son *Henry*, who was now about sixteen years of age, and being forward of his age and able to bear Armes, was by his great Uncle *David* King of *Scots* Knighted, to make him more forward,

Henry Maundes
son, now sixteen
years of age, prosecuteth
the warre
against King
Stephen.

King Stephen
discredits himself.

It was now the ninth year of King *Stephens* reign, when *Ralph* Earl of *Chester* keeping possession of the City of *Lincoln*, was in the night time assaulted by the King; but the Earl perceiving the Kings Forces to be but small, suddenly issued forth, and repelled the King with the slaughter of fourscore of his men. Yet two years after this, the Earl was reconciled to the King, and came of his own accord to wait upon him, when perfidiously he was detained by the King; and not set at liberty, till he had surrendered into the Kings hands all the Castles that were in his possession; which though it brough the King some present benefit, yet it wrought him a greater future losse; for it lost him his credit with all men, and no man afterward would trust his word.

Prince Henry
marries the
heir of William
Duke of Guyen.

Now was Duke *Henry* come to the age of nineteen years, and was in possession of the Dukedom of *Anjou*, by the death of his Father *Geoffrey Plantagenet*; and not long after this, he married *Eleanor*, the Daughter and Heir of *William* Duke of *Guyen*, by whom he had that Duchy, and also the Earldome of *Poitou*: *Normandy* he had by his Mother; but more by the peoples inclination. So as being posselt now of four great Principalities, this greatnesse of Estate added to the greatnesse of his spirit, made him aspiring to recover his Right in *England*; and over he comes, bringing with him but small Forces, but promising himself great, from the people of this kingdom: and many indeed resorted to him; with whom he fell presently, and besieged *Marleborough*; but by the Kings greater Forces was repelled.

Enslace King
Stephens son
dyeth.

After this, their Armies continued in the Field still; rather watching advantages to be doing, then doing any thing; sometimes advancing when no Enemy was near, and then retiring when the Enemy came; till at last it was like to come to a set Battell, when suddenly *Enslace* King *Stephens* onely Son unfortunately dyed: Unfortunately for himself, but fortunately for the kingdom; For now King *Stephen* being left destitute of issue to succeed, was the more easily drawn to conditions of Peace, as likewise the Emperesse *Wanda*, having lately lost her brother *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, and *Miles* Earl of *Hereford*, (her two best Champions) was no lesse willing then he; which being furthered by the Lords of both sides, was at last concluded upon these conditions, that *Stephen* should hold the kingdom of *England* during his life, and adopt Duke *Henry* as his heir to succeed him. And this agreement thus made, and in a Parliament at *Winchester* confirmed, Duke *Henry* ever after accounted King *Stephen* no lesse then a Father, and King *Stephen*, Duke *Henry* no lesse then a Son: & well he might, if it be true which some write, that the Emperesse, when a battell was to be fought between King *Stephen* and her Son, went privily to him, asking him how he could find in his heart to fight against him that was his owne Son? could he forget the familiarity he had with her in her Widow-hood? But this was no matter for the Writers of that time to deliver: It touched too near the interest of Princes then in being: and Princes must not be touched while they live, nor when they are dead neither with uncertainties, as this could be no other: But howsoever it was, certain it is, that after this agreement between King *Stephen* and Duke *Henry*, they continued in mutuall love and concord, as long after as they lived.

King Stephen
and Prince
Henry agree.
Prince Henry
thought by
some to be
King Stephens
son.

No mention
what became
of Maude at
this time.

But what became of *Maude* the Emperesse at this time? For that she was alive, and lived many years after this agreement between King *Stephen* and her Son *Henry*, all Writers agree; and to say that she consented to the agreement, without any provision made for her self, is to make her too much a woman; a very weake vessell: and to say there might be provision made, though it be not Recorded, is to make all Writers defective in great excess: And besides, being so stirring a woman as she was, that upon a suddain she should be so quiet, as not to deserve to have one word spoken of her in all the long time she lived after, (being no less then twelve or thirteen years) is as strange as the rest. And if she placed her contentment so wholly in her Son, that in regard of him, she regarded not her self at all; it deserves at least the *Encomium* of such a motherly love as is very unusuall, and not alwayes safe. Whatsoever it was, I must be fain to leave it as a Gordian knot, which no Writer helps me to untie. *Matthew Paris* makes her to live one and thirty years after the death of King *Stephen*: and makes this her Epitaph.

*Ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima partu,
Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.*

Of his Taxations and wayes for raising of Moneys.

OF Taxations in his time, there is no mention made; for Taxations indeed, are properly drawn from a body of State when it is entire, where the State all this Kings time was altogether in Factions. But what he wanted in Taxations, he supplied with Confiscations, which by reason of the many revokings of men of all sorts, could not chuse but fill his coffers; every Rebellion being in nature of a purchase to him; for whatsoever became of the persons, their Lands and Goods were sure to be his. And if it happened at any time, that Confiscations came in but slowly, he had then devices to hasten their pace, for upon light suggestions (not so much oftentimes as just suspicions) he would call men into question, and seise upon their Goods, as in the case particularly of *Ralph Bishop of Salisbury*, and it may not be unpleasing to hear from what beginning this Bishop grew to such a height of greatness, which was thus; In the time of King *William Rufus* he was a poor Priest, serving a Cure in a village near to *Caen* in *Normandy*, when the Kings younger Brother *Henry* chanced to passe that way, and to make some stay in the said Village; who being desirous to hear a Masse, this *Roger* being Curate, was the man to say it; which he dispatched with such celerity, that the Souldiers, (who commonly love not long Masses) commended him for it, telling their Lord, that there could not a fitter Priest be found for men of war then he. Whereupon *Henry* appointed him to follow him, and when he came to the King, preferred him to many great places, and at last to be Chancellour of *England*, and Bishop of *Salisbury*. You have heard his rising, now hear his fall; When King *Stephen* came to the Crown, he held this man in as great account as his Predecessour King *Henry* had done, and perhaps in greater; For being a great begger of Suits, the King would say of him, If this man will never give over asking, neither shall I ever give over giving. Yet this great Prelate fell first through pride into envy, and then through envy into ruine. For King *Stephen* having given liberty to build Castles, this man did so far exceed all others in magnificence, (for he builded the Castles of *Salisbury*, the *Vyes*, *Sherburn*, *Malmesbury*, and *Newark*, to which there were no Structures comparable in the Kingdom) that the Lords out of envy put it into the Kings head, that these Castles of his were built thus magnificently for entertainment of *Maud* the Emperesse: which so possessed the King, or he would be thought to be so possessed, that taking this for a just cause, he seised them all into his hands, and forty thousand Marks besides, which he had in money: and not contented with this, he took the like course also with *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln*, only because he was his Nephew and of his near kindred. Another way he had for gaining of money: For in the first year of his reign, having given liberty to hunt in his Forests, he afterwards at *Oxford* caused many to be impleaded for that liberty; a trick which perhaps he learned from hunting, first to give men leave to do a thing, and then to Fine them for having done it. But this is the priviledge of Princes, that their leave must be interpreted by him that gives it, and not by him that takes it.

Ralph Bishop of Salisbury by what means he came to his greatness

By what means to his fall.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

HE gave licence to the City of *Norwich* to have Coroners and Bailiffs, before which time, they had only a Sergeant for the King to keep Courts; and after this, in the 37 year of King *Henry* the third, they had license to inclose the Town with Ditches.

Norwich is allowed to have Coroners and Bailiffs.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

UPon the Kings seising into his hands, the Bishop of *Salisbury*s Castles, and goods, complaint was made, and a Synod called by the Bishop of *Winchester* the Popes Legate, to right the Bishop, where the King was cited to appear; who sending to know the cause, Answer was made, that it was to answer for his imprisoning of Bishops, and depriving them of their goods, which being a Christian King he ought not to do. The King replies by his Lawyer, *Alveric de Vir*, that he had not arrested the Bishop of *Salisbury* as a Bishop, but as his servant that was to make him accompt of his employment. To this the Bishop answereth, that he was never Servant or Accomprant to the King: and many Allegations and Probations were urged to and fro, but in conclusion the Synod brake up, and nothing was done. The Bishops durst not excommunicate the King without the Popes privy; so in the end they fell from Authority to Submission; and in the Kings chamber fell down at his feet, beseeching him that he would pity the Church; and not suffer dissension to be between the Kingdom and the Priesthood. And this was no small magnanimity in the King, that he was able to pull down the high stomachs of the Prelates in that time. In the eighth year of his reign a Synod was held in *London* by *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, where it was decreed, that whosoever should lay violent hands upon any Clergy man, should not be absolved but by the Pope himself: and from this time forward,

The King might not imprison Bishops

Clergy

Clergy men
exempt from
secular power.

Clergy men were exempt from the secular power. In the tenth year of his reign, by the soliciting of Saint Bernard, many took upon them the Croffe, for a supply to the Holy Land, amongst whom, some English Lords also.

Works of piety by him, or by other in his time.

St. Katharines
by the Tower
founded.

Boxeley Abbey
in Kent found-
ed.

HE founded the Abbeyes of Cogshall in Essex; of Furneys in Lancashire; of Hurguilers and Feversham in Kent; at Heigham in Kent, a house of black Nuns, also an house for Nuns at Carew: his Queen Matild builded the Hospital of St. Katharines by the Tower of London: A Knight called Sir William of Mount Fitchet, founded the Abbey of Stratford Langthorn, within four miles of London; William of Tyre founded Boxeley Abbey in Kent; Robert Earl of Ferrers, founded the Abbey of Merivall in Warwickshire, and in the same Shire, Robert Earl of Glocester, the Abbey of Nonne Eaten. Thurstine Archbishop of York founded the Monastery of Fontes in Yorkshire. Also by others were founded the Abbeyes of Tisley; of Rievall; of Newborough and Beeland; of Garedon in Lecestershire; of Kirkstead in Yorkshire: and divers others in other places, so that more Abbeyes were erected in his dayes, then had been within the space of a hundred years before.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

Newbrigenfis.

NEwbrigenfis and also Huntingdon reporteth of one Raynerus, a wicked Minister of a more wicked Abbot, that crossing the Seas with his Wife, he so with his iniquity overweighed the ship, that in the midst of the stream, it was not able to stir; at which the Mariners astonished, cast lots, and the lot fell upon Raynerus; and lest this should be thought to happen by chance, they cast the lots again and again, and still the lot fell upon Raynerus; whereupon they put him out of the ship, and presently the ship as eased of her burthen, sailed away. Certainly a great judgement of God, and a great miracle: but yet recorded by one, that is no fabulous Authour. In this Kings time also, there appeared two children, a boy and a girl, clad in green, in a stufte unknown, of a strange language, and of a strange diet; whereof the boy being baptized, dyed shortly after, but the girl lived to be very old; and being asked from whence they were; she answered, They were of the Land of St. Martyn, where there are Christian Churches erected: but that no Sun did ever rise unto them: but where that Land is, and how she came thither, she her self knew not. This I the rather write, that we may know there are other parts of the World, then those which to us are known: and this story I should not have believed, if it were not testified by so many, and so credible witnesses, as it is. In the fifteenth year of this Kings, the River of Thames was so hard frozen, that Horse and Cart passed over upon the Ice. In this Kings time lived Johannes de Temporibus, of whom it is recorded, that he lived three hundred sixty and one years: he was one of Charlemain the Emperours Guard, and dyed in the reign of Conradus the third, Anno Dom. 1139.

Of his Wife and Children.

Queen Matilds
commendation.

The strange
death of Eus-
tace.

HE married, by his Uncle King Henries means, Matild Daughter and Heir of Eustace Earl of Boleyn, a Woman made for the proportion of both fortunes: In adversity not dejected; in prosperity not elated: while her husband was at liberty, a Woman; during his durance, as it were a Man; Acting his part for him when he was restrained from acting it himself; not looking that fortune should fall into her lap, but industrious to procure it. By this Queen, he had only one Son named Eustace, a Prince more then of hope; for he lived to the blossoming of much Valour, though it came not to maturity, as being cut off at eighteen years of age, some say by drowning, and some by a stranger accident. But strange Relations must not alwayes be rejected, for though many of them be forged, yet some no doubt are true; and who knows but it may be of this kind, which some Writers relate of this Prince: that being at the Abbey of Bury in Norfolk, and denyed some money he required to have had, he presently in a rage went forth, and set fire on the Cornfields belonging to the Abbey, but afterwards sitting down to dinner, at the first morsel of bread he put into his mouth, he fell into a fit of madness, and in that fit dyed? Certainly, the Persons of Princes are for more observation then ordinary people; and as they make Examples, so they are sometimes made Examples. This Prince Eustace was so beloved of his Father, that he had a purpose to have joyned him King with himself, but that the Pope upon the Bishops complaining to him of it, diverted him from it. Howsoever being dead, he was buried in Feversham Abbey, where his mother was buried a little before. Other legitimate issue King Stephen had none, but by a Concubine he had a Son named William, whom he made Earl of Norfolk, which honour was confirmed upon him, by a speciall Article, in the agreement made between King Stephen and Duke Henry: Only a French Chronicle speaks of another son of his, named Gervase, made Abbot of Westminster, and that he dyed in the year 1160. and was there buried.

A

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, of great strength, and of an excellent good complexion. Concerning the qualities of his minde, there was apparent in him a just mixture of Valour and Prudence; for if he had not had both, he could never have held out with such weak friends as he did, against such potent adversaries as he had. And specially it must be confest, he was of an excellent temper for a Souldier, seeing he never kild any enemy in cold blood, as *Anthony* did *Cicero*; nor any friend in hot blood, as *Alexander* did *Clitus*. What he would have been in Peace, we are left to judge by only a pattern, the short time between his agreement with Duke *Henry* and his death: which seeing he spent in travelling to all parts of the Realm, and seeking to stich up the breaches which the violence of War had made; we may well think that if his life had been continued, he would have given as good Proofs of his Justice in Peace, as he had done of his Valour in War. For of his extraordinary good nature we have a sufficient example in one action of his, which was this; Duke *Henry* being on a time, in some straights for money, sent to his Mother *Maud* the Emperesse, desiring her to furnish him, but she answered, that she was in as great straights her self, and therefore could not do it; then he sent to his Uncle Earl *Robert* to furnish him, and he answered he had little enough to serve his own turn, and therefore could not do it; at last he sent to King *Stephen*, and he though an Adversary, and standing in terms of opposition, yet sent presently, and supplied him with it. He was withall a great oppugner of superstition, which made him on a time to ride into *Lincoln* with his Crown upon his head, only to break the people of a superstitious opinion they held, that no King could enter into that City in such manner, but that some great dyfaster would fall upon him. One special Virtue may be noted in him, that he was not noted for any special vice, whereof if there had been any in him, Writers certainly would not have been silent.

A good temper
for a Souldier.King Stephens
good nature.A superstitious
opinion held of
Lincoln.

Of his Death and Burial.

AS a Fish cannot live out of Water, no more was it in the Destiny of this King, to live out of trouble; as soon as he came to enjoy quietness, he left to enjoy life, no time left him between his agreement with Duke *Henry* and his Death, but only so much as might reasonably serve him to take his last leave of all his Friends: For it was but from *January* to *October*; and the last friend he took leave of, was *Theodorick* Earl of *Flanders*, whom he met at *Dover*, and as soon as he had dismissed him he was suddenly taken with the Illiack Passion, and with an old disease of the Emerauldes: and dyed in the Monastery there, the five and twentieth of *October*, in the year 1154. when he had reigned almost nineteen years, lived nine and forty; and was buried in the Abbey of *Feverham*, which he had founded.

E

Men of Note in his time.

OF Clergy men, there was *Thurstone* Archbishop of *York*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* the Kings brother, also *William* another Archbishop of *York*, whom we may finde in the Calender of Saints, as likewise *St. Bernard* who lived in this time, though not of this Countrey; and if we may reckon strangers, there lived at this time *Peter Lombard*, Master of the Sentences; *Peter Comestor*, writer of the Ecclesiastical Story; and *Gratian*, Compiler of the Canon Law, all three Brothers, and all three Bastards; also *Avicen*, *Averroes*, *Mesues*, and Rabbi *Salomon* were in this time famous. Of Military men, there was *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester*; *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwall*; *Robert* Earl of *Leycester*; *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*; but specially *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, the Kings base Son, whose praises, if any desire to hear sounded out to the full, let him read *William* of *Malmesbury*, who writ the history of these times, of purpose to be his Trumpet. Of the writers of our Nation, there was this *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Henry* *Huntington*, *Simeon Dunelmensis*, *William Revellensis*, and *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, Bishop of *St. Asaph* in *Wales*. Also *Hugo Carthusianus*, a *Burgundian*, but made Bishop of *Lincoln* here in *England*.

Three great
Clerks, all ba-
stards.Robert Earl of
Glocester his
praise.The chief Hi-
story Writers
at this time.

THE
LIFE and REIGN
OF
KING HENRY
THE SECOND.

1155.
King Henry is
Crowned.

A greater
Prince then
any of his An-
cestors.



ING Stephen being dead, *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, by his Father *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, succeeded him in the Kingdom of *England* by agreement, whom he preceded by right, as being Son and Heir of *Maud*, sole Daughter and Heir of King *Henry* the first; and was Crowned at *Westminster*, by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, on the seventeenth of *December*, in the year 1155. and was now a greater Prince then any of his Ancestors had been before: and indeed, the Kingdom of *England*, the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and the Dukedom of *Anjou* in his own right; and in the right of his Wife *Queen Eleanor*, the Duchy of *Guyen*, and the Earldom

of *Poitou*, being all united in his person, made him a Dominion of a larger extent then any Christian King had at that time.

Born at *Mentis*
in *Normandy*.

Is educated at
Bristol.

Is sent into
Scotland.

Is carried into
Anjou.

He marries the
Lady *Eleanor*,
the divorced
wife of *Lewis*
King of *France*.

He was born at *Mentis* in *Normandy*, in the year 1132, a great joy to his Father *Geoffrey* Duke of *Anjou*; a greater to his Mother *Maud* the Emperefs; but so great to his Grandfather King *Henry* the first, that it seemed to make amends for his Son *William*, whom unfortunately he had lost before by Shipwrack. The years of his childhood were spent at home under the care of his Parents: at nine years old or thereabouts, he was brought by his Uncle *Robert* Earl of *Glocester* into *England*, and placed at *Bristol*, where under the tuition of one *Matthew* his Schoolmaster, to instruct him in learning, he remained four years, after which time he was sent into *Scotland*, to his great Uncle *David* King of *Scots*, with whom he remained about two years, initiated by him in the principles of State, but chiefly of his own estate: and being now about fifteen years of age, was by him Knighted, and though scarce yet ripe for Armes, yet as a fruit gathered before its time, was mellowed under the Discipline of his Uncle *Robert*, one of the best Souldiers of that time. And now the Duke his Father not able any longer to endure his absence, sent with great instance to have him sent over to him; for satisfying of whose longing, Earl *Robert* provided him of passage, and conducted him himself to the Sea side, where he took his last farewell of him. Being come into *Anjou*, his Father perhaps overjoyed with his presence, not long after dyed, leaving him in present possession of that Dukedom, being now about nineteen years of age: when shortly after he married *Eleanor* the late Wife of *Lewis* King of *France*, but now divorced. A year or two after, he came again into *England*, where after some velitations with King *Stephen*, they were at last reconciled, and his succession to the Crown of *England*, ratified by Act of Parliament. Not long after he went again into *France*, and presently fell to besiege a Castle which was detained from him by the *French* King: in the time of which siege, news was brought him of King *Stephens* death; which one would have thought should have made him hasten his journey into *England*; yet he resolved not to stir till he had won the Castle: which resolution of his being known to the Defendants, they surrendered the Castle; but yet no sooner, but that it was six weeks after before he came into *England*, when he was now about the age of three and twenty years.

His first Acts after he came to the Crown.

HE began his reign as *Solomon* would have begun it, if he had been in his place: for, first he made choyce of wise and discreet men to be his Counsellours: then he banished out of the Realm all strangers, and especially *Flemmings*, with whom the Kingdome swarmed: as of whom King *Stephen* had made use in his wars, amongst whom was *William* of *Tpres*, lately before made Earl of *Kent*. Castles which by King *Stephens* allowance had been built, he caused to be demolished, (of which there were said to be eleven hundred and fifteen) as being rather Nurseries of rebellion to the subject, then of any safety to the Prince. He appointed the most able men of that profession, to reform abuses of the Lawes, which disorder of the wars had brought in: He banished many Lords, who against their Oath had assisted King *Stephen* against him; as thinking that men once perjured, would never be faithfull; and to the end he might be the lesse pressing upon the people with Taxations, he resumed all such Lands belonging to the Crown, which had any way been aliened or usurped; as thinking it better to displease a few then many: and many other things he did, which in a disjointed State were no lesse profitable and expedient, then requisite and necessary.

He causeth
Castles to be
demolished.
He reforms
the Lawes.

He resumed
Crown Lands

His Troubles during his Reign.

HE had no Competitors, nor Pretenders with him for the Crown; and therefore his troubles at first were not in *Capite*, strook not at the root, as King *Stephen* did: but were onely some certain nibblings at inferior parts; till at last he brought them himself into his own bowels. For what was the trouble in his first year with the *Welsh*; but as an exercise rather to keep him in motion, then that it needed to disquiet his rest? for though they were mutinous for a time, while they looked upon their own Bucklers; their Woods and Mountainous passages: yet as soon as King *Henry* did but shew his sword amongst them, they were soon reduced to obedience for the present, and to a greater awfulness for the future. It is true, *Henry* Earl of *Essex* that bore the Kings standard, was so assaulted by the *Welsh*, that he let the Standard fall to the ground, which encouraged the *Welsh*, and put the *English* in some fear, as supposing the King had been slain; but this was soone frustrated to the *Welsh*, and punished afterward in the Earl, by condemning him to be shorn a Monk, and put into the Abbey of *Reading*, and had his lands seised into the Kings hands. And what was his trouble with *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, but a work of his own beginning? for if he would have suffered him to enjoy that which was justly his own, *Cumberland* and *Huntingtonshire*, by the grant of King *Stephen*, and *Northumberland*, by the gift of his Mother *Maude* the Emperesse; he might have stayed quietly at home, and needed not at all to have stirred his foot; but he could not endure there should be such parings off from the body of his Kingdome: and therefore went with an Army into the North, where he wonne not, but took *Northumberland* from him; with the City of *Carlisle*, and the Castles of *Newcastle* and *Bamberg*: and meely out of gratefulnesse, in remembrance of the many courtesies done him before, by *David* King of *Scots*; he left him the Countie of *Huntington*, but yet his with condition to owe fealty, and to doe homage to him for it. And what was his trouble with his brother *Geoffry*, but a Bird of his own hatching? For his Father *Geoffry*, Duke of *Anjou*, had three sons, *Henry*, *Geoffry* and *William*: and dying he left his Dukedome of *Anjou* to his eldest son *Henry*, but to hold no longer then till he should come to be King of *England*, and then to deliver it up to his second son *Geoffry*: and he made his Lords to swear, nor to suffer his body to be buried, untill his son *Henry* had taken his oath to doe it; which Oath *Henry* afterward, in reference to his Fathers body, did take: but as he took it unwillingly, so he willingly brake it, and sent presently to *Adrian* the then Pope, for a dispensation of his Oath: which granted, he enters *Anjou* with an Army, and takes from his brother *Geoffry*, being little able to make resistance, not onely the Dukedome of *Anjou*, but some other Cities also, which his Father had absolutely given him for his maintenance: yet out of brotherly kindnesse was so unkindly taken by his brother *Geoffry*, that it brake his heart; and within a short time after dyed.

His troubles
with the *Welsh*
soon ended.

Henry Earl of
Essex, how
punished for
letting the
Kings standard
fall.
Malcolm King
of *Scots* repel-
led.

King *Henries*
unkindnesse to
his brother
Geoffry.

And thus these troubles begun by *Henry* himself, were soon ended; but now a trouble is coming on, begun by *Lewis* king of *France*, and this is like to stick longer by him. For king *Lewis* not having yet digested king *Henries* marriage with his divorced wife *Eleanor*, seekes all opportunities to expresse his spleen, by doing him displeasure; and a fit opportunity was now offered: for there fell out a difference between *Raymond* Earl of *Saint Giles*, and *Henry* king of *England*, about the Earldome of *Tholonse*, which *Raymond* posselt, and *Henry* claimed: in this difference, king *Lewis* takes part with *Raymond*, as pretending it to be the juster side. Hereupon are great Forces provided on both sides, and it was like to have come to a dangerous battell; but that by mediation of friends, a peace was made; and to make the Peace the firmer, a marriage was concluded between *Henry*, king *Henries* eldest son, scarce yet seven yeates of age: and *Margaret*, daughter of king *Lewis* not past three: who was delivered to king *Henry* to bring up.

Troubles like
to arise between
King *Henry*
and the King
of *France*:

But pacified by
a marriage of
their children

An. Reg.
18.

King Henry
causeth his
son Henry to be
crowned King
with himself.

The sons in-
flect speech a-
gainst his fa-
ther.

The young
King Henry is
incited by his
Father-in-law
King Lewis to
oppose his Fa-
ther.

Queen Eleanor
alio.

The young
King requires
his Father to
relinquish the
Kingdome.
King Lewis
and the Lords
of France assist
him.

King Lewis
his fraud to
get Vernouil.

up till fit years for consunimation. This was then thought a strong link to hold them in friend-
ship, but it proved afterward a cause to make a greater breach; and indeed when a son is once
matched into a Family, the Father must never look from thence afterward to have a good
wish; seeing the daughter thus matched can have no advancement, but by the advancement
of her husband, and he none, at least, none so well, as by the ruine of his Father: yet this
brake not out till some years after. It was now about the eighteenth year of king *Henries*
reign, and his Son *Henry* grown to be seventeen years of age, when it came into the kings
minde to have his son *Henry* crowned king, and reign with himself in his own time; partly out
of indulgence to his son, but chiefly, as having found by his own experience, that Oaths for
Succession are commonly eluded: but Oaths for present Allegiance, as being *Verba de presentis*
can have no evasion: and pleasing himself with this conceit, he acquaints his Lords with his
purpose, and causeth his Son *Henry* to be crowned king by the hands of *Roger* Archbishop of
York; and all the Lords to swear Allegiance to him: at the Feast of which solemnity king *Hen-
ry* to honour his Son, would needs carry up the first dish to his Table: whereupon the Arch-
bishop *Roger* standing by, and saying merrily to the new king; What an honour is this to you,
to have such a waiter at your Table? Why (saith he) what great matter is it for him that was but
the Son of a Duke, to doe service to me, that am the Son of a King and Queen? Which the old
king hearing, began to repent him, now it was too late, of that he had done. For indeed
the honour which by Gods commandement, children are to doe to their Parents, is by such
making them their equals, in a manner abolished; at least it gives them stomachs to take more
upon them then is fit. But King *Henry* passed it over, and meant to set the best side out ward.
Notwithstanding this ill successe of King *Henry*, yet King *Lewis* of *France* soon after, did the
like to his Son *Philip*, and caused him to be crowned King in his owne life time, *Paris*,
Anno 139.

And now King *Lewis* took displeasure that his daughter was not crowned as well as her hus-
band, and therefore to satisfie him in that point, King *Henry* sencerth his son *Henry* and his
wife *Margaret* into *England*, and causeth them both to be crowned by *Walter* Archbishop of
Roan: and shortly after, the young King *Henry* and his wife goe back to King *Lewis* her Father,
and by him with great joy, and variety of sports were entertained. In the time of their be-
ing there, King *Lewis* partly out of his old spleen to King *Henry*, and partly to make his son-
in-law more absolute: falls oftentimes into conference with him, and finding his hot spirit to
be fit tinder for such fire, tels him, it was a shame he should suffer himself to be made a stale;
have the title of a King, and not the authority: and that as long as he stood in such terms, that
which seemed an honour was indeed a disgrace. With which words of King *Lewis*, the young
King *Henry* was set a float, and from that time forward, stuck not openly to oppose his Father:
whereof his Father having intelligence, sent messengers to King *Lewis*, desiring him from the
King their Master, to be a means to bring his son to more moderation. But King *Lewis* hearing
the Embassadors name their Master King, with an angry countenance said unto them; What
mean you by this to call him King, who hath passed his kingdome over to his son? and with
this answer sent them away. To this evill, another worse was added: that Queen *Eleanor* his
wife enraged with jealousie of her husbands Concubines, both incenseth her son *Henry*, and per-
suadeth also two other of her sons, *Richard* and *Geoffry*, to joyn against their Father; telling them,
it would be better for them that their brother should prevail, who could not chuse but allow
them better maintenance, then their father did. With these persuasions they passe over into *Nor-
mandy*, and join with their brother *Henry*; who emboldened by their assistance, growes now more
insolent then he was before; that when messengers were sent to him from his Father, requiring
him to lay down his Armes, and to come lovingly to him: he proudly made answer, that his
Father must not look he would lay down his Armes, unlesse himself first would lay down his au-
thority, and resigne the kingdome. And now *Lewis* King of *France*, calling together the great
Lords of his kingdome, and with them *William* King of *Scots*, *Hugh* Earl of *Chesster*, *Roger* *Mow-
brey*, *Hugh* *Pigot*, and other of his sons party, they all take their Oaths to assist the young King
Henry with all their power; and thereupon all in one day, the *French* invade *Normandy*, *Aqui-
tain* and *Brittain*; the King of *Scots*, *Northumberland*; and King *Lewis* the City of *Vernouil*, which
he brought to that distresse, that it was agreed by the Inhabitants, if it were not succoured with-
in three days, then to surrender it. King *Henry* hearing of this agreement promiseth to succour
them by that day. But here King *Lewis* useth a trick; gets that by fraud, which he could not doe
by force; for he sends to King *Henry*, that if he were willing to have peace with his sons, he
should meet him at a place appointed, at such a time, and he doubted not to effect it. King
Henry glad of such an offer, and with that gladnesse perhaps blinded, and not suspecting any deceit,
promiseth to meet; and coming to the place at the day, which was the day he should have
succoured *Vernouil*, he stayed there all day looking for King *Lewis* coming, who in stead of
coming, sent word to *Vernouil*, that King *Henry* was defeated; and therefore their hope
of succour was in vain: whereupon the Citizens thinking it to be so indeed, because he came
not according to his promise, surrendered the Town: which King *Lewis* finding himself un-
able to hold, set it on fire, and so departed. But King *Henry* when he perceived the fraud, fol-
lowed him with his Army, and took a bloody revenge of his fraud, with the slaughter of ma-
ny of his men. At the same time also King *Henries* Forces encountered *Hugh* Earl of *Chesster*, and
Robert *Fulgers*, who had taken *Dole* in *Brittain*; took them prisoners, and brought them to
King

- A King Henry: and about the same time likewise in England Robert Earl of *Leycester* thinking to surprise *Raynold* Earl of *Cornwall*, and *Richard Lacy*, king *Henries* Generals, at unawares, was himself by them overthrown, and the Town of *Leycester* taken; which only the light of the place defended from being battered to the ground. Robert Earl of *Leycester* being thus defeated, passeth over into *France*, and being supplied by King *Lewis* with greater forces then before, is together with *Hugh Bigot* sent back into *England*, to draw the countrey to Henry the sons party, who at first assault take *Norwich*: and then sitting down before *Bury*, they are in a great battell, by *Richard Lacy* and other of King *Henries* Capitaines, overthrown with the slaughter of ten thousand men, and as many taken prisoners; amongst whom Earl *Robert* himself. Yet were not *Roger Mowbray* and *Hugh Bigot* so daunted with this overthrow, but that together with *David* the King of *Scots* brother, they gather new forces, and invade *Northumberland* and *Yorkshire*, when *Robert Scocces*, *Ralph Granula*, *William Vesci*, and *Barnard Bayliot* (of whom *Baynards* Cattle in *London*, first took the name) Knights of those parts, assemble together, and fighting a great battell with them, overthrew them, and took the King of *Scots* prisoner, with many others. Yet is not *Hugh Bigot* daunted with this neither, but gathers new Forces, and takes *Norwich*; and *Robert Ferris*, *Nottingham*: the news whereof, when King *Henry* the son heard, he recovered new spirits, and obtaining new assistance from King *Lewis*, prepares himself afresh for war: which King *Henry* the Father hearing, returns speedily into *England*; and to appease Saint *Thomas Becket's* Ghost, goes to visit his Tombe, and there asks him forgiveness. This done, he goes into *Suffolk*, and at *Framingham* Castle, which belonged to *Hugh Bigot*, staves with his Army, when suddenly moved, by what instinct, no man knows, (unlesse the appearing of Saint *Thomas* Ghost did work it) both *Hugh Bigot* delivers up his Cattle into King *Henries* hands, and likewise *Robert Mowbray*, *Robert Ferris*, and many others of that party, come voluntarily in, and submit themselves to the Kings mercy. Hereupon King *Henry* returns to *London*, about which time he committed his wife *Queen Eleanor* to prison, for her practises against him. In the mean time, King *Lewis* understanding that *Normandy* was but weakly guarded, together with his son the young King *Henry*, and *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*; he besiegeth *Roan*; which the Kings Forces valiantly defended, till he came himself in person; and thereupon King *Lewis* despairing of any good to be done, sends messengers to King *Henry* for a truce, and appointed a day to meet at *Gisors*, where he doubted not to make a reconciliation between his sons and him; K. *Henry* agreed willingly, but at the meeting nothing was done: It seems it was but one of K. *Lewis* his old tricks to come fairly off.
- After this truce made with King *Lewis*, King *Henry* hearing that his son *Richard* had in the mean time possesst himself of a great part of the Province of *Poitou*, goes thither with an Army, where *Richard* at last, after some hesitation, as doubting his Forces, submits himselfe to his Father, and asks his pardon; which his Father as freely grants, as if he had never committed any fault; and thereupon King *Henry* employes him to King *Lewis*, and his brother *Henry*, to persuade them to peace: who wearied now with the wars, were easily drawn, and so reconciliation on all parts is made; and to confirm the reconciliation between the two Kings, *Henry* and *Lewis*, his daughter *Adela* is affianced to King *Henries* son *Richard*, as Earl of *Aquitaine*, and because the Lady was but young, she was committed to the care of King *Henry*, till she should be fit for marriage. Upon this King *Henry* sets *Robert* Earl of *Leycester*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, giving hostages and oath for their Allegiance, at liberty; and *William* also King of *Scots* paying a certaine mullet; for which he delivered in pawn the strong Castles of *Berwick*, *Roxborough*, and *Sterling* to King *Henry*, and was fined to lose the county of *Huntington*, and never to receive any Rebels into his protection. These things done, the King with his sons returns into *England*, where with all joyfulness they were received.
- It was now the year 1179. when King *Lewis* began again to grow discontented with king *Henry*, because his daughter was not yet married to his son *Richard* as was agreed: but King *Henry* making him promise to have them married within a few dayes, gave him satisfaction; though indeed he meant nothing less, for it was thought he kept her for himself, as with whom he had before that time, had unlawfull familiarity.
- The year after was memorable for nothing, or for nothing so much as the death of the young king *Henry*, who dyed then, being of the age of one and twenty years: whose Widow *Margaret* returning into *France*, was afterward married to *Bela* king of *Hungary*. Now king *Henries* son *Richard*, no longer enduring to have his marriage delayed, which his Father often promised, but would never suffer to be performed, falls into his old fit of discontentment: wherein though he cannot perhaps be justified, yet he may justly be excused, for to be kept from a wife at that time of his age, for which a wife was most proper; and especially having been affianced so long before, which could not chuse but make his appetite the sharper; much needs be, if not a just cause, at least a strong provocation to make him doe as he did: Howsoever from this fit of discontentment, he falls into a relapse of Rebellion, and infecting with it his brother *John*, and a great part of his Fathers Adherents: they all take part with *Philip*, (now after the decease of *Lewis*) king of *France*, who willing to make use of their assistance, before the stream of filiall avulseness should return into the natural Channel, takes them along with him, and besiegeth the City of *Mentz*, in which king *Henry* at that time was himself in person; who apprehending the danger, and then resenting the mischief of falling into his enemies hands, gets him secretly out of the City, leaving it to defend it selfe, till he should return with greater forces: but hearing afterward that the Town was taken, he fell into so great a distraction of minde, that it made him break out into these blasphemous words; I shall never hereafter love God any more, that hath suffered a City so dear unto me, to be taken from me: but

Leycester a strong site.

Hugh Bigot resolute persisting in assisting young King *Henry*.

Baynards Castle of whom so called.

King *Henry* visits the Tombe of *Thomas Becket*.

Hugh Bigot and others submit themselves to King *Henry*. *Queen Eleanor* committed to prison.

A reconciliation is made on all parts. *Richard* King *Henries* second son affianceth *Adela* the King of *Frances* daughter.

With whom King *Henry* is thought to have unlawfull familiarity.

An. Reg. 30. The young King *Henry* dyeth.

Richard discontented with the delay of his marriage rebels: and draws in his brother *John*. *Mentz* taken by the King of *France*.

A blasphemous speech of King *Henry*.

A strange accident.

King Henry forsaken of his good fortune.

but he quickly recollected himself, and repented him that he had spoken those words. Indeed *Mentis* was the city in which he was born, that to have this City taken from him, was as much as to have his birthright taken from him; and to say the truth, after he had lost this City, he scarce seemed to be alive; not onely because she shortly after dyed, but because the state of Majesty which had all his life accompanied him, after this forsook him: for now he was faine to beg peace of his enemies, who often before had begged it of him: now he was glad to yeeld to conditions, which no force before could have wrested from him. It is memorable, and worth observing, that when these two kings had meeting between *Turwyn* and *Arras*, for reconcilment of differences, there suddenly happened a Thunderbolt to light just between them, with so terrible a crack, that it forced them for that time to break off their conference: and afterward at another meeting, the like accident of thunder happened again, which so amazed king *Henry*, that he had fallen off his horse, if he had not been supported by those about him; which could be nothing but drops let fall of the Divine anger, and manifest presages of his future dysasters. And thus this great Princes troubles, which began in little ones, and were continued in great ones, ended at last in so great a trouble, that it ended his life, and left him an example of desolation, notwithstanding all his greatnesse; forsaken of his friends, forsaken of his wife, forsaken of his children; and (if he were not himself when he blasphemed for the losse of *Mentis*) forsaken of himself; which might be exemplar in this King, if it were not the common Epilogue of all greatnesse.

Of his Acquest of Ireland.

Who first of all English men entred Ireland.

Ireland submits it selfe to King Henry.

The Pope confirms their submission.

King Henrie builds a stately Palace in Dublin.

He sends his son John Governour into Ireland.

Robert Fitz-stephen was the first of all English men after the conquest that entred Ireland, the first day of May, in the year 1170. with 390. men: and there took *Wexford*, in the behalf of *Dernutus*, son of *Marcherdach*, called *Mac Murg*, king of *Leymster*. In September following, *Richard* Earl of *Chepstow*, surnamed *Strong-bow*, sayled into Ireland with twelve hundred men, where he took *Waterford* and *Dublin*; and married *Eve*, the daughter of *Dernutus*, as he was promised. From these beginnings, king *Henry* being then at rest from all Hostile Arms, both at home and abroad, takes into his consideration the kingdome of Ireland, as a kingdome which oftentimes afforded assistance to the French; and therefore purposing with himself by all means to subdue it, he provides a mighty Army, and in the Winter season saileth thither, taking Shipping at *Pembrooke*, and landing near to *Waterford*: where entring into consultation what course was fittest to be taken in the enterprize, suddenly of their own accord the Princes of the Countrey came in, and submitted themselves unto him, only *Roderick* King of *Gonnatch* stood out; who being the greatest, thought to make himself the only King of that Nation: but King *Henry* forbearing him for the present, who kept himself in his fastnesses of Bogges and Woods, and was not to be followed in the Winter season: takes his journey to *Dublin*, the chief City of the Countrey; and there calling the Princes and Bishops of the Nation together, requires their consent to have him and his heirs to be their King: which they affirming they could not doe without the Popes authority; to whom, at their first conversion to the Christian Religion, they had submitted themselves; the King sent presently to *Adrian* the then Pope an English man, requiring his assent; which upon divers good considerations he granted: and hereupon the King built him a stately Palace in the City of *Dublin*; and having thus without bloud possessed himself of the Kingdome, the Spring following he returnes joyfully into England. About four years after *Roderick* also sends his Chancellour to King *Henry*, to offer his submission, with a tribute to be paid of every ten beasts, one sufficient. After this, in the one and thirtieth year of his reign, he sent his son *John* to be the Governour there.

His Taxations and wayes for raising of money.

He keeps Abbeyes vacant in his hands.

He resumes Crown Lands His Parcimony.

He left behind him nine hundred thousand pounds in money.

Taxations in his time, was chiefly once; when he took Escuage of English men, towards his wars in France, which amounted to 12400 pounds: but confiscations were many; because many Rebellions, and every Rebellion was as good as a Mine. Also vacancies of Bishopricks and Abbeyes, kept in his hands, sometimes many at once; no time without some. He resumed also all Lands which had either been sold or given from the Crown by his Predecessors: but a principall cause that made him plentifull in money, was his Parcimony; as when he was enjoyned for a Penance, to build three Abbeyes, he performed it, by changing Secular Priests into Regular Chanons, onely to spare cost. And it was not the least cause of alienating his sons from him, that he allowed them not maintenance answerable to their calling. And it could be nothing but Parcimony while he lived, which brought it to passe, that when he dyed, there were found in his Coffers, nine hundred thousand pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN the beginning of his reign, he refined and reformed the Laws of the Realm; making them more tolerable and more profitable to his people then they were before. In the one and twentieth year of his reign, he divided his whole Kingdom into six several Circuits; appointing in every Circuit three Judges, who twice every year should ride together, to hear and determine Causes between man and man: as it is at this day, though altered in the number of the Judges, and in the Shires of Circuit. In this Kings dayes the number of *Jews* all England over was great: yet, wheresoever they dwelt, they might not bury any of their dead any where but in *London*; which being a great inconvenience to bring dead bodies oftentimes from far remote places, the King gave them liberty of burial in the several places where they lived. It was in this Kings dayes also ordained that Clergy men offending in hunting the Kings Deer, should be punishable by the Civil Magistrate, according to the Laws of the Land; which order was afterward taken with them for any offence whatsoever they committed. Though it be not a Law, yet it is an Ordinance which was first brought in by this King, that the Lions should be kept in the Tower of *London*. Also this King made a Statute, concerning Armour and Weapons; that every man that held a Knights Fee, should be bound to have a pair of Curasses, an Helmet, with Shield and Spear; and that every man of the Laity, having Goods and Revenues to the value of sixteen Marks, should have one pair of Curasses, an Helmet, a Spear and a Shield; and every man worth ten Marks should have an Habergeon, a Steel Cap, and a Spear.

Judges circuits appointed.

Jews wheresoever dwelling might bury no where but in London, till this King gave them liberty.

Clergy men punishable by the Civil Magistrate.

Lions ordained to be kept in the Tower.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

THIS Kings reign is famous for the contention of a Subject with the Prince, and though it may be thought no equall match, yet in this example we shall finde it hard to judge which of them had the victory. But before we come to speak of the Contention, it is fit to say something of the Man, and of the Quarrel. The man was *Thomas Becket*, born in *London*, his Father, one *Gilbert Becket*, his Mother an outlandish woman, of the Countrey of *Syria*. His first rising was under *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who taking a liking to him, (as one saith, no man knew for what) made him first Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and then used means to have him be the Princes Tutor, after that to be Chancellour of *England*, and after the decease of the said *Theobald*, was himself made Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his place. One memorable thing he did at his coming to be Archbishop, he surrendred his place being Chancellour, as not thinking it fit to sit at the Helm of the Common-wealth, and of the Church, both at once. But now began the contention between the King and him: the difference was, the King would have it ordained that Clergy who were malefactors, should be tryed before the Secular Magistrate as Lay men were: This *Becket* opposed, saying, it was against the Liberty of the Church, and therefore against the honour of God. Many Bishops stood with the King, some few with *Becket*; the Contention grew long, and with the length still hotter, till at last *Becket* was content to assent to the Ordinance with this clause, *Salvo Ordine suo*: the King liked not the clause; as being a deluding of the Ordinance: He required an absolute assent, without any clause of Reservation. At last, after many debates and demurs, the Archbishop yeelds to this also, and subscribes the Ordinance, and sets his hand unto it. But going homewards, it is said, his Crosse-bearer, and some other about him, blamed him for that he had done; but whether moved with their words or otherwise upon second thoughts, the next day when they met again, he openly repented his former deed, retracts his subscription, and sends to the Pope for absolution of his fault: which the Pope not only granted, but encouraged him to persevere in the course he had begun. It may be thought a fable, yet it is related by divers good Authors, that one time during this contention, certain fellows cut off the Archbishops horses tail; after which fact, all their children were born with tails like horses; and that this continued long in their Posterity, though now long since ceased, and perhaps their families too. But King *Henry* finding there was no prevailing with *Becket* by fair means, begins to deal more roughly with him, and first makes use of Authority upon his Temporalities; and withall a censure was spoken of to be intended against his person; which *Becket* understanding, thought it his best course to flee the Realm, and thereupon passing under the name of *Dereman*, he passeth over Sea, and there, two years by the Pope, and five by the King of *France*, was maintained as it were of Alms: in which misery, nothing vexed him so much, as that King *Henry* sent all his kindred, Men and Women, old and young, into banishment after him. And now King *Henry* finding that *Becket* stood much upon his Legatine Power, sent messengers to the Pope, desiring him to take that power from him, and to confer it upon his Archbishop of *York*; but the Pope answered he would not do so, but was content the King himself should be his Legare, and sent him Letters to that purpose, which King *Henry* took in such scorn, that he threw away the Letters, and sent them presently back to him again. This dignity of Legatship, for the diligent service of *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was by a special Decree of Pope *Innocent* the second,

Thomas Becket his parentage and rising.

The contention between the King and him.

Children born with horses tails; and the cause.

Becket flees the Realm.

The Pope offers to make King Henry his Legat.

second, to remain to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; so that they were intituled *Legati nati*, A Legats born.

King Henry
complains of
Becket to the
King of France

In this mean time, the King of *France* prevailed with King *Henry* to afford *Becket* a conference, hoping to bring them to some Agreement, where being together, King *Henry* alleadged before the King of *France*, that he required nothing of *Becket*, but his assent to an Ordinance, to which in his Grandfather King *Henrie* the firsts time, all the Bishops of the Realm, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* that then was, did give their Assent; yet this moved not *Becket* at all, but he continued his former Tener, it was against the honour of God, and therefore desired to be excused. See now (saith King *Henry*) the perversnesse of this man, all that agrees not with his own humour, is presently against the honour of God. While these things were thus a working, *Becket* had gotten him more friends at *Rome*, and by their means prevailed with B the Pope, to give him power to interdict some Bishops in *England* that had done him wrong, and the Pope spared not to threaten Excommunication to King *Henry* himself, if he restored nor *Becket* to his dignity. But whether awed with his threatnings, or won by the King of *France*'s importunity, or else perhaps relenting in himself, he was contented at last that *Becket* should return home, and enjoy his Bishoprick; who being come to *Canterbury*, the Bishops whom he had interdicted for Crowning the young King *Henry*, (which he said was his right to have done) made humble suit unto him, to be released of the censure. Which, when the Archbishop would not grant, but with certain cautions and exceptions, the Bishops discontented went over to the King, complaining of the hard measure that was offered them by the Archbishop: whereat the King being much moved, Shall I never (saith he) be at quiet for this C Priest? If I had any about me that loved me, they would finde some way or other to rid me of this trouble. Whereupon four Knights standing by, that heard the King make this complaint, namely *Reynold Fitz-urfe*, or *Berefon*, *Hugh Morvill*, *William Tracy*, and *Richard Britton*, thinking they should do an acceptable service to the King, went shortly after into *England*, and going to *Canterbury*, found the Archbishop then at Church, when upon the steps there, they struck him upon the head with their swords and slew him the thirtieth day of *December*, in the year 1172. Afterward with much ado, by King *Henries* means they were pardoned by the Pope, only enjoined Penance to go on Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, as some write, but others more probably, that the King abhorred them ever after; and that within three years after they all dyed miserably. You have heard his persecution, and (as some would have, it called) his D Martyrdom: now hear the honours that have been done him, and the visitations to his Tombe.

Becket returns
home.

The Bishops
complain of
Becket to the
King.

Becket is slain.

His murderers
how punished.

The honours
done to Becket's
Tombe.

And first King *Henry* himself coming to *Canterbury*, as soon as he came within sight of *Becket's* Church, lighting off his horse, and putting off his hose and shooes, he went barefoot to his Tombe, and for a further penance suffered himself to be beaten with rods, by every Monk of the Cloister. A few years after, King *Lewis* of *France* comes into *England* of purpose to visit the Shrine of *St. Thomas*, where having paid his Vows, he makes Oblations with many rich Presents. The like many Princes since that time have done; and many Miracles are reported to have been done at his Tombe, which yet may be unbelieved without unbelief, and with Faith enough. It is worth observing, how some dayes are to some men more fortunate then other dayes: as *Matthew Paris* writes of this *Becket*; that Tuesday was observed to be a fortunate day E to him: for a upon Tuesday he was born: upon a Tuesday he was banished: upon a Tuesday he was recalled from Banishment: upon a Tuesday he suffered Martyrdom: upon a Tuesday fifty years after his death, his body with great solemnity was translated.

Contention be-
tween the two
Archbishops.
Two Popes at
once.

A bondman
comes to be
Pope, called A-
drian the fourth

Choaked with
a Fly.

Heraclius the
Patriarch of
Jerusalem his
insolent speech
to King *Henry*.

The patience
of Hereticks.

Another difference in this Kings dayes, was between the two Archbishops of *England*, about the jurisdiction of *Canterbury* over *York*, which being referred to the Pope, he gave judgement on *Canterburys* side. Also in this Kings dayes there was a Schism in the Church of *Rome*, two Popes up at once, of whom *Alexander* the third was one; which schism continued the space of almost 20 years. Also in this Kings dayes, one *Nicholas Breakspear*, born at *St. Albans*, or as other write, at *Langley* in *Hartfordshire*, being a bondman of that Abbey, and therefore not to be allowed to be a Monk there, went beyond Sea, where he so profited in Learning, that the Pope F made him first Bishop of *Alba*, and afterward Cardinal, and sent him Legate to the *Norwayes*, where he reduced that Nation from Paganism to Christianity, and returning back to *Rome*, was chosen Pope by the Name of *Adrian* the fourth, and dyed being choaked with a Fly in his drink. In his dayes also *Heraclius* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, came to King *Henry*, desiring aid for the Holy Land, but not so much of money as of men; and not so much of men neither, as of a good General, as himself was; to whom King *Henry* answered, that though he were willing to undertake it, yet his unquiet State at home would not suffer him; with which answer the Patriarch moved, said, Think not Great King, that Pretences will excuse you before God, but take this from me, that as you forsake Gods cause now, so he hereafter will forsake you in your greatest need. But (saith the King) if I should be absent out of my Kingdom, my own Sons would be ready to rise up against me in my absence; to which the Patriarch replied, No marvail, for G from the Devil they came, and to the Devill they shall; and so departed. Also in this Kings dayes there came into *England*, thirty *German* Men and Women, calling themselves Publicans, who denied Matrimony, and the Sacraments of Baptism, and of the Lords Supper, with other Articles, who being obstinate, and not to be reclaimed, the King commanded they should be marked with a hot iron in the forehead, and be whipped, which punishment they took patiently, their Captain (called *Gerard*) going before them singing, *Blessed are ye when men*

A men hate you. After they were whipped, they were thrust out of doors in the Winter, where they dyed with cold and hunger, no man daring to relieve them. This King after his conquest of Ireland, imposed the tribute of *Peter pence* upon that Kingdom, namely, that every house in Ireland should yearly pay a penny to St. Peter. In this Kings time, was held by Pope Alex-
Peter pence imposed upon Ireland.
 ander the third, the General Councell of *Latran* consisting of 310 Bishops: where many Ordinances were made for the peace of the Church. Also in the 33 year of his reign *Jerusalem* was taken by the *Turks*.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

B This King founded the Church of *Bristow*, which King *Henry* the eighth afterward erected into a Cathedral: He also founded the Pories of *Dover*; of *Stonely*; and of *Basyn-work*; and the Castle of *Rudlan*: and began the Stone Bridge over the *Thames* at *London*. He caused also the Castle of *Warwick* to be builded. *Maud* the Emperesse his Mother, founded the Abbey of *Bordesly*. In his time also *Hugh Mortimer* founded *Wigmore* Abbey, *Richard Lucy* the Kings Chief Justice laid the Foundation of the Coventual Church, in the honour of St. *Thomas*, in a place which is called *Westwood*, otherwise *Lesnes*, in the Territory of *Rocheſter* in the new Parish of *Southfleet*. He also builded the Castle of *Anger* in *Essex*. *Robert Harding* a Burgeſſe of *Bristow*, to whom King *Henry* gave the Barony of *Barkley*, builded the Monastery of St. *Augustines* in *Bristow*. In the tenth of his reign, *London* Bridge was new
The Stone-bridge in London.
 made of Timber, by *Peter* of *Cole-church* a Priest. *Robert de Boſcne* Earl of *Leyceſter*, founded the Monastery of *Gorendon*, of Monks; and of *Leyceſter*, called *Saint Mary de Pater*, of Chanons Regular; and his Wife *Amicia*, Daughter of *Ralph Montford*, founded *Eaton*, of Nuns. In the two twentyeth year of his reign, after the foundation of St. *Mary Overies* Church in *Southmark*, the Stone Bridge over the *Thames* at *London*, began to be founded, towards which a Cardinal, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* gave a thousand Marks. *Aldred* Bishop of *Worceſter* founded a Monastery at *Gloceſter* of *Benedictine* Monks.
London Bridge new made of Timber.

D Casualties that happened in his time.

I N the eleventh year of this Kings reign, on the six and twentieth day of *January*, was so
 great an Earth-quake in *Ely*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, that it overthrew them that stood upon
 their feet, and made the Bels to ring in the Steeples. In the seventeenth year of his reign, there
 was seen at St. *Oſythes* in *Essex*, a Dragon of marvellous bignesse, which by moving burned
 houses, and the whole City of *Canterbury* was the same year almost burnt. In the eighteenth
 year of his reign, the Church of *Norwich* with the houses thereto belonging was burnt, and the
 Monks disperſed. At *Andover*, a Priest praying before the Altar, was slain with Thunder.
 E Likewise one Clerk and his brother was burnt to death with Lightning. In the three and twentieth
 year, a showre of bloud rained in the Ile of *Wight* two hours together. In the four and twentieth
 year, the City of *York* was burnt; and on *Christmas* day in the Territory of *Derlington*, in
 the Bishoprick of *Durham*, the Earth lifted up it self in manner of an high Tower, and so re-
 mained unmoveable from morning till evening, and then fell with so horrible a noise that
 it frightened the Inhabitants the eabouts, and the Earth swallowing it up, made there a deep
 pit, which is seen at this day: for a Testimony whereof *Leyland* saith, he saw the Pits there,
 commonly called *Hell-kettles*. Also in the same year, on the tenth day of *Aprill*, the Church
 of St. *Andrews* in *Rocheſter* was consumed with fire. In the eight and twentieth year of his reign,
Barnwell with the Priory, near unto *Cambridge*, was burnt. In the thirtieth year, the Abbey of
 F *Glaſtenbury* was burnt with the Church of St. *Julian*. In the year 1180. a great Earth-quake
 threw down many buildings, amongst which the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln* was rent in pieces
 the five and twentieth of *Aprill*: and on the twentieth of *October*, the Cathedral Church of
Chicheſter, and all the whole City was burnt. This year also, near unto *Oxford* in *Suffolk*,
 certain Fishers took in their Nets a Fish, having the shape of a man in all points, which Fish
 was kept by *Bartholomew de Glandevile* in the Castle of *Oxford* six moneths and more; he spake
 not a word; all manner of meats he did gladly eat, but most greedily raw Fish, when he had
 pressed out the juyce; oftentimes he was brought to the Church, but never shewed any signe of
 adoration: at length, being not well looked to, he stole to the Sea, and never was seen after.
 In the year 1188. on the twentieth of *September*, the Town of *Beverley* with the Church of
 G St. *John* there was burnt. And in this Kings time the bones of King *Arthur*, and his Wife *Guy-
 nevour*, were found in the Vale of *Avolan*, under an hollow Oak, fifteen foot under ground; the
 hair of the said *Guynevour* being then whole and of fresh colour; but as soon as it was touched,
 it fell to powder, as *Fabian* relateth.
A great Earth-quake.
A shoure of bloud.
Hell-kettles in the County of Durham made by an Earth-quake.
A Fish taken in the shape of a man.
The bones of King Arthur found.

Of his Wife and Children.

A strange licentiousness of Queen Eleanor;

But false.

John without land.

Rosamund one of his Concubines.

The wife of Blewet another of his Concubines.

A honour to descend from a King though born base.

HE married *Eleanor* Daughter and heir of *William* Duke of *Guien*, late Wife of *Lewis* the seventh, King of *France*, but then divorced, but for what cause divorced is diversly related; some say King *Lewis* carryed her with him into the Holy Land, where she carryed her self not very holily, but led a licentious life, and which is the worst kind of licentiousness, in carnal familiarity with a *Turk*; which King *Lewis* though knowing, yet dissembled, till coming home, he then waived that cause, as which he could not bring without disgrace to himself, and made use of their nearness in blood, as being Cousins in the fourth degree, which was allowed by the Pope, as a cause sufficient to divorce them, though he had at that time two Daughters by her. Being thus divorced, Duke *Henry* marryes her, with whom it was never known, but she led a modest and sober life, a sufficient proof, that the former report was but a slander. By this Queen *Eleanor* he had five Sons, *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geoffry*, and *John*; and three Daughters, *Maude* marryed to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*; *Eleanor* marryed to *Alphonse* the Eighth of that name, King of *Castile*; and *Jane* or *Jone* marryed to *William* King of *Sicily*. Of his Sons, *William* dyed young. *Henry* born the second year of his reign, was Crowned King with his Father, in the eighteenth year, and dyed the nine and twentieth year, and was buryed at *Roan*; marryed to *Margaret*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, but left no issue. *Richard* born at *Oxford* (in the Kings Palace there called *Beau-mont*) in the fourth year of his Fathers reign, and succeeded him in the Kingdom. *Geoffry*, born the fifth year of his Father reign, marryed *Constance* Daughter and Heir of *Conan*, Earl of Little *Britain*, in the fourteenth year, and in the two and thirtieth year dyed; leaving by his Wife *Constance*, two Daughters, and a Posthumous Son named *Arthur*. *John* his youngest, called *John* without Land, because he had no Land assigned him in his Fathers time; born the twelfth year of his Fathers reign, and succeeded his brother *Richard* in the Kingdom. And this may be reckoned a peculiar honour to this King, that of his five Sons, three of them lived to be Kings; and of his three Daughters, two of them to be Queens. Concubines he had many, but two more famous then the rest; and one of these two more famous then the other; and this was *Rosamund*, Daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, whom he kept at *Woodstock*, in lodgings so cunningly contrived, that no stranger could finde the way in, yet Queen *Eleanor* did, being guided by a thread: so much is the eye of jealousy quicker in finding out, then the eye of care is in hiding. What the Queen did to *Rosamund* when she came to her, is uncertain, but this is certain, that *Rosamund* lived but a short time after, and lies buryed at the Nunnery of *Godstow* near to *Oxford*. By this *Rosamund* King *Henry* had two Sons, *William* called *Long-sword*; who was Earl of *Salisbury* in right of his Wife *Ela*, Daughter and Heir of *William* Earl of that Countrey, and had by her much issue, whose posterity continued a long time: And a second Son named *Geoffrey*, who was first Bishop of *Lincoln*, and afterward Archbishop of *York*, and after five years banishment in his Brother King *John*'s time, dyed in the year 1213. The other famous Concubine of this King *Henry*, was the Wife of *Ralph Blewet* a Knight; by whom he had a Son named *Morgan*, who was Provost of *Beverley*, and being to be elected Bishop of *Durham*, went to *Rome* for a dispensation, because being a bastard, he was else incapable: But the Pope refusing to grant it, unlesse he would passe as the Son of *Blewet*, he absolutely answered, he would for no cause in the world deny his Father; and chose rather to lose the Dignity of the Place, then of his Blood, as being the Son, though but the base Son, of a King.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

Why called Shortmantel.

A wayes in action.

To his children both hard and indulgent.

His Incontinency.

HE was somewhat red of face, and broad breasted; short of body, and therewithal fat, which made him use much Exercise and litle meat. He was commonly called *Henry* Shortmantel, because he was the first that brought the use of short Cloaks out of *Anjou* into *England*. Concerning endowments of minde, he was of spirit in the highest degree Generous; which made him often say, that all the World sufficed not to a courageous heart. He had the Reputation of a wise Prince all the Christian World over; which made *Alphonse* King of *Castile*, and *Garfias* King of *Navarre* refer a difference that was between them to his Arbitrament: who so judiciously determined the cause, that he gave contentment to both parties; a harder matter then to cut cloth even by a thread. His custom was to be alwayes in action; for which cause, if he had no real Wars he would have faigned: and would transport Forces either into *Normandy* or *Britain*, and go with them himself, whereby he was alwayes prepared of an Army: and made it a Schooling to his Souldiers, and to himself an Exercise. To his children he was both indulgent and hard; for out of indulgence he caused his Son *Henry* to be Crowned King in his own time; and out of hardnesse he caused his younger Sons to rebell against him. He was rather Superstitious, then not Religious; which he shewed more by his carriage toward *Becket* being dead then while he lived. His Incontinency was not so much that he used other women beside his Wife, but that the affianced Wife of his own Son: And it was commonly thought, he had a meaning to be divorced from his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, and to take the said *Adela* to be his

A his Wife. Yet generally to speak of him: he was an excellent Prince; and if in some particulars he were defective, it must be considered he was a man.

Of his Death and Burial.

B HE was not well at ease before, but when the King of France sent him a List of those that had conspired against him, and that he found the first man in the List to be his Son John, he then fell suddenly into a fit of fainting, which so increased upon him, that within four days after he ended his life: So strong a Corrosive is grief of minde, when it meets with a body weakened before with sickness. He dyed in Normandy, in the year 1189. when he had lived three score and one years; reigned near five and thirty: and was buried at Founteverard in France; the manner of whose burial was thus: He was cloathed in his Royal Robes, his Crown upon his head, white Gloves upon his hands, Boots of Gold upon his legs, Gilt Spurs at his heels, a great rich Ring upon his finger, his Scepter in his hand, his Sword by his side, and his face uncovered and all bare. As he was carrying to be buried, his Son Richard in great haste ran to see him, who no sooner was come near the body, but suddenly at his Nostrils he fell a bleeding afresh; which though it were in Prince Richard no good sign of Innocency, yet his breaking presently into bitter tears upon the seeing it, was a good sign of Repentance. It may not be unreasonable to speak in this place of a thing which all Writers speak of, that in the Family of the Earls of Anjou, of whom this King Henry came, there was once a Princess a great Enchantresse, who being on a time enforced to take the blessed Eucharist, she suddenly flew out at the Church window, and was never seen after: From this Woman these latter Earls of Anjou were descended, which perhaps made the Patriarch Heraclius say of this King Henries children, that from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they would. But Writers perhaps had been more compleat, if they had left this story out of their Writings.

His body falls a bleeding at his Son Richards coming near his corps. His Ancestresse an Enchantresse.

Men of Note in his time.

D OF Clergy men, there was Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, Hugh Bishop of Lincoln; Richard Bishop of Winchester; Geoffry of Ely; Robert of Bath; Aldred of Worcester; all learned men, and of great integrity of life. Of Military men, there was Robert Earl of Leycester; Reynold Earl of Cornwall; Hugh Bigot, Robert Ferrys, Richard Lacy, Roger Mowbray, Ralph Fulger, Ranulph Granula, William Vesey, and Raynard Baylioll; men of great achievements in War, and of no lesse abilities in Peace.

THE

THE
LIFE and REIGN
OF
KING RICHARD
THE FIRST.

Of his coming to the Crown, and of his Coronation.

Anno Dom.
1189.

King Richard
Crowned.

Hoveden.

The manner
of his Corona-
tion.

His Oath at
the Corona-
tion.



ING Richard the first of that name, after his Fathers Funeral, went to *Roan*, where he settled the state of that Province; and from thence came into *England*, where he was Crowned King at *Westminster*, by the hands of *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the third day of *September*, in the year 1189. And herein this Prince is more beholding to Writers than any of his Predecessors: for in speaking of their Crowning, they content themselves with telling where, and by whom they were Crowned: but of this Prince, they deliver the manner of his Crowning, in the full amplitude of all circumstances; which perhaps is not unfit to do, for satisfaction of such as are never like to see a Coronation; and it was in this manner. First, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Roan*, *Trier*, and *Dublin*, with all the other Bishops, Abbots, B and Clergy, apparelled in rich Copes, and having the Crosse, holy Water, and Censers carryed before them; came to fetch him at the door of his Privy-Chamber; and there receiving him, they led him to the Church of *Westminster*, till they came before the high Altar, with a solemn Procession. In the middle of the Bishops and Clergy, went four Barons, bearing Candlesticks with Tapers; after whom came *Geoffry de Lucy*, bearing the Cap of Maintenance, and *John Marshal* next to him, bearing a massive pair of Spurs of Gold; then followed *William Marshall* Earl of *Strigul*, alias *Pembroke*, who bare the Royall Scepter, in the top whereof was set a Crosse of Gold; and *William de Patrick*, Earl of *Salisbury* going next him, bare the Warder or Rod, having on the top thereof a Dove. Then came three other Earls, *David*, Brother to the King of *Scots*, the Earl of *Huntington*, *John* the Kings C Brother, Earl of *Mortaigne*, and *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, each of them bearing a Sword upright in his hand with the scabbards richly adorned with Gold. The Earl of *Mortaigne* went in the midst betwixt the other two; after them followed six Earls and Barons, bearing a Checker Table upon the which were set the Kings Scutcheons of Armes; and then followed *William Mandevil* Earl of *Albemarle*, bearing a Crown of Gold a great heighth before the King, who followed having the Bishop of *Durham* on the right hand, and *Reynold* Bishop of *Bathe* on the left; over whom a Canopy was born: and in this order he came into the Church at *Westminster*, where before the high Altar, in the presence of the Clergy and the people, laying his hand upon the holy Evangelists, and the reliques of certain Saints, he took a solemn Oath that he should observe peace, honour and reverence to Almighty God, to his Church, and to his Ministers, all the dayes of his life: also that he should exercise upright Justice to the people committed to his charge, and that he should abrogate and disanul all evill Laws and wrongful Customes, if any were to be found in the precinct of his Realm; and maintain those that were good and laudable. This done, he put off all his garments from his middle upwards, but only his shirt, which was open on the shoulders that he might be anointed. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* anointed him in three places; on the head, on the shoulder, and on the right arm; with Prayers in such case accustomed. After this, he covered his head with a linnen

A linnen cloth hallowed, and set his Cap thereon; and then after he had put on his Royal Garments, and his uppermost Robe, the Arch-bishop delivered him the Sword, with which he should beat down the enemies of the Church: which done, two Earls put his Shooes upon his feet, and having his Mantle put on him, the Archbishop forbad him on the behalf of Almighty God, not to presume to take upon him this Dignity, except he faithfully meant to perform those things which he had there sworn to perform; whereunto the King made answer, that by Gods grace he would perform them. Then the King took the Crown beside the Altar, and delivered it to the Archbishop, which he set upon the Kings head, delivering to him the Scepter to hold in his right hand, and the Rod Royall in his left hand: and thus being Crowned, he was brought back by the Bishops and Barons, with the Crosse and Candlesticks, and three Swords, passing forth before him unto his Seat. When the Bishop that sang the Masse, came to the Offertory, the two Bishops that brought him to the Church, led him to the Altar, and brought him back again. The Masse ended, he was brought with solemn Proceffion into his Chamber: and this was the manner of this Kings Coronation. But at this solemnity there fell out a very dysastrous accident: For this Prince not favouring the *Jews*, as his Father had done; had given a strict charge, that no *Jew* should be admitted to be a spectator of the solemnity: yet certain *Jews*, as though it had been the Crowning of their King *Herod*, would needs be pressing in; and being put back by Officers set of purpose, it grew to be a brabble, and from words to blowes, so as many *Jews* were hurt, and some slain: and thereupon a rumour was suddenly spread abroad, that the King had commanded to have all the *Jews* destroyed. Whereupon it is incredible what rifling there was of *Jews* houses, and what cutting of their throats: and though the King signified by publick Declaration, that he was highly displeased with that which was done, yet there was no staying the multitude till the next day; so often it falls out, that great solemnities are waited on with great dyasters, or rather indeed, as being connatural, they can hardly be asunder.

Many *Jews* slain at his Coronation.

Of his first Acts after he was Crowned.

D H E began with his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, whom upon her Husbands displeasure, having been kept in Prison sixteen years; he not only set at liberty, but set in as great authority, as if she had been left the Regent of the Kingdom. The next he gratifies was his Brother *John*; to whom he made appear, how much the bounty of a Brother was better then the hardness of a Father. For he conferred upon him, in *England*, the Earldoms of *Cornwall*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, and *Leycester*; and by the marriage of *Isabel*, daughter and heir to the Earl of *Glocester*, he had that Earldom also; as likewise the Castles of *Marleborough*, and *Luigarsh*, the Honours of *Wallingford*, *Tichil*, and *Eye*, to the value of 4000. Marks a year: an estate so great, as were able to put a very moderate minde into the humour of aspiring, of which Princes should have care. Concerning his affianced Lady *Adela*, it may be thought strange, that having desired her so infinitely when he could not have her, now that he might have her, he cared not for her: but the cause was known, and in every mans mouth; that she was now but his Fathers leavings: yet he would not send her home but very rich in Jewels, to make amends, if it might be, for the losse of her Virginity: though this was somewhat hard on his part, when the Father had taken all the pleasure, that the Son should afterward pay all the Charges. But by this at least he made a quiet way for his marriage now concluded, and shortly after to be consummated in *Sicily* with *Berengaria* the Daughter of *Garfias* King of *Navarre*. And now his minde is wholly set upon his long intended voyage to the Holy Land, for which he thinks not the treasure left by his Father to be sufficient, which yet amounted to nine hundred thousand pounds: but forecasting with himself the great charge it must needs be, to carry an Army so long a journey, he seeks to enlarge his provision of money by all the means he can devise. Not long before, *Hugh Pudsey* had been advanced to the Bishoprick of *Durham*; and now for a great sum of money he sold him the Earldom: and then said merrily among his Lords, Do ye not think me a cunning man, that of an old Bishop can make a young Earl? From the *Londoners* also he drained great sums of money, and made them recompense in Franchises and Liberties, which they had not before. He made also great sales: to the King of *Scots*, he sold the Castles of *Berwick* and *Roxborough*, for ten thousand pounds: to *Godfrey de Lucie*, Bishop of *Winchester*, the Manors of *Weregrave* and *Ments*: to the Abbot of *St. Edmundsbury*, the Manor of *Midhall*, for one thousand Marks of silver: to the Bishop of *Durham*, the Manor of *Sadborough*; and when it was marvelled that he would part with such things, he answered, that in this case he would sell his City of *London*, if he could finde a Chapman. But the worst way of all was, that pretending to have lost his Signet, he made a new; and made Proclamation, that whosoever would safely enjoy what under the former Signet was granted, should come to have it confirmed by the new; witerby he raised great sums of money to himself, but greater of discontentment in his Subjects. By these, and such like means, he quickly furnished himself with money: and now it remained only to consider, to whose care he should commit the government of the Kingdom in his absence; and after deliberation he made choice for the North parts, of *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*; joyning in Commission with him, *Hugh Baldulph*, and *William Brunnelle*.

He sets his Mother Queen *Eleanor* at liberty.

His bounty to his Brother *John*.

He refused his affianced Lady *Adela*; and why.

He marries *Berengaria* the daughter of the King of *Navarre*.

He makes great provision of money for his journey to the Holy Land.

He makes the Bishop of *Durham* an Earl for money.

He sells *Berwick* to the King of *Scots*.

He leaves William Longshampe Bishop of Ely Governor of the kingdom.

He appoints his Nephew Arthur to be his succour if himself should fail.

From whence the order of Garter is thought to have begun.

Brunell: and for the South parts, he appoints *William Longshampe* Bishop of *Ely*, and Chancellor of *England*, and for his greater strength, causeth the Pope to make him Legat of all *England* and *Scotland*: and for *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, *Robert* Earl of *Leycester*; all men eminent for prudence and uprightnesse, and which is most of all, for loyalty: and indeed to make a man fit for such employment, all these vertues must concur. As for his brother *John*, he knew very well his aspiring minde, and therefore would have tied him to live in *Normandy*, and not to come into *England* til his return, but that their Mother *Queen Eleanor* interceded, & passed her word for him: and that nothing might be left unprovided for, he appointed his Nephew *Arthur*, the son of his brother *Geoffrey* Duke of *Britain* to be his Successor, if himself should fail. And now, *Vndique conuenere vocat jam carbasus auris*; every man is ready to take Shipping, and no stay now but for a Wind; only some say that King *Richard* before his departing, calling his Lords and Knights unto him, and swearing them to be true; gave to every of them a blew riband to be known by; from whence the first occasion of the Order of the Garter is thought to begin.

Of his Journey into the Holy Land.

King Richard takes the City of *Messana* in *Sicilie*.

KING *Richard* having prepared an Army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and having appointed to meet *Philip* King of *France* in *Sicilie*, at the latter end of *June*, in the year 1190. sets forward himself by Land to *Marcellis*, and there staves till his Ships should come about; but his Navie being driven by tempest to other parts, and the King weary of long staying, after six weeks, he hireth shipping for himself and his company, and passeth forward to *Messana* in *Sicilie*, where arrived also the King of *France*; and not long after, his own Navie. In this Island the King *William* now lately dead, had married *Jane*, King *Richards* sister; from whom *Tancred* the present King with-held her Dower: and therefore though he shewed King *Richard* fair countenance, yet he dealt secretly with the *Messanians* to use all means to get him gone; whereupon the *Messanians* taking a small occasion, let suddenly upon the *English*, and thrust them out of their Town: with which King *Richard* justly offended, who had his Camp without the Town, prepares himself to revenge the affront; when *Tancred* sending to him to signifie that the affront was offered without his knowledge, and much against his liking, so pacified him, that for the present he remained satisfied; but understanding afterward, that the *Messanians* did but wait their opportunity till the Spring, when King *Richard* should be going: he repenting their intention, staies not their leisure, but assaulting the Town with fire and sword, in one daies labour takes it, and had made great slaughter in it, if King *Richard* had not been moved to compassion with the *Messanians* tears, but chiefly with King *Tancred*s offers; both to pay his sister *Jane* her Dower, and to marry his daughter to King *Richards* Nephew *Arthur*, Duke of *Britain*, and to give a good part of the portion in hand. But King *Philip* was not well pleased with these conditions, yet he breaks not out to open dissension, till more fell was afterward cast upon the fire of his anger. In the Spring King *Philip* sails with his Army to *Ptolemais* (otherwise called *Acon*) which the Christians had long besieged, and with them he joyne: while King *Richard* taking his sister *Jane* and *Berengaria* the young daughter of the King of *Navarre* with him, in 1190. Ships, and 50. Gallies, purs to Sea for the Holy Land, but is by tempest cast upon the Coast of *Cyprus*; where the Islanders seeking to hinder his landing, he sets upon them with his forces; and invading the Island, easily subdues, and brings it under his subjection; and the King of the Country being taken prisoner, and intreating King *Richard* not to put him in bonds of Iron, King *Richard* gives him his word, and keeps it, but puts him in bonds of Silver. In this Island, he solemnized his marriage with *Berengaria*, and then leaving *Richard de Carville*, and *Robert de Thurnham*, his Lieutenants in *Cyprus*; he passeth on to *Ptolemais*, which City was defended by *Saladine*, and had been besieged now two yeares: when the enemy seeing and fearing the encrease of the Christian forces, propounds conditions, upon which accepted, they deliver it up in *August*, the year 1192.

He subdues the Island of *Cyprus*. Here he marries *Berengaria*.

The first offence between King *Richard* and *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*.

Joppa a City built before the Flood.

At the taking of this Town there fell out an accident, seeming an honour to King *Richard* for the present, but proving a disgrace, at least a great trouble and charge to him afterward: For *Leopold* Duke of *Austria* had first set up his Colours upon the wall, which King *Richard* caused to be thrown down, and his own to be set up; but this was no place to stand a quarrelling, it came not to the reckoning till some time after. When *Ptolemais* was taken, *Saladine* fearing the Christians further proceeding, dismantles all the best Towns that were near it: as *Porphyria*, *Casarea*, *Ascalon*, *Gaza*; but of *Joppa* King *Richard* takes a care, and placeth in it a Colony of Christians. For *Joppa* is a City of *Palestine*, that was built before the Flood; and hath belonging to it a Haven of great convenience; And now the King of *France*, though valiant enough himself, yet thinking his own great acts to be obscured by greater of King *Richards*; he began, besides his old hating him, now to envie him. For indeed emulation when it is in Virtue, makes the stronger knot of love and affection: but when it is in Glory, it makes a separation, and turns into the passion of envie and malice; and so did it with King *Philip*, who pretending the aire of the Countrey did not agree with his body; but was indeed because the air of King *Richards* Glory did not agree with his minde; obtained King *Richards* consent to return home, swearing first solemnly not to molest his Territories in his absence. But this fell out for the present enterprise most unreasonably. For the departure of the King of *France*, though it diminished not much the

- A the strength; (so: he left *Odo* Duke of *Burgundy* in his place) yet it diminished much the shew of assistance: and indeed *Saladine*, who was at this time in terms of surrendering *Jerusalem*; when he saw the King of *France* departed, as knowing there must needs be a conclusion, where there was a beginning, doubted not but the rest would follow soon after, and thereupon staid his hands, and grew more confident then he was before. At this time *Guy* of *Lusignan* was possessor of the City of *Tyre*, and with it, of the right of the kingdome of *Jerusalem*: with him King *Richard* makes an exchange, that *Guy* should have the Island of *Cyprus* which King *Richard* had won, and King *Richard* should have the kingdome of *Jerusalem*, to which *Guy* had a right: and upon this title the Kings of *England* were stiled Kings of *Jerusalem* a long time after: as likewise the posterity of the said *Guy* hath by this exchange held the kingdome of *Cyprus* to this day.
- B Now was King *Richard* more hot upon taking *Jerusalem* then ever before; and had certainly taken it, but that by ill counsell diverted, because the Winter drew on: and indeed by the drawing back of *Odo* Duke of *Burgundie*, who envied that King *Richard* should have the honour of taking it, he removed for that season to *Ascalon*; after which time, the Enemy growing stronger, and the Christians weaker; all opportunity of taking it was utterly lost, and they could never come to the like again. And shortly after King *Richard* was advertised of the King of *France* his invading *Normandy*, contrary to his oath at his departure; which forced King *Richard*, much to his grief, to conclude a peace with *Saladine*, and that upon conditions not very honourable for the Christians; and himself presently to return home: and so sending his wife *Berengaria*, and his sister *Jane*, with a great part of his Army into *Sicilie*, and from thence into *England*: he passeth himself with some few in his company, by the way of *Thrace*, and was by tempest brought into *Dalmatia*; from whence being to passe through *Germany*, and particularly through Duke *Leopolds* Countrey of *Austria*: he remembering the old grudge, changed his apparell, and travelling sometimes afoot, and sometimes on horseback, he used all means possible to keep himself from being known: but destiny is not to be avoided, for as soon as he came to *Vienna*, partly by his tongue, and partly by his expences, it was presently found he was an *English* man, and withall some great man; and by and by a rumour was spread, that it was *Richard* King of *England*: who finding himself to be discovered, and no meanes possible to escape, he puts off his disguise, putting on his Princely apparell, and avowes himself: which Duke *Leopold* understanding, sent presently to have him apprehended; but King *Richard* refusing to yeeld himself to any, but to the Duke himself; the Duke himself came and led him to his own Palace honourably enough, but yet strongly guarded: whereof as soon as *Henry* the Emperour heard, he sent with great instance to Duke *Leopold* to send King *Richard* over to him, under pretence of safer custody, but with a purpose indeed to be a sharer in his Ransome. And the Duke though well knowing his meaning, yet knowing withall that it was not safe for him to deny the Emperour, he sent him over to him, who soon after put him into a prison he had, called *Trivallis*, into which no man was ever known to be put that escaped with life, though done perhaps to him, but in *terrorem*, to draw the better Ransome from him. That with which King *Richard* was charged, beside the wrong done to *Leopold*, in throwing down his Colours at *Ptolemais*, was the death of *Conrade* Duke of *Tyre*, whom they pretended King *Richard* had murdered; wherein though King *Richard* made his innocency appear by the testimony of *Limbodus*, who confessed himself to have been the author of the Marquesses death; yet the pretence served to detain him in prison: and in prison indeed they kept him, till his Ransome was agreed upon and paid: which being a hundred thousand pounds, fourcore thousand was paid in hand: whereof two parts to the Emperour; a third part to Duke *Leopold*: and for the rest, hostages given to the number of fifty; of whom the Bishop of *Roan* was one: though the hostages afterward were delivered without paying the rest: for *Henry* the Emperour dying shortly after, his Successour had the conscience not to take it, as knowing it had been unjustly exacted: and indeed the accidents that befell both the Emperour and the Duke *Leopold*, were evident demonstrations of the injustice they had done; for the Emperour shortly after dyed; and the Duke *Leopold*, in a Tilting for solemnity of his birth-day, fell off his horse, and so broke his leg, that to save his life, he was faine to have his leg cut off. And now after fifteen moneths imprisonment, King *Richard* is released, and returns into *England* four yeares elder then he went out; and thus ended his journey to the Holy Land. Yet one memorable accident happening to him in the Holy Land, may not be omitted: that going one day a Hawking about *Ioppa*, finding himself weary, he laid him down upon the ground to sleep; when suddainly certain *Turks* came upon him to take him; but he awakened with their noise, riseth up, gets a horseback, and drawing out his sword, assaults the *Turks*, who faining to flie, drew the King into an Ambush where many *Turky* lay; who had certainly taken him if they had known his person: but one of the Kings servants, called *William de Patrellis*, crying out in the *Saracen* tongue, that he was the King; they presently lay hold upon him, and let the King escape.
- G

The Kings of *England* from whence stiled Kings of *Jerusalem*.

The King of *France* invading King *Richard*s Territories in his absence makes him return. He returns home through *Germany*.

Is taken prisoner by Duke *Leopold*.

Is imprisoned in *Trivallis* by the Emperour.

He is ransomed.

His valour. A faithfull servant.

Troubles in his Dominions in his absence.

Longshampe
proud carriage.

Which the
Lord John op-
posed.

Longshampe
seeketh to flee
the Realm in
disguise.
Is discovered
and beaten by
the women.

The Duke John
takes upon
him as King.

KING Richard at his going out of *England*, had so well settled the Government of the kingdome, that might well have kept it in good order during all the time of his absence; but disorders are weeds which no foresight can hinder from growing, having so many hands to water them: where occasions of distast are no sooner offered, when taken; and oftentimes taken before they be offered, as was here to be seen. For King Richard had left in chief place of authority, *William Longshampe*, Bishop of *Ely*; a man who so carried himself, that although the things he did, were justifiable; yet the pride with which he did them was unsufferable: seldome riding abroad without five hundred, some say a thousand in his train; not for safety, but for state: and though there were other left in authority besides himself, yet his power was so predominant, that he made of them but ciphers, and ruled all as he list himself. This insolency of governing was soon distast by many, and especially by *John* the Kings brother, who counting the greatness of his birth an equall match at least with any substitute greatness, affronted the Bishop in the managing of affairs, in such sort, that while some adhered to the one, and some to the other; the kingdome in the mean time was in danger to be rent asunder, till at last the Bishop finding himself too weak, or at least fearing that he was so; but rather indeed deposed from his authority by the Kings Letters, and the Archbishop of *Roan* put in his place, thought it best for him to flee the Realm: whereupon for his greater safety, disguising himself in womans apparell, and carrying a Webbe of Cloth under his arm, he sought in this manner to take shipping and passe the Sea. But being discovered and knowne, the women in revenge of the abuse done to their clothes, in making them his instruments of fraud; fell upon him, and so beat him, that it might have beaten humility into him for ever after. This disgrace made him glad to get him into *Normandy*, his native Countrey, where to little purpose he wooed King Richard and *Q. Eleanor* for reparation. But this was but a sport in comparison of the mischiefs done in *Normandy* by *Philip* King of *France*: for first he invades *Normandy*, where he takes many Towns, and amongst others *Gyforts*, and draws the Kings brother *John* to combine with him, promising to assist him in winning the kingdome of *England*, and to have his sister *Adela*, whom King Richard had repudiated, to be his wife; with which promise Duke *John* had been enamored, if his Mother Queen *Eleanor* had not dissuaded him. But in *England* Duke *John* took upon him as king, perswading the people that his brother King Richard was not living: and indeed it was easie to remove, they knowing him to be a prisoner, to the affirming him to be dead; but such was the faithfulness of the Archbishop of *Roan*, and other the Princes of the Realm to King Richard, that they opposed Duke *John*, and frustrated all his practises: and the Bishop of *Ely* had told him plainly, that though King Richard were dead, yet the succession in the kingdome belonged not to him, but to *Arthur* Duke of *Britain*, son of *Geoffry* his elder brother. And in these terms King Richard found his State when he returned from the Holy Land.

His Acts and Troubles after his returning from the Holy Land.

King Richard
at his return
depriveth his
brother John of
all his possessions.

Is new Crowned.

His strange
hast to relieve
Vernail.

Reconciled to
his brother
John.

AThis coming home from the Holy Land, the first thing he did, was to give his Lords and people thanks for their faithfulness to him in his absence, and then for their readinesse in supplying him for his Ransome. But as for his brother *John* in whom Ungratefulnesse seemed to strive with Ambition, which should be the greater in him: he depriveth him of all those great possessions he had given him: some adoe he had to make found certain peeces which he had corrupted, as the Castles of *Marleborough*, *Lancaster*, and a Fortresse at Saint *Michaels* Mount in *Cornwall*; but chiefly the Castles of *Nottingham* and *Tichill*, which stood so firmly for Duke *John*, that they were not reduced to obedience without some blood, and much expense. But his greatest trouble was with *Philip* King of *France*, in whom was so ingrafted a spleen against King Richard, that he seemed to be never well but when he was working him some ill. Now therefore King Richard to make it appear he had not left the Holy War for nothing (having first obtained in Parliament a Subsidy towards his charges, and caused himself to be new Crowned at *Winchester*, (when the King of *Scots* bore one of the three swords before him) lest the people through his long absence might have forgotten they had a King) he departs with a hundred ships into *Normandy*; but it was withall, upon this occasion: sitting one day at dinner in his little Hall (as it was called) news was brought him, that King *Philip* had besieged *Vernail*, with which he was so moved, that he swore a great Oath he would not turn his face till he were revenged: whereupon he caused the wall right before him to be presently beaten down, that so he might passe forward without turning his face, and thus in hast he goes to *Vernail*, whither he was no sooner come, but the King of *France* made as great haste to be gone, nor without some losse, and more disgrace. Here his brother *John* submits himself to him, and with great shew of penitence intreats his pardon, which he readily granted; saying onely, I wish you may as well remember your fault, as I shall forget it. The King of *France* having left *Vernail*, enters *Turonis*; and near to *Vindocinum* pitcheth his Tents; thither King Richard followes him, and with his coming so affrighted him, that leaving bag and baggage, Munition, Tents and Treasure to a marvellous

- A marvellous value, he gets him gone, and glad he was so rid of King *Richard*. After this a Truce was agreed upon for a year, which each of them longed till it was expired; as having no pleasure but in troubling one another. In this time there was a trouble at home, though not to the King, yet to the Kingdom: for *Robin Hood* accompanied with one little *John*, and a hundred stout fellows more, molested all passengers upon the High-way; of whom it is said, that he was of noble blood, at least made Noble, no less then an Earl, for some deserving services: but having wasted his estate in riotous courses, very penury forced him to take this course; in which yet it may be said he was honestly dishonest, for he seldom hurt any man, never any woman, spared the poor, and only made prey of the rich: till the King setting forth a Proclamation to have him apprehended, it happened he fell sick at a certain Nunnery in *Yorkshire* called *Birkleys*; and desiring there to be let blond, was betrayed, and made bleed to death. Such another trouble, though not to the King, yet to the Kingdom, fell out by reason of the Jews: and first at the Town of *Linne* in *Norfolk*, upon this occasion: A Jew being turned Christian, was persecuted by those of his Nation, and assaulted in the street; who thereupon flying to a Church hard by was thither also followed, and the Church assaulted; which the people of the Town seeing, in succour of the new Christian they fell upon the Jewes, of whom they slew a great number, and after pillaged their houses. By this example the like assaults were made upon the Jewes at *Stamford*; and after that at *Lincolne*; and lastly at *York*, where infinite numbers of Jewes were massacred; and some of them blocked up in the Castle, cut the throats of their wives and children, and cast them over the wals upon the Christians heads; and then burnt both the Castle and themselves: neither could this sedition be stayed, till the King sent his Chancellour the Bishop of *Ely*, with force of Arms, to punish the offenders. His last trouble was a punishment of covetousness, for one *Guydomer* having found a great treasure in the Kings Dominions, and for fear of King *Richard*, flying to a Town of the King of *France* for his safeguard; was pursued by the King, but the Town denied him entrance, and he thereupon going about the wals to finde the fittest place for assaulting it, one *Bertram de Gurdon*, or as others call him, *Peter Basile*, shot at him with a Crossbow, and hit him on the arm, of which wound he dyed within four dayes after, and so ended all his troubles.

A Truce between the two Kings.

Robin Hood and little *John*;

Are betrayed.

Jews slain in divers places.

King *Richard* is wounded and dyeth.

Of his Taxations and wayes for raising of Money.

- OF Taxations properly so called, there were never fewer in any Kings reign: but of wayes to draw money from the Subject, never more. It is true, the first money raised for his journey, was all out of his own estate, by selling or pawning of Lands; but when at his coming back, he resumed the Lands into his hands again, without paying back the money he had received, this if it may not have the name, yet certainly it had the venom of a bitter Taxation. Likewise the feigning to have lost his Seal, and then injoyning them to have their Grants confirmed by a new; though it went not in the number, yet it had the weight of a heavy Taxation where it lighted. Afterward, the money raised for his Ransom, was not so properly a Taxation: as a Contribution: or if a Taxation for him, yet not by him; which was done in his absence, by the Subjects themselves: and indeed no Taxations are commonly so pinching, as those which are imposed upon the Subject by the Subject, and such was this; for to raise money for his Ransom, there was imposed upon every Knights Fee, 20 s. of all Lay-mens Revenues the fourth part; and the fourth part of all the Revenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their Goods. Also the Chalmes and Treasure of all Churches were taken to make up the sum. Afterward, this only was a plain Taxation, and granted in Parliament; that of every Plough-land through *England*, he should have two shillings, and of the Monks, Citeaux, all their Wool of that year: And one more greater then this; and was this year imposed towards his Wars in *Normandy*; that every Hide of Land, as much as to say, every hundred Acres of Land, should pay five shillings, which computed without deductions, will rise to a sum that will seem incredible.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

- HIS Ordinances were chiefly for the Meridian of *London*: for where before his time the City was governed by Portgraves, this King granted them to be governed by two Sheriffs and a Maior, as now it is; and to give the first of these Magistrates the honour to be remembered, the names of the Sheriffs were *Henry Cornhill*, and *Richard Reynier*; and the name of the first Lord Maior, was *Henry Fitz-Alwyn*, who continued Maior during his life, which was four and twenty years. But *Fabian* who was himself a Sheriff of *London*, and by that means most likely to know the truth, affirmeth, that the Officers ordained now by King *Richard*, were but only two Bailiffs: and that there was no Maior nor Sheriffe of *London*, till the tenth year of King *John*: and therefore at that year, I will begin their Catalogue: But howsoever, now began the City first to receive the form and state of a Common-wealth, and to be divided into Fellowships and Corporations, as at this day they are: and this Franchise was granted in the year 1189. the first year of King *Richard* the first. He made also divers Ordinances concerning the measures of Corn, and

Sheriffs and Maior of *London* first ordained.

H

Wine,

Wine, and Cloth, and that no Cloth should any where be dyed of any other colour then black, *Paris. fol. 191.* but only in principal Towns and Cities: also he ordained Juffs and Tournaments to be holden for the exercise of his Gentry in arms.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

New Orders
of Friars.

THE Church within his own Dominions was quiet all his time, no contestation with the Pope, no alterations amongst the Bishops, no difference between the Clergy and the Laity, or the Clergy amongst themselves; they also seemed to lie asleep till they were afterwards awakened, in the time of the succeeding King. But abroad, in his time, there was an addition of three Orders of Devotion; the Order of the *Augustine* Friars, called Friars Mendicants, begun by *William of Paris*; then the Order of Friars Minors begun by *St. Francis*; and lastly the Orders of Friars Preachers begun by *St. Dominick*, though not confirmed till the first year of Pope *Honorius*.

Works of Piety in his time.

WORKS of Piety are for the most part works of plenty; penury may inwardly have good wishes, but outwardly it can expresse but little: and indeed all parts of the Kingdom, all sorts of people were drawn so dry, by the two great occasions of his Journey and his Ransome, and afterward by other Taxations, that the richest men had enough to do to maintain themselves, without being at the charge to make provision for others. All works of Piety were now for the service of the Holy Land, and therefore it may well passe, if not for a work of Devotion, at least worthy to be remembered; that *William* Bishop of *Ely* builded the outer wall of the Tower of *London*, and caused a deep ditch to be made about it, with an intention the River of *Thames* should have surrounded it, though it could not be effected. Only *Hubert Walter* who at one time was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Popes Legat, Lord Chancellour, Lord Chief Justice, and the immediate Governour under the King, both in *Wales* and *England*, Founded a Monastery at *West Derham* in *Norfolk*, where he was born: begun another at *Wolverhampton*, and finished a Collegiate Church at *Lambeth*.

Of his Wife and Children.

Uncertain
what became
of *Berengaria*
King *Richards*
wife.

King *Richards*
metaphorical
daughters:
how disposed.

IN his Infancy he was contracted to a Daughter of *Raymond* Earl of *Barcelone*, after that affianced to *Adela*, or *Alice*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, yet married to neither of them; but he married *Berengaria* Daughter of *Garcias* King of *Navarr*, whom his Mother Queen *Eleanor* brought unto him into *Sicily*, from whence passing into *Cyprus*, their marriage was there solemnized; afterward going forward to the Holy Land, he carryed her and his Sister *Jane* Queen of *Sicily* along with him, where they remained till his return home; and then sent them to passe to *Sicily*, and from thence into *England*: but that ever she came into *England*, no mention is made, neither what became of her after she parted from King *Richard* at the Holy Land. But children certainly he had none, either by his Wife, or by any Concubine, unless we reckon, as a Priest in *Normandy* did; who told King *Richard*, he had three Daughters: and the King marveling who they should be, seeing he knew of none he had; yes (saith the Priest) you have three Daughters, Pride, Covetousnesse, and Lechery; which the King taking merrily, called to the company about him, and said; I am told by a Priest here, that I have three Daughters, and I desire you to be witnesses how I would have them bestowed: my daughter Pride upon the Templars and Hospitalers: my daughter Covetousnesse, upon the Monks of the *Cistercian* Order: and my daughter Lechery, upon the Clergy.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

King *Arthurs*
Sepulchre
found.

A great dearth.

IN his time the Town of *Mawling* in *Kent*, with the Nunnery, was consumed with fire, and in his time the bones of *Arthur* the famous King of *Britain* were found at *Glastenbury* in an old Sepulchre, about which stood two Pillars, in which letters were written but could not be read; Upon the Sepulchre was a crosse of Lead, whereon was written, Here lyeth the Noble King of *Britain* *Arthur*. Also in this Kings dayes for three or four years together, there reigned so great a dearth, that a Quarter of Wheate was sold for 18. shillings 8. pence, and then followed so great a mortality of men, that scarce the living sufficed to bury the dead.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, and well proportioned; fair and comely of face, of hair bright abourne, of long armes, and nimble in all his joynts, his thighes and legs of due proportion, and answerable to the other parts of his body. To speak of his moral parts, his Vices for the most part, were but only upon suspition: Incontinency in him much spoken of, nothing proved: but his Virtues were apparent, for in all his actions he shewed himself Valiant, (from whence he had the appellation or surname of *Cœur de Lyon*) wise, liberal, merciful, just, and which is most of all, Religious; a Prince born for the good of Christendom, if a Bar in his Nativity had not hindred it. The remorie for his undutifulnesse towards his Father, was living in him till he dyed, for at his death he remembered it with bewailing, and desired to be buryed as near him as might be, perhaps as thinking they should meet the sooner, that he might aske him forgiveness in another world.

King Richard
why called
Cœur de Lyon.

Of his Death and Burial.

HE dyed of a wound with an Arrow in his Arme, shot at him by one *Bertrad*, or *Peter Basile*, which neglected at first, and suffered to rankle, or as others say, ill handled by an unskilful Chirurgeon, in four dayes brought him to his end. But his Charity deserves to have it remembered, that finding himself past hope of Recovery, he caused the party that had wounded him to be brought before him, who being asked what moved him to do his Fact? answered, that King Richard had killed his Father and two of his Brothers with his own hand, and therefore would do it, if it were to do again. Upon this insolent answer, every one looked the King should have censured him to some terrible punishment, when contrary to all their expectations, in a high degree of Charity, he not only freely forgave him, but gave a special charge he should be set at liberty, and that no man should dare to do him the least hurt: commanding besides to give him a hundred shillings for his pains. An act that we'll shew he had been at the Holy Land, or rather indeed that he was going to it. But *Polyehronicon* saith, that after King Richard was dead, the Duke of *Brabant* who was then present, caused the said *Bertrad* to be slayed quick, and then to be hanged. He dyed the sixth day of *Aprill* in 1199. when he had lived 44. years, Reigned nine, and about nine months, and had his Body buryed at *Founteverard*, by his Father; his heart at *Rouen*, in the remembrance of the hearty love that City had alwayes borne him; and his bowels at *Chalons*, for a disgrace of their unfaithfulnesse; others say, at *Carlisle* in England.

King Richards
charitable
minde at his
death.

Men of Note in his time.

IN this time were famous *Baldwyn* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who followed King Richard into the Holy Land, and dyed there; *Hubert* that succeeded him; *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*; *William* Bishop of *Ely*, a man equally famous and infamous; also *Baldwyn* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a learned Writer in Divinity; *Daniel Morley* a great Mathematician, *John de Herham*, and *Richard de Herham*, two notable Historians; *Guiselmus Stephanides* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who wrote much in the praise of Archbishop *Becket*; also one *Richard Divisiensis*, *Nicholas Walington*, and *Robert de Bello Foco*, an excellent Philosopher. Of Martial men, *Robert* Earl of *Leycester*; *Rannulph de Fulgers*; two of the *Bardolphis*, *Hugh* and *Henry*; three *Williams*, *Marshall*, *Brunell* and *Mandevill*, with two *Roberts*, *Rosse* and *Seveville*.

THE
REIGN
OF
KING JOHN.

1199.



King John is
Crowned.

Why preferred
before his Ne-
phew Arthur.

ING Richard being dead, the right of Succession remained in *Arthur*, A
Son of *Geoffrey Plantagenet* elder Brother to Earl *John*, but *John* as
thinking the title of *Arthur* but a Criticism in State, and not for
every ones capacity, at least in common sense not so plain as his
own, who was the Son of a King, and the Brother to a King, ascends
into the Throne as confidently at if he had no competitor: Only
Hubert Archbishop of *Canterbury* went before, and made an
Oration in his behalf, wherein seeking to do him a courtesy,
he did him indeed a wrong; for waving his right of Suc-
cession, he insisted wholly upon their Right of Election; where-
of would follow, that as they brought him in, so they might cast him out, of which error B
when he was told, he said, he did it of purpose to make King *John* the more careful of his Govern-
ment, by making him sensible upon what an unsure ground his Regality stood: King *John* re-
sented it, but seeing it to serve his turn for the present, he took it not ill, as knowing that his
turn once served, he could afterward be his own carver of what title he pleased; and so upon
Ascension day in the year 1199. he was Crowned King at *Westminster*, with more solemnity
then joy; many presaging by their countenances, and more in their mindes, that all would not
long be well. It cannot be denied, but that in moral circumstances Earl *John* had the advan-
tage of his Nephew *Arthur*, for he was a man of years fit to govern, *Arthur* but a childe, not
thirteen years old; he a Native, at least alwayes bred up in the Kingdom, *Arthur* a Foriner, C
and had never been here; He well known both to the Nobility and the People, *Arthur* a stranger
to both, as one they had never seen; and besides these morall advantages, he had now added
one from the politicks; that he had gotten possession; (of more force in the practicall part then
all the former) and withall a greater then all these, if it be true which some write, that his Bro-
ther King *Richard* had assigned him his Successour after his decease. But yet knowing the Title
at last would come to be tryed in a Court, where the Sword must be Judge; he imployeth
all his endeavours to get this Judge to be his friend, and by all means possible to strengthen
himself with Armes, and thereupon going to *Chinon* and *Roan*, he seisseth upon the Treasure
which his brother had left in those parts, and with it, gets Friends and Souldiers, the Armor
of Arms. And indeed all he could have done himself would have done him no good, if he had
not had the help of able Assitants, who yet assisted him no lesse for their own ends then for his;
and these were chiefly his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, who knew if her Grand-son *Arthur* should be D
King, that then his Mother *Constantia* would rule all, at least during his Minority; and thereby her
self put from the stage of all Authority; and the Archbishop *Hubert*, who also knew
that if *Arthur* should come to reign; that then the *Anjouyn* and *French* should have all
the best Offices, and the *Englishe* wholly be neglected, as it was in the time of King *William*
the Conqueror. And yet a greater friend then both these, for coming to *Roan*, he used
means that *Walter* the Archbishop in the Cathedral Church with great pomp girt him with
the

A the Ducall sword of *Normandy*, and crowned him with a Coronet of Golden Roses, he taking his Oath for faithful Administration in that Dukedom, and they their Oath for being his Loyall Subjects.

Of his Troubles in Contestation with his Nephew Arthur.

THOUGH King *John* had entred upon *Normandy*, and made that Province sure unto him, yet the Province of *Anjou* stood firm for *Arthur*, in observance of their love to his Father their former Prince: which also King *John* soon after invading, reduceth by force of Armes to his Obedience. And now *Constantia* the Mother of Prince *Arthur*, finding King *John* too powerful an adversary, and no likelihood for her party, to be able long to stand out against him without further assistance, conceives it her best way to have recourse to the King of *France*, and thereupon commits her Son *Arthur* to his Tuition: who seemed to receive him with the tendernesse of a Father, and promiseth to assist him with his uttermost Forces, in the recovery of his Right both in *France* and *England*. Here we may observe upon what hinge the affections of the Kings of *France* was used to turn. For in King *Henry* the Seconds time, King *Lewis* of *France* was to great a Friend to his Son *Richard*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Father; afterward when *Richard* was King, then *Philip* King of *France*, was so great a Friend to *John*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Brother, and now that *John* is come to be King, he is presently grown to great a Friend of *Arthur*, that by all means he will help him to get the Kingdom from his Uncle; and no doubt, if *Arthur* should ever have come to be King, he would have been as ready to help any other to get the Kingdom from him: by which it appears, that it was not the Persons of Men they either hated or loved, but that they were alwayes jealous of their growing too great; and indeed this balancing of States keeps Princes affections alwayes in suspence, and never suffers the Glasse of their Love or Hate, to make a true Reflexion. About this time *William* King of *Scots* came to *London* to visit King *John*, and there did homage to him for his Kingdom of *Scotland*, though some say, but only for the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*; but being required aid against the *French*, he excused himself, saying, he could not do it without consent of his Kingdom, and so returned home.

Constantia
Prince *Arthur*'s
mother im-
plores aid of
the King of
France.

The King of
Scots doth ho-
mage to King
John.

And now *Philip* King of *France* having undertaken the protection of the young Prince *Arthur*, with a mighty Army enters *Normandy*, takes many of the best Towns, and pursuing his Victories, enters the Province of *Anjou* also; and recovers it from King *John*, which he the year before had gotten from Prince *Arthur*. Upon this King *John* makes a journey into *Normandy*, accusing King *Philip* for breaking the Truce, which he had formerly made with King *Richard* for five years; but when he should come to make his Accusation good by Arms, he fallerh to Treaties, and obtaineth a new Truce for fifty dayes: with which new Truce, *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, who had professed himself of that side, was not well pleased; and thereupon cometh to King *John* to *Roan*, and entering a new league with him, they there consult how to proceed, when the fifty dayes should be expired. This consultation the King of *France* undertood; and thereupon both sides prepare for war, but at the end of the Truce, both sides seemed to relent, and divers meetings were had for Treaties of Peace, and in conclusion, King *John* more desirous of Peace then was for his Honour, agreed to these conditions; that his Niece *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alphonfus* King of *Castile* by his sister *Eleanor*, should marry with *Lewis* King *Philip*'s Son, who should have with her in Dower, besides thirty thousand Marks in money, all those Cities, except only *Angiers*, which the *French* befor that time had taken, which were many and very great: and this Peace thus made, he returns into *England* with great joy, but was not with like joy received of the *English* Lords, who counted themselves dishonoured, in the dishonourable conditions he had made; and *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* also, when he saw the poor spirit of King *John*, to descend to such base conditions; left his party, and entering League with the King of *France*, disposed himself for the Holy War.

The two kings
of *England* and
France agree
upon a peace.

The *English*
Lords are dis-
contented with
the conditions
of peace;

But King *John* having now gotten a Vacation, and a time of ease, which agreed much better with his nature then War, sets his mind wholly upon pleasures; and for maintaining his pleasures, upon seeking after profit, which he pursues by all manner of injustice, under the name of Pre-ogative; and with such violence, that when his Brother *Geoffrey* Archbishop of *York*, in the dutifulnesse of a Counsellor, advised him not to take such unlawful courses, he most unworthily took from him all he had, and it was a years work for all the Archbishops friends to pacifie his anger. In the neck of this injustice, he commits another, he procures a divorce from his Wife *Avis*, the Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, only for being of kin to him in the third degree, and by advice of the King of *France*, marries *Isabel* Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Angoulesmes*, affianced before to *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*; and shortly after brings her with him into *England*, where he and she together, are both Crowned at *Canterbury*. And here the Earls and Barons of the Realm; being all summoned to attend the King of *France* at *Whitsuntide* following, they all by a general consent send him word, that unless he would restore them their Rights and Liberties, they would do him no service out of the Kingdom. But what it was that made the Lords more violent in pressing their demands at this

King *John* di-
vorceth his
wife *Avis*, and
marries *Isabel*
affianced to
Hugh le Brun.
The Lords re-
fuse to do the
King service
out of the
Kingdom.

King John
unjust carriage
for being deny-
ed his suit in
love.

Hugh d. Boun
and the King
of France joyn
against King
John in assist-
ing Prince
Arthur.

King John by
his celerity
surpriseth his
enemies.

Prince Arthur
is taken priso-
ner, and soon
after dyed.

time then before; no Writers of these times do sufficiently deliver: only some of them speak scdnterly of certain oppressions (besides the general grievance for Exactions) lately offered to some of the Lords, one to the Earl of *Chester*, whom he would have banished, only for advising him to leave his cruelty and incontinency: Another, a pursuit in Love to a Daughter of *Robert Fitz-Water*, called *Mande* the Fair, who not consenting to the Kings lust, a messenger was sent to give her poison in a porched Egge, whereof she dyed: And a third, offered to *William de Brasse* and his Lady, for a rash word spoken; for when the King sent to have *de Brasses* Son delivered him for a pledge; the Lady answered, We shall do well indeed to commit our Son to his keeping, who kept so well his own Nephew Prince *Arthur*. This rash word cost *de Brasse* his Countrey, and his Lady and their Son their lives, both of them being furnished to death in Prison. For, though these directly were but particular grievances, yet reflecting they were general, what one suffered all might; but whether any of these, or all of these together, were Ingredients to make a Compound of violence in the Lords at this time, or whatsoever was the true cause, this was plainly the effect, that unless the King would restore their Liberties, they would not follow him out of the Kingdom. But notwithstanding this refusal of his Lords, he passeth over with his Queen into *Normandy*, and from thence to *Paris*, where the King of *France* receives them with all complements of Love and Amity. But now *Hugh* Earl of *March*, resenting the injury done him by King *John*, in taking away his affianced Wife, joyns with Prince *Arthur*, and the King of *France* also, for all his fair shew of amity lately made, joyns with them, as having sometime before married his youngest Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, and these with their Forces joyned, invade first the *Turones*, and then the *Anjovins*: of which Province, Queen *Eleanor*, the Kings Mother was left Regent, who thereupon betakes herself to *Mirabel* the strongest Town of those parts, and sends to her Son King *John*, acquainting him with the danger she was in, and requiring his speedy succour. When in the mean time Prince *Arthur* takes the City, and in it his Grand-mother Queen *Eleanor*, whom he used with greater reverence and respect then she expected. But King *John* at the hearing hereof, was so moved, calling the *French* King ungrateful and perfidious for succouring Prince *Arthur*, contrary to his League, that studying presently the art of revenge, he fell upon a stratagem, of all other the most prudent against an Enemy: For a Surprise in War is like to an Apoplexy in the body, which strikes without giving warning for defence: And this Stratagem at this time King *John* put in practise, for travelling night and day with indefatigable labour, he came upon his enemies before they were aware, and setting upon them unprovided, it was rather an execution then a batrel; and they who remained unslain were taken prisoners, amongst whom Prince *Arthur* himself, who committed presently to the custody of *Robert de Vespont* in *Roan*, lived not long after: whether it were that attempting to make escape, he fell down from the wals of his Prison, and was drowned in the River *Seyne*, as some say; or whether it were that through anguish of minde he fell sick and dyed, as others say; or whether indeed he were made away by King *John*, as the common fame went; Certain it is, that he survived his imprisonment but a very few dayes. But though he were gone, yet his Sister *Eleanor*, a preceding Competitor to King *John* was still remaining: Her therefore, at this time also King *John* seized upon, and commits her in safe custody to *Bristow* Castle, where after she had lived long, she dyed.

Of his Troubles after the death of his Nephew Arthur.

Prince Arthurs
Mother accu-
seth King John
of murdering
her Son to the
King of France.

King Johns
carelesse.

All Normandy
lost by King
John.

King *John* being now freed from his Competitor, one would think he should have ended all his troubles, but like a *Hydraes* head, they rather multiplied upon him: For they who had been so ready to assist Prince *Arthur* in his life, were now as ready to revenge his death. And first, *Constance* his Mother comes to King *Philip*, with open exclamations against King *John*, accusing him with the murder of her Son, and with all the instance of Tears and Intreaties, solicites him to revenge it. Hereupon King *Philip* summons King *John* to appear at a day, and because he appeared not according to the tenure of his Homage, it was decreed against him, that he had forfeited all the property of his Estate in *France*, and thereupon King *Philip* with mighty Forces invades his Territories, takes many Towns of principal consequence, while King *John* lived idle at *Roan*, no more regarded it, then if it had not all concerned him; and when some of his Lords seemed to marvel what he meant to suffer the *French* to rob him of such good Cities: You say true indeed (saith he) for it is but Robbery, and within a few dayes you shall see, I will make him restore them back with usury. In this slighting humour he returns into *England*, where he looks not after the levying of Souldiers, or the raising of an Army, as this case required, but continues his old course for raising of money, accusing sometimes one of his Lords, sometimes another, as if it were their fault that he had lost these Towns in *France*; and upon these accusations made many of them pay great sums of money, which brought him not only into hatred at home, but into contempt abroad; for the K. of *France* understanding his unworthy courses, proceeds more violently in his Invasions then before getting *Falais*, *Damfront*, and all the good Towns of *Normandy*, but only *Roan*, and at last, though *Roan* was a Town strongly fortified with Wals, and more strongly with the faithful hearts of the Inhabitants, yet finding no hope of succour from King *John*, it was forced for want of Victuals to submit it

A it self to the King of *France*, whose example all the other Cities followed; and so all *Normandy* returned to the subjection of the *French*, after three hundred and sixteen years that *Rollo the Dane* had first posselt it.

It was now the year 1205. and the fourth of King *Johns* reign, about which time, the two props of his Estate, or rather indeed, the two bridles of his intemperancy dyed, his Mocher Queen *Eleanor*, whose virtues had oftentimes qualified the vices of her Son; and *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who repented him at his death of nothing more, then that he had been an Instrument of bringing him to the Crown.

And now King *John* being a substantive of himself, hath a devise in his head to make his Subjects as willing to give him money, as he was to have it: for knowing the great discontentment they all had for his losses in *France*; he gives it out, that he would presently raise an Army, for recovery of those losses, if he might have money to go about it: whereupon, never was money given with more alacrity; and as soon as he had it, he instantly went to *Portsmouth*, and there took Shipping before it was possible for his Lords and others to be in readinesse to accompany him; and sailing forward some certain Leagues into the Sea, upon a suddain he returns back again, and then layes the fault upon his Lords, that had not followed him; and for this backwardnesse of theirs, imposed afterwards great Fines upon them; by which means he got money no lesse by pretence of his not going, then he had done before by pretence of his going.

About this time dyed *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter* Justiciar of *England*, who while he lived kept the King in some awe, in so much, as hearing he was dead, he swore by the feet of God, that now at length he was King of *England*; and with great rejoycing said to some Lords about him: Now when this man comes into Hell, let him salute the Archbishop *Hubert*, whom certainly he shall finde there. But *Philip*, King of *France*, intending to leave the *English* nothing on that side the Sea, invaded *Chinon*, and takes it; and in it the valiant Captain *Roger Lacy*, which had given a period to King *Philips* victories, had not *Guido*, the husband of *Constantia* Prince *Arthurs* Mother, revolted to King *John*; who with his assistance once again leavies an Army, besiegeth Mount *Aubain*, a Castle thought impregnable, and within fifteen dayes takes it, which *Charles* the Great could not get with his seven years siege: Where so great a number of *French* Lords were taken prisoners, that King *John* sent a Catalogue of their names into *England*, for a memoriall of so great a victory. After this, he taketh the strong Town of *Angiers*, and utterly defaceth it; for which afterward he was sorry, as being the Town where he was born. But now when the two Kings were ready to meet, and to give battell, intercession was made by friends of both sides, and thereupon a Peace concluded for two years, and King *John* returned into *England*.

D King *John* being returned, performs no lesse worthy Acts at home, then he had done in *France*: for first he invades the Borders of *Scotland*, and brings *Alexander* King of *Scots* to do him homage; and then understanding many of the *Irish* to be revolted, he passeth over to *Dublin*, and reduceth them to his obedience; and then placing *John* Bishop of *Nornich* Governour there, he returns into *England*; where passing through *Wales*, he subdueth certain Rebels there, and takes eight and twenty children of the best Families for pledges of their future loyalty; but not long after, hearing they grew murinous and rebelled again, he was so incensed, that he would not go to dinner, till he had seen those twenty eight children to be all hanged before his face: so inconsiderate a thing is the desire of revenge, that it makes no difference between innocency and guiltinesse, though indeed a thing oftentimes must be done for example, which considered in it self, would be so borne.

E It was now the year 1214. and the fourteenth of King *Johns* reign, when he going to *Angiers*, strongly repairs it; and the Province of *Poitou* revolted to him; which *Lewis* King *Philips* Son understanding, comes upon them with a mighty Army, and uses much severity upon the Authors of the revolt, takes prisoners, *Reynold* Earl of *Boleigne*, and *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, with many others of King *Johns* Captains, and defeated his whole Army: whereof when King *John* was certified he grew in a manner desperate, and as a man dejected, makes a new Truce upon any conditions with the King of *France*, and returns into *England*; where he finds a worse businesse ready to entertain him: for the Lords of the Realm having often required their ancient Rights and Liberties; and finding nothing but delusions, endure no longer to be abused; but meeting at *St. Edmundsbury*, they there confer how they may finde a remedy to redesse this evill; and at last concluded to go to the King themselves in person, and make their demands; whereof a Charter was produced, that had been formerly granted in King *Henry* the firsts time: whereupon coming to the King after *Christmas*, lying then in the New Temple, and acquainting him with their Demands; he gives them this fair Answer, that within a few dayes he would give them satisfaction; and causeth the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Ely*, with *William Marshal*, Earl of *Glocester* to passe their words for him that it should be performed. But the King meaning nothing lesse then to do as he said, fals presently a levying of Souldiers, which the Lords understanding, they all did the like; and going to the Bishop of *Canterbury*, deliver him a Copy of their Demands, and requiring the Kings Answer. But the Bishop shewing it to the King, and humbly intreating him to give the Lords a satisfactory Answer: he swore a great Oath, they might as well demand the Kingdom, & that he would die before he would yeeld to any such demands. Whereupon the Lords (knowing now what they were to trust to) fall to besiege *Northampton*, and after that, *Bedford*, which is yeelded to them; and wihal they are sent

King *John* devise to get money of his Subjects.

King *John* glad of *Geoffrey Fitz-Peters* death.

King *John* assailed unexpectedly.

He was born at *Angiers* in *France*.

A Peace between the two Kings.

King *John* passeth into *Ireland* and reduceth it to obedience.

He subdueth the *Irish* rebels and takes 28. pledges of them.

Upon their rebelling again he hangs up all their pledges.

King *Johns* Army defeated by the *French*, and thereupon a Truce.

The Lords require their ancient Liberties.

They deliver him a copy of their demands.

The King resolutely refuseth to grant them.

to

to by the *Londoners* to signifie their readinesse to joyn with them. At this time the King was at *Windsor* providing an Army, but hearing the *Londoners* were joyned with the Lords, he thought it no good way to proceed by force, but rather by fraud; and thereupon sends to the Lords, that if they would come to him to *Windsor*, he would grant their demands. The Lords coming thither, but in a Military manner, (for they durst not trust his word) the King saluted them all kindly, and promised to give them satisfaction in all they demanded; and so in a Meadow between *Windsor* and *Stanes*, called *Running-meade*, he freely consented to confirme their former Liberties; and was content some grave personages should be chosen to see it performed. But the next day, when it should be done, he gets him gone to *Southampton*, and from thence to the Isle of *Wight*; where advising with his Councel, what in this case was fittest to be done: It was concluded he should send to the Pope, to acquaint him with this mutiny of the Lords, and to require his help: while the King in the mean time lived skulking up and down in corners, that no man might know where to finde him; or which is worse (as some write) roving about and practising Piracy. And now the Lords begin to suspect fraud, when shortly after the Kings Messengers, who were *Walter* and *John*, Bishops of *Worcester* and *Norwich*, return with the Popes Decree; which was, that the Kings Grant to the Lords should be void: with this Decree, the King after three moneths that he had staid in the Isle of *Wight*, coming back to *Windsor*, acquaints the Lords; but they accusing the Messengers for false informing the Pope, and the Pope also for making a Decree without hearing both sides, betake them to Armes, and sware by the holy Altar to be revenged for this ludification and injurious dealing. The King finding the Lords nothing moved with the Popes Decree, sends again unto him, to acquaint him with it; who mightily incensed to have his Decree so sleighted, adjudgeth them all to be held as enemies of Religion; and gives power to *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and to the Abbot of *Reading* to Excommunicate them. In the mean time the King had sent the Bishop of *Worcester*, Chancellor of *England*, and others with his Seal, to hire Souldiers from the parts beyond the Seas; who returning shortly after, bringeth along with him out of *Poitou* and *Gascony*, *Savery de Malcon*, *Geoffrey* and *Oliver Boteville*, Brothers; and under their conduct so great a rabble, that with these Forces, within half a year the King had gotten all the Castles of the Barons, to the borders of *Scotland*. And now he divides his Army, committing part of it to his Brother *William*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and others to set upon *London*; and with the other part he goes himself into *Yorkshire*, where most of the Lords had Possession, which in most cruel manner he destroyed with fire and sword. The Lords being thus on all sides distressed, resolve upon a course, neither honourable nor safe; yet such as necessity made seem both: they send to *Philip* King of *France*, requiring him to send over his Son *Lewis* to their aid, and promising they would submit themselves to be governed by him, and take him for their Sovereign. To this motion of the Lords, King *Philip* was as forward as themselves; which King *John* understanding, sends again to the Pope, requiring him to use his authority to stay the King of *France* from coming. But King *Philip*, though much regarding the request of the Pope, yet nothing so much as the acquiescent of *England*; with all speed provides an Army, and with a fleet of six hundred sail, sends over his Son *Lewis*; who passing into *England*, landeth at *Sandwich*; whither many of the Lords and others resort unto him; and giving Oaths of Allegiance, joyn themselves with him. King *John* at that time was at *Dover*, but not daring to stay there for fear of the enemy, he commits the Castle to *Hubert Burgh*; and goeth himself to *Canterbury*, and from thence to *Winchester* in manner of a flight; which Prince *Lewis* understanding, went straight to *London*; and by a plausible Oration makes that City sure unto him: and thither come to him the King of *Scots* with an Army of choice Souldiers, as also the Earls, *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, with many others. And now Prince *Lewis* passeth all the Countrey over without resistance, but not without infinite outrages committed by his Souldiers, which it was not in him to hinder: and then coming to *Norwich*, he takes that City easily, but *Dover* cost him a longer siege, as being defended by the valiant and loyal Captain *Hubert Burgh*. In this mean while King *John* finding his enemies imployed in these difficult sieges; sends about and gathers a rabble of all raskal people to him, and with them runneth over all the Countrey, spoiling and killing in most barbarous manner; and now was the kingdom made the Stage of all miseries of rapine and cruelty: two Armies in it on foot at once, each of them seeking to prey upon the others: and both of them upon the Countrey. But the King coming to *Wallpoole* in *Norfolk*, where the Washes were to be passed over, he sendeth one to search where the Foord was passable, and there himself with some few passed over, but the multitude, with all the carriages, passing without order, they cared not where, were all drowned; with which dyaster, the King through anguish of mind fell into a Peaver, whereof within a few dayes he died. And here was an end of all the troubles of this King: In whom it is observable, that loving his ease so well as he did, he should run voluntarily into such troubles, especially at home, upon so small occasions as he did; but it should seem there is no greater hinderance to men for accomplishing their will, then their own wilfulness.

The king promiseth to grant his Lords their demands,

He sends to the Pope for help.

The Lords take Armes.

King John with the aide of strangers gets all the Barons Castles.

The Lords send for the King of Frances Son Lewis to come and be their King.

Prince Lewis cometh into England, and is received by the Lords; And by the city of London.

King John through anguish of minde falls sick and dyeth.

Of his Taxations.

TO speak of his Taxations, it may not improperly be said that it was but one continued Taxation all his Reign through; yet to divide it into two parts: his first was the Taxation of three shillings upon every Plough-land through the Kingdom, to pay the thirty thousand Markes, for his Neece *Blanches* Portion; and to mend this Taxation, he seised upon all the Temporalities of his brother *Geoffrey* Archbishop of *Tork*, for opposing it; and for a continuation, he makes a progresse shortly after into all the North parts, where he exacts great Fines of offenders in his Forests. Very shortly after solicited by the Popes Legate, he grants a Subsidy of the fortieth part of all his Subjects Revenues for one year, to succour the Holy Land. Shortly after this, he chargerh his Earls and Barons with the losses he sustained in *France*; and thereupon Fines them to pay the seventh part of all their Goods: neither spared he the Church, or the Commons in this Imposition. Before this year is ended, another Leavy is made at a Parliament in *Oxford*, wherein is granted two Markes and a half of every Knights Fee, for Military aid; neither are the Clergy exempted from paying their part: and before another year is out, another Imposition is laid of the thirteenth part of all movables and other Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity. It may be reckoned amongst his Taxations, that when the Monkes of *Canterbury* had displeased him about the election of their Archbishop, he seised upon all their Goods, and converted them to his own use: and presently after this, upon the like displeasure, he deposes many Bishopricks, Abbeyes and Priories into the hands of Lay-men, and confiscates all their Revenues. To these may be added that he took eleven thousand Marks of Silver, of the King of *Scots* for granting him peace. Add to these also great sums of money exacted and gathered from the *Jews*, among whom there was one that would not be ransomed, till the King caused every day one of his great teeth to be pulled out by the space of seven dayes, and then he was content to give the King ten thousand Marks of silver that no more might be pulled out, for he had but one left. Add to these, that at his return out of *Ireland*, he summoned all the Prelates of the Kingdom to appear before him; of whom he extorted for their redemption, the sum of an hundred thousand pounds sterling. Add lastly to these, that at his return out of *Wales*, he exacts of every Knight that attended him not in that expedition two Marks.

A Jews teeth pulled out.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE was the first that appointed the Forms of City Government in *London* and other Cities, Endowing them also with their greatest Franchises. The first that caused sterling money to be here coyned; The first that ordained the honourable Ceremonies in Creation of Earls; The first that settled the rates and measures for Wine, Bread, Cloth, and such other necessities of Commerce; The first that planted *English* Laws and Officers in *Ireland*; The first that enlarged the Royal style with the Lord of *Ireland*, and both annexed that Kingdom, and fastened *Wales* to the Crown of *England*.

Sterling money when first.

English Laws when first planted in *Ireland*.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

AFTER the death of *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Monks of that Covent secretly in the night elected one *Reginold* their Sub-prior to succeed him; and caused him to go to *Rome* for confirmation: but afterward doubting how the King would take it, being done without his knowledge, they crave leave of the King to chuse a fit man, the King is content to allow them the election, but requires himself to have the Nomination, and thereupon commends unto them *John Grey* Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he specially favoured, and accordingly the Monks elect him. But the matter being afterward referred to the Pope, which of these two elections should stand good, after many allegations of both sides, the Pope to shew himself indifferent to both, disallows them both, and nominates a third man, one *Stephen Langton*, Cardinal of *S. Chrysogone*, an *English* man born, and a man of great learning. The Monks admit him, but the King opposeth it: and now as it were, a Prize began to be played between the two Swords, the Spiritual and the Temporal: but he that used the Spiritual Sword, proved so much the better Fencer, that he disarmed the other, and took away his Temporal Sword from him. It is true, in the first Venue, the King gave the Pope as good as he brought; for as the Pope threatened the King to excommunicate him, and to interdict the Kingdom: so the King threatened the Pope to nullifie his authority, and to banish Clergy men out of the Realm. In the second Venue, as the Pope acted as much as he had threatened, (for he interdicted the Kingdom;) So the King performed as much as he had spoken; (for he drove the Monks out of their Cloister) yet at last when *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate came into *England*, and made appear to the King in what great danger he stood; First, of the King of *France*, by Invasion; and then of his own Subjects, by Rebellion; for both which, there was no other help but reconciliation with the Pope; he so touched him to the quick, that he made him leave his great words, and fall to asking forgiveness.

Contention between the Pope and the King about election of a Bishop.

The King surrenders his Crown to the Pope.

Peter the Hermit's prediction of no King to be in England by a certain day.

The Kingdom Interdicted six years together.

Auricular confession and Transubstantiation when first.

M Paris. fol. 243.

K. John helps to carry Hugh Bishop of Lincoln to burying.

The Stone bridge of London finished.

ness. So as taking off the Crown from his head, he laid it down at *Pandulphus*' feet, to be disposed of, as the Pope should please. And *Pandulphus* stuck not to take up his Crown, and to keep it three or four dayes in his hands before he restored it; and did not then neither, but upon condition that he and his Successors should hold the Kingdom of the See of *Rome*, at the annuall tribute of a thousand Marks. And all those three or four dayes, in which *Pandulphus* kept the Crown, it might be truly said the Kingdom was without a King. And upon this, no doubt, it was that *Peter* an Hermit in a propheticall Rapture had given out some time before, that by *Ascension* day, there should be no King of *England*. Which though in some sort it was true, yet became in some sort it was not true, and it was in the Prerogative of the King to make his own interpretation: it cost the poor Hermit and his Son their lives, and they remain as a pillar of Salt, to make men take heed of *Ludere cum Sanctis*, and of playing the Criticks in matters of State.

But by this means the Kingdom was released of the Interdiction, which had continued six years, three months, and fourteen dayes: During all which time, there was no publique exercise of Religion; no Churches open, no Ecclesiastical Sacraments administered, but only to them that were in danger of death, and Baptism to children; all that dyed were buried like dogs, in ditches and corners, but only such as had purchased or procured licence from the Pope.

In this Kings reign, Saint *Dominick* continued his preaching ten years together against the *Albigenses*; so called because they began first in the City of *Alba*. Also in his time, Saint *Francis* renounced the World; and when a Priest to whom he offered it, would not take his money, he cast it away, and entered into a vow of perpetual poverty. Also in this Kings time, was held the *Lateran* Councell, under Pope *Innocent* the third, in which was established the Popes power over Princes, and in matters of Faith, Auricular Confession, and Transubstantiation.

Of his Irreligion.

I Need not relate a Speech of his, though very unchristian, that having been a little before reconciled to the Pope, and then taking an overthrow in *France*, in great anger he cryed out, that nothing had prospered with him since the time he was reconciled to God and the Pope. Nor another speech of his, which though spoken merrily, was in good earnest very irreligious, that being on a time a hunting, at the opening of a fat Buck, he said: See how this Deer hath prospered, and how fat he is, and yet I dare swear he never heard Masse. It is sufficient to relate one act of his, (if it be true, which some write) that being in some distresse, he sent *Thomas Hardington* and *Ralph Fitz-Nicholas* knights, in Embassage to *Miramumalim* King of *Africk* and *Morocco*, with offer of his Kingdom to him, upon condition he would come and aid him, and that if he prevailed, he would himself become a Mahometan, and renounce the Christian Faith. Though some there be that say, All these were but false criminations charged upon him by Monks that did not love him. But though we believe not these things of him: yet to suffer his Kingdom to stand interdicted so many years together, upon so small occasion as he did, was certainly no good sign of Religion in him. Yet one act he did, wherein he shewed a respect to Religion; by the honour he did to a Religious man: For *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln* lying very sick, he not only went to visit him, but being dead was one of the three Kings, (the other two were *William* King of *Scotland* and the King of *Southwales*) that carried his Heir upon their shoulders, still they delivered it to the Peers, and the Peers afterward to the Archbishops and Bishops to carry it into the Quire.

Works of piety done by him, or by other in his time.

Yet did this King leave more works of Piety behind him, then all his Subjects that were in his time. For he Founded the Abbey of *Bowley* in the New Forest in *Hampshire*; also an Abbey of black Monks in the City of *Winchester*, and the Monastery of *Farendon*, and the Monastery of *Hales Owen* in *Shropshire*: he re-edified *Godstow*, and *Wroxel*, and enlarged the Chappell of *Knariborough*. Now for his Subjects, only *Richard* Prior of *Bermondsey* builded an House against the wall of the said house of *Bermondsey*, called the Almshouse or Hospital of Convents and Children in honour of St. *Thomas*. In this Kings time *S. Mary Overies* in *Southwark* was begun to be builded, and the Stone Bridge over the *Thames*, was by the Merchants of *London* finished. Also *Hubert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Founded a Monastery at *West Derham* in *Norfolk*, which upon the dissolution came to the family of the *Derhams*, who hold it to this day.

A

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN this Kings time, five and thirty of the most substantial Citizens of *London*, were chosen out, and called the Councel of the City, and the King gave the City liberty to alter their Maior and Sheriffs every year, which before continued during life. He caused the Laws of *England* to be executed in *Ireland*, and money to be coined there according to the weight of *English* money.

The Common Councell of *London*, when first ordained.

B

Of his Wives and Children.

King *John* lived to have three Wives: His first was *Alice* daughter of *Hubert* Earl of *Mortm*, who left him a Widower without issue. His second was *Avice* Daughter and Heir of *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, by whom no issue neither, divorced from her by reason of Consanguinity in the third degree. His third wife was *Isabel* Daughter and Heir of *Aymer* Earl of *Angoulesme*, affianced before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*: By this wife he had two Sons, *Henry* and *Richard*, and three Daughters, *Jone*, *Eleanor*, and *Isabel*: *Henry* succeeded him in the Kingdom; *Richard* was Earl of *Cornwall*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had issue *Henry* and *John*, that dyed without issue: also *Edward* Earl of *Cornwall*, and others. *Jone* his eldest daughter married to *Alexander* the second King of *Scots*, dyed without issue: *Eleanor* the second daughter (married to *Simon* Earl of *Leycester*) had issue *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almarick*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Eleanor*. *Henry* slain without issue. *Simon* Earl of *Bigorre*, and ancestour to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almarick*, first a Priest, after a Knight. *Guy* Earl of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Progenitour of the *Mountfords* in *Tuscany*, and of the Earls of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Richard*, remaining privily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford* to *Wellesbourn*, was ancestour of the *Wellesbourns* in *England*. *Eleanor*, born in *England*, brought up in *France*, married into *Wales*, to Prince *Lewis ap Griffith*. *Isabel*, his youngest Daughter, married to the Emperour *Frederick* the second, had issue, *Henry*, appointed to be King of *Sicily*, and *Margaret* wife of *Albert* Lantgrave of *Thurine*. She dyed in Childbed, after she had been Emperesse six years. He had also two natural Sons, *Geoffry Fitz Roy*, and *Richard*, that married the Daughter and Heir of *Fulbert de Dover*, (who built *Childham* Castle) had issue by her, of whom some Families of good account are descended. Also one base Daughter named *Jone*, married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*.

The Family of the *Wellesbourns*, from whence descended,

Of His Personage and Conditions.

HE was of stature indifferent tall, and something fat, of a fowre and angry countenance, and concerning his conditions, it may be said, that his Nature and his Fortune did not well agree: For naturally he loved his ease, yet his Fortune was to be ever in action. He won more of his enemies by surprizes then by battels, which shews he had more of Lightning in him then of Thunder. He was never so true of his word as when he threatned, because he meant alwayes as cruelly as he spake, not alwayes as graciously; and he that would have known what it was he never meant to perform, must have looked upon his promises. He was neither fit for Prosperity nor Adversity: For prosperity made him insolent, and adversity dejected; a mean fortune would have suited best with him. He was all that he was by Fits: Sometimes doing nothing without deliberation, and sometimes doing all upon a suddain; Sometimes very Religious, and sometimes scarce a Christian. His unsatiableness of money was not so much, as that no man knew what he did with it; gotten with much noise, but spent in silence. He was but intemperate in his best temper, but when distempered with sickness most of all, as appeared at his last, when being in a Feaver he would needs be eating of raw Peaches, and drinking of sweet Ale. If we look upon his works, we must needs think him a worthy Prince, but if upon his actions, nothing lesse: For his works of Piety were very many, as hath been shewed before; but as for his actions, he neither came to the Crown by Justice, nor held it with honour, nor left it in Peace. Yet having had many good parts in him, and especially having his Royal posterity continued to this day, we can do no lesse but honour his memory.

K. John is intemperate.

Casualties that happened in his time.

One Casualty we might count dysastrous, if it had not had relation to our selves: for *Hugh de Bones* coming to aid King *John* with threescore thousand out of *Britain* and *Flanders*, by misfortune at Sea were all drowned, to whom the King had granted *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* for the people he brought with him to inhabit. In this Kings time were great thunders and lightnings, and showers with hail-stones as big as Goose-eggs. Fishes of strange shape were taken in *England*, armed with helmets and shields, and were like unto armed Knights, saving that they were far greater in proportion. About *Maidstone* in *Kent* a certain Monster was found stricken with the lightning, which monster had a head like an Ass, a belly like a man, and all other parts

Hail-stones as big as Goose-eggs.

A strange Monster.

parts far differing from any other creature. Also in *Suffolk* was taken a fish in form like to a man, and was kept six months upon land with raw flesh and fish; and then, for that they could have no speech of it, they cast it into the Sea again.

Of his Death and Burial.

King John
thought by
some to be poi-
soned.

A Monks
Cowl of great
virtue.

When Prince *Lewis* of *France* was come into *England*, and was received by the Lords and by the *Londoners*, King *John* with an Army went into the North parts, and coming to *Walpool*, where he was to passe over the *Washes*, he sent one to search where the water was passable, and there himself with some few passed over, but the multitude with all his Carriages and Treasure passing without order, they cared not where, were all drowned. With the grief of which dyslaster, and perhaps distempered in his body before, he fell into a Fever, and was let blood; but keeping an ill diet, (as indeed he never kept good) eating green Peaches, and drinking sweet Ale, he fell into a loosensse, and grew presently so weak, that there was much ado to get him to *Newark*, where soon after he dyed. Though indeed it be diversly related; *Caxton* saith, he was poisoned at *Swinesheads* Abbey by a Monk of that Covent; the manner and cause this: The King being there, and hearing it spoken how cheap corn was, should say, he would ere long make it dearer, and make a penny loaf be sold for a shilling. At this speech the Monk took such indignation, that he went and put the poison of a Toad into a cup of Wine, and brought it to the King, telling him there was such a cup of wine as he had never drunk in all his life, and there- withall took the assay of it himself, which made the King to drink the more boldly of it; but finding himself presently very ill upon it, he asked for the Monk, and when it was told him that he was fallen down dead; then (saith the King) God have mercy upon me, I doubted as much. Others say the poison was given him in a dish of Pears. But the Physitian that dis-bowelled his body found no sign of poison in it, and therefore not likely to be true; but howsoever the manner of his death be uncertain, yet this is certain, that at this time and place he dyed, on the 19 day of *October*, in the year 1216. when he had reigned seventeen years and six months; lived one and fifty: He was buried, his bowels at *Croxton* Abbey, his body at *Worcester*, under the High Altar, wrapped in a Monks Cowl, which the superstition of that time accounted sacred, and a defensive against all evil spirits.

Of the prices of things in his time.

Neither is this unfit to be recorded in *Chronicles*, to the end comparison may be made between the time past and the present: as in the time of King *Henry* the second, a Quarter of Wheat was sold for twelve pence, a Quarter of Beans or Oats for a groat. Neither is the price of silver itself much less altered, for an ounce of silver was then valued but at twenty pence; which is now valued at least at five shillings. Whereof Philosophers must tell the reason, for seeing scarcity makes things dear? why should not plenty make them cheap?

Of Men of speciall Note in his time.

Hubert Burgh a
most loyall ser-
vant to King
John.

Robert Fitz-
Water his va-
lour.

IN Military matters there were many famous men in his time, as *Robert Fitz-Roger*, and *Richard Mount-Fischer*, with many others; but chiefly two, whose acts make them specially memorable: the one was *Hubert Burgh*, whom King *John* had left Governour of *Dover* Castle, of whom it is related, that when Prince *Lewis* of *France* came to take the Town, and found it difficult to be taken by force; he sent to *Hubert*, whose Brother *Thomas* he had taken Prisoner a little before; that unlesse he would surrender the Castle, he should presently see his Brother *Thomas* be put to death with exquisite torments before his eyes: but this threatening moved not *Hubert* at all, who more regarded his own loyalty, then his Brothers life: then Prince *Lewis* sent again, offering him a great sum of money; but neither did this move, but he kept his loyalty as inexpugnable as his Castle. The other was *Robert Fitz-Water*, of whom it is related, that King *John* being with an Army in *France*, one of his Knights in a great bravery would needs make a challenge to any of the *French* Camp, that durst encounter him in a Combat, when presently comes forth this *Robert Fitz-Water*, and in the encounter threw horse and man down to the ground: whereof when King *John* heard, By Gods tooth (saith he) he were a King indeed that had such a Champion; whereupon some that stood by, saying to him, He is Sirysa servant of your own, it is *Robert Fitz-Water*, whom you have banished. Whereupon his sentence of banishment was presently reversed, and the King received him, as he well deserved, into special favour. In matter of Literature also there lived many famous men in this Kings reign; as *Geoffry Vinehouse*, *Simon Fraxinus*, alias *Als*, *Adam Dorensis*, *John de Oxford*, *Colman* surnamed The Wise; *Richard Canonikus*, *William Peregrine*, *Alane Tensbury*, *Gervasius Dorobernensis*, *John Hanwill*, *Nigel Worker*, *Gilbert Holland*, *Benet de Peterborough*, *William Parvus* a Monk of *Newburgh*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Hubert Walter*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander Theologus*, *Gervasius Tilberiensis*, *Gyraldus Cambrensis*, *Johannes Devonius*, *Walter Mapis*, *Radulphus de Diceto*, *Gilbert Legley*, *Mauricius Morganius*,

A *Morganius, John de Fordeham, William Leycester, Joceline Brakeland, Roger of Crowland, Hugh White, alias Candidus*, who wrote an History, intitled, *Historia Petroburgensis*; *John de Saint Omer, Adam Barking, John Gray* an Historiographer, and Bishop of *Norwich, Walter of Coventry, Radulphus Niger*, and lastly *Simon Thuroay*, who for his pride in Learning, but more for his blasphemies against *Moses* and *Christ*, became at last so utterly ignorant, that hardly he could read a letter of the Book. One yet remains that must not be forgotten, *Hugo Carthusianus* Bishop of *Lincoln*, whose Miracles, as *Matthew Paris* writes, made him famous in those dayes: and the Works he hath left behind him, famous in these.

Simon Thuroay
of a great
scholar become
an Idiot.

To this time the City of *London* had been governed by two Bailiffs; but the King in his tenth year taking displeasure against them for denying his Purveyers wheat, caused them to be imprisoned, till 35 of the chief Citizens repaired to him, and acquainting him what small store the City had, how the Commons were ready to make insurrection about it, he was then satisfied; and moreover at their suit, granted them to have a Maior and two Sheriffs to be yearly chosen nine dayes before *Michaelmas*: which Order hath continued, though with some alteration in the time of their Election; to this day. And so,

In his Tenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwin was first Maior.
Peter Duke, Thomas Neale, Sheriffs.

C In his Eleventh year,
Henry Fitz-Alwin was Maior.
Peter le Josue, William Blunder, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwin was Maior.
Adam Whitley, Stephen le Grasse, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwin was Maior.
D *John Fitz-Peter, John Garland*, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwin was Maior.
Randolph Eyland, Constantine Josue, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year,
Roger Fitz-Alwin was Maior.
Martin Fitz-Alice, Peter Bates, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year,
Roger Fitz-Alwin was Maior.
Solomon Basing, Hugh Basing, Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth year,
William Hardel was Maior.
John Travers, Andrew Newland, Sheriffs.

I

THE

THE
LIFE and REIGN
OF
KING HENRY
THE THIRD.

Of his coming to the Crown, and of Acts done in his Minority.

Ann. Dom.
1216.



King Henry is
Crowned.

The Lords
doubt to whom
they should ad-
here.

Many Lords
shrink from
Prince Lewis.

KING John being dead, his eldest Son *Henry* was next to succeed: who being but nine years old, though he were capable of having his Right, yet he was scarce capable of understanding his Right: especially there being another at that time, to whom a great part of the Kingdom had sworn Allegiance. But those Lords who had been constant to the father, notwithstanding his faults, were more tender of the Son, who was altogether innocent, and whose gracious aspect gave no small hope of a better disposition. Amongst all which Lords, there was none so eminent in worthiness: none so near him in Alliance, as *William Marshal* Earl of *Pembroke*, who had married his Aunt: and he drawing the rest of the Lords together, with a solemn Oration in behalf of the young Prince, so confirmed them, and so ordered the matter, that on the twenty eighth day of *October*, in the year 1216, he was Crowned at *Gloucester*, by *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Joceline* Bishop of *Bath*, in the presence of *Guallo* the Popes Legat, and many Lords and Bishops; where besides the oath usually taken by all Kings at their Coronation, to bear Reverence and honour to God, and to his holy Church, and to do Right and Justice to all his people: he did homage besides to the Church of *Rome*, and to Pope *Innocent*, for his Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*: and took his oath for the true payment of the thousand Marks which his father had granted to the Church of *Rome*. This done, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, by a general consent, was assigned Protector of the Realm during the Kings minority. In which place, the first thing he did, was to give notice of the new Kings Coronation to all the Countries round about; and proclaim pardon to all offenders, that within a time limited should come and submit themselves to him. In the mean time Prince *Lewis* of *France*, who at his first hearing of King *John*'s death, thought himself then sure of enjoying the Kingdom quietly, and that he should need to fear no more opposition; now that he hears of the new Kings Crowning, and that so solemnly, and with so unanimous a consent, he begins to think himself in worse case than before; and to grow jealous of the *English* Lords that had adhered to him, what they would do in this new world. And indeed a conflict was already grown in their minds, which of the two obligations should be the greater; either that of their Oath to Prince *Lewis*, or that of their Allegiance to King *Henry*. They could not but think it extreme ungratefulness to forsake Prince *Lewis*, whom they had themselves invited to come: and they could not but think it extreme undutifulness to stand out in opposition against King *Henry* their natural Sovereign: and that which added no small weight to this scale, was a discovery lately made by the Viscount *Melon* a *French* Lord at the time of his death, who confessed as a matter of conscience, that Prince *Lewis* had vowed, if once he got the Kingdom, utterly to extirpate all the *English* Nobility, and to admit none but *French* to any place of dignity. Neither was it, perhaps, the least cause that moved many to leave the party of Prince *Lewis*, that *Guallo* the Popes Legat had threatened to excommunicate him, and as many as should adhere unto him. But whether any of these reasons, or any other were their motives; certain it is, that many of them, of whom were principal

A principil, the Earls of *Arundell*, *Warren*, *Salisbury*, and *William* the eldest Son of the Protector, shrank from Prince *Lewis*, and went to King *Henry*, as thinking no obligation so great as Allegiance; and many again continued constant to Prince *Lewis*, as thinking no obligation so great as an Oath. And now Prince *Lewis*, to cast the dice of fortune, before his enemies, though they had gotten them a Head, should gather to a head, and draw more forces together; staying himself at *London*, sent his Lieutenants with an Army of twenty thousand, to take in as many Towns as they could; and many they took with small opposition: but coming to *Lincoln*, where though they had the Town it self, yet the Castle stood out, and had been defended by a Noble Lady a whole year before; they found such resistance, that their proceeding was there arretted; for thither came presently *William* the Protector, with his Son *William*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, and *Chesster*, the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers*, and *Albemarle*; *William de Albini*, *William de Cantilupe*, *Palscaius*, *Thomas Basset*, *Robert Vipont*, *Brent de Lisle*, *Geoffry Lucy*, and many other Barons, with all the power of the young King: who with wonderful violence assault the City, at which time it was propounded by the *French*, to sally forth and give them battel, but conceiving their Army to be greater then indeed it was (for the *English* had set double Ensigns to every Company, which made a shew of twice as many as they were) they forbear that course, and kept themselves within the Town; by which means being cooped up and straitned in place, so as they could not make use of their Forces, as otherwise they might; they were in conclusion all defeated, and all the principil men of the *English* that had adhered to Prince *Lewis*, were taken prisoners: as namely, *Saer* Earl of *Winchester*, *Henry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gant*, lately made Earl of *Lincoln*, by Prince *Lewis*; *Robert Fitz-Water*, *Richard Mount Fitchers*, *William Mawbray*, *William Beauchamp*, *William Mandet*, *Oliver Harcourt*, *Roger de Cressey*, *William Colville*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Ropesley*, *Ralph Chenduis*, Barons; besides four hundred Knights or men at Arms. Only the Earl of *Perch* their General, being compassed about, and willed to render himself, swore he would never become prisoner to any *English*: and thereupon was run through the sight of his Helmet into the brains, and instantly dyed. This was a main blow to Prince *Lewis*, and the last of his battels in *England*; and because the City was very rich in Merchandise, the *English* in derision called it *Lewis Fair*. But Prince *Lewis* was not yet discouraged, for he had sent to King *Philip* his father to send him new supplies out of *France*; and new supplies were indeed sent: but *Hubert de Burgh*, Governour of *Dover*, being as vigilant as he was valiant, watched their coming, and in a Sea-fight defeated them all, of whom but few escaped: and now this blow at Sea was so much greater then that at Land, that where that made him onely doubt, this made him despair, at least made him malleable, and fit to be wrought upon by composition; whereupon it was at last concluded, that Prince *Lewis* should have fifteen thousand Marks for the charges he had been at, and abjure his claim to any interest in the Kingdom; and withall to work his father for restitution of such Provinces in *France* as appertained to this Crown; and that when himself should be King, he should resign them in a peaceable manner. On the other part, King *Henry* takes his Oath; and for him the Legate *Guallo* and the Protector, to restore unto the Barons of the Realm, and other his Subjectss all their Rights and Priviledges, for which the discord began between the late King and his People. After this Prince *Lewis* is honourably attended to *Dover*, and departs out of *England* about Michaelmas, above two years after his first arrivall.

The chief men that adhered to Prince *Lewis* are taken prisoners.

C

Lewis Fair.

D

Prince *Lewis* supplies defeated at sea.

Prince *Lewis* is compounded with to depart the Realm.

E

Prince *Lewis* departs.

And now the Kingdome is come to unity within it self, one King and one People; and for a year or two there was little to be done, onely some few there were, whom the corruption of the times had engendred, and who being born in a storm, could not live in a calm: of whom the principall were the Earl of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Vipont*, *Fowke de Brent*, *Brian de Lisle*, and *Hugh de Baliol*; who bustling about got possession of some Castles: with what intention all men knew; but with what hope of effecting their intention, no man could imagine: for being but a handfull of men to the Body of the Realm, they were easily suppressed: and either brought to acknowledge their faults, or else punished for not acknowledging them. It was now the fourth year of King *Henries* Reign, at which time *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Protector of the Realm, died, and was buried in the new Temple at *London*: in whose place came the Bishop of *Winchester*; and now was the King the second time crowned, and had granted him by Parliament for Escuage, two Marks of Silver, of every Knights Fee, for the affairs of the kingdom, and recovery of his Transmarine Dominions, which is now designed: and *Malleon de Saveroy*, the *Poistovin*, with *William Long-Sword*, Earl of *Salisbury*, sent over to try the affections of that people, whom they find for the most part inclinable to the obedience of this Crown: but the King of *France* being required peaceably to deliver them; made answer, that having gotten them by the sword, by the sword he would hold them. But now the King being come to some years of understanding, was in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in mind by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of the Oath he had taken for confirmation of the Liberties of the kingdom, which though oppugned by some (and specially by *William Brewer*, and *Hubert de Burgh*, whom the King had now made his chief Justiciar) as having been an Act of constraint: yet the King then again ratified, and twelve Knights or other Legate men of every Shire, by Writs, were charged to examine what the Laws and Liberties were, which the Kingdome enjoyed under his Grandfather, and that they should return them by a certain day: and here the King by Parliament resumeth into his hands such Alienations as had beene made by his Ancestors of any Crown Land. The next year after, another Parliament is held at *Westminster*.

Some Lords stand out still.

F

An. Reg. 4. The Protector dieth. In his place, The Bishop of *Winchester* is chosen. King *Henry* is the second time Crowned.

G

K. *Henry* confirms the Liberties of the Kingdom.

He resumeth Crown Land. An. Reg. 5.

He confirms
the two Char-
ters granted
by King John
Magna Charta,
and Charta Ve-
rellia.

minister, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all the Moveables, both of the Clergy and Laity, for the recovery of those parts in France, withheld from the Crown by Lewis now King, contrary to his oath and promise made here in England at his departure; which, though it concerned the honour and dignity of the kingdom, and the estates of most of the Nobility; yet would it not be yielded to but upon confirmation of their Liberties, which in the end was obtained, in the same words and form as King John had granted them in the two charters before; and twelve Knights are chosen in every Shire, to dispart the old Forests from the new, and the new to be laid open and ploughed, and improved, to the great comfort and benefit of the Subject; and two years they were accordingly enjoyed.

Of his Acts after he came to be of age.

Ann. Reg. 10.
He takes the
Government
upon himself.

IT was now the tenth year of King Henry's reign, and being about nineteen years of age, he claimed to take the government of the kingdom into his own hands, and no longer to be under a Protector; and now will presently appear the difference between a Prince that is ruled by good Counsell, and a Prince that will do all of himself, and take no advise. For thirteen years he was ruled by a Protector, were all passed, as it were in a calm, without noise or clamour; but as soon as he took upon him the government himself, there grew presently storms and tumults; no quietness either to the subject or to himself: nothing but grievances all the long time of his reign. For at the Parliament now holden at Oxford, as soon as he was crowned again, he presently cancels and annuls the Charter of the Forests, as granted in his Nonage; and therefore he not bound to observe it: and then not using any longer the Seal which the Protector had used, he makes a new; and causeth a Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would enjoy any benefit of Grants under his Seal, should come and have them signed by his new Seal; by which course he drew much money from many: and this was the first grievance.

He annuls the
charters which
he had granted
before.

He makes a
new Seal.

The Lords
confederate a-
gainst K. Henry,
and why.

Shortly after, he commits the keeping of *Barkhamsted Castle*, to one *Walleran a Dutchman*, which Castle belonged to his brother *Richard Earl of Cornwall*; but when *Earl Richard* required to have the possession, as of right he ought, it was then plotted by *Hubert Burgh* Chief Justice, and the Kings chief Counsellour, to commit him to prison; which the Earl understanding, or at least suspecting, flies presently to *Marlborough*, where he finds *William Earl Marshal* his vowed friend, with whom he hastens to *Stamford*; and there meets with the *Earls of Chester, Gloucester, Warren, Hereford, Ferrers, Warwick*, and divers other Barons; who all confederate together, and send to the King, that unless he restore the Castle to his brother, and to them the Liberties of Forests, which he had lately cancelled at Oxford, they would seek to recover them by the sword. Hereupon King Henry to pacify his brother, not only renders the Castle to him; but gives him besides all that his mother had in Dower; and also great possessions which the *Earl of Britain*, and the *Earl of Bolign* lately deceased, had in England; but to the Petition of the Lords he makes a dilatory answer: and this was another grievance.

K. Henry makes
a journey into
France, but
without success.

Not long after King Henry is perswaded by *Hugh le Brun Earl of March*, who had married his mother, to make a journey into France, for recovery of his right there: but the Earl perswaded it for ends of his own; which to have discovered, had been no way to compass them: he must therefore lay some colours upon his work; and it was colour enough that the action would be of great benefit to the King, if it might succeed; and the likelihood of succeeding was most apparent, by reason of the great inclination of the people to King Henry, and their great avernesse from King Lewis. Upon these colours King Henry undertaking the action, raiseth great sums of money from the Clergy, and from the *Londoners*, for redemption of their Liberties; and takes the third part of all the goods of the *Jews*: but when he returned home a year after, without having done any thing but spent his treasure and his time; and that which was more worth than both these, the lives of many Noble men and others; this was another grievance.

He displaceth
many of his
great Officers.

And now King Henry bringing many *Poitevins* over with him, who had served him in his wars, he was to reward them here; which he could not do, but by displacing and spoil of his Officers. First therefore he calleth *Ralph Breston* Treasurer of his Chamber to account, and grievously fines him for defrauding him in his Office: Then likewise is *Hubert de Burgh* chief Justiciar, and his chief Counsellour, called to account for such treasure as passed his Office, who being further charged with crimes of Treason, flies to the Church of *Merton* for sanctuary; from whence, when the King commanded him to be drawn out by violence, the Bishop of *London* hearing of it, commanded him to be returned back to sanctuary, upon pain of Excommunication: but the King commanding him to be kept from sustenance, hunger at last enforced him to render himself to the Kings mercy: all his goods which were very great, confiscate. Also *Walter* Bishop of *Carle* is thrust out of his Office of Treasurer, and *William Rodon* Knight, from his place of Marshal of the Kings house, and all the chief Counsellours, Bishops, Earls, and Barons of the Kingdom are removed, as distrusted; and only strangers preferred to their rooms: of which course, *Peter de Rupibus a Poitovin*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and one *Peter de Rivalis*, the Kings special Favorite, were said to be the Authors: and this was another grievance.

Poitevins pla-
ced in their
rooms.

Ann. Reg. 19.

Nine years had thus passed, with divers grievances in his government; and being now about eight or nine and twenty years old; a Consultation was had for a fit wife for him. There was propounded a sister of *Alexander King of Scots*, but it was not thought fit the King should marry

A marry the younger sister, when *Hubert de Burgh* had married the elder: he therefore takes one of his own choosing, and marries *Eleanor*, daughter to *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*; by which match he neither had portion by his wife, nor strength of Alliance by friends; or if any were, it was all made vain by distance: only he had by her a number of poor kindred, who to his great cost lay hanging upon him; yet was the marriage solemnised with as great charges as if he had been to have Mountains with her: and this was another grievance.

K. Henry marries to more charge then benefit.

And now is the score of these grievances called upon to be paid: for the Lords could no longer endure so many indignities, to see themselves slighted, and onely strangers advanced; as *Foulke de Breis*, who held the Eurldoms of *Nottingham*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, and others the like: and to see their persons exposed to danger, and their estates to ruine; for which

B no remedy could be, but only the Kings confirming their Charter of Liberties: wherein it is strange to observe upon what different grounds the King and the Lords went: It seems the King thought, that to confirm that Charter, were to make him himself to be lesse then a King, and the Lords thought, that as long as it was denied, they were no better then slaves: and as the King could endure no diminution, so the Lords could endure no slavery; but the King might keep his own with sitting still, the Lords could not recover their own but by motion: and seeing their strength must be in their numbers, by commotion; hereupon they confederate together, and of this

The Lords confederate again for their Charters.

confederacies, *Richard* now Earl Marshall, upon the death of his brother *William*, is chief; who repairs to the King, and boldly shew him his error and require satisfaction. Hereupon the King sends presently over for whole Legions of *Poitevins*, and withall summons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refuse to come: after this a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, whither

The Lords summoned to a Parliament refuse to come.

likewise they refuse to come; unless the King would remove the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the *Poitevins* from the Court; and more then this, they send him word, that unless he did this, they would expell both himself and his evill Counsellours out of the Land, and create a new King. Upon this threatning, Pledges are required of the Nobility for securing their Allegiance, and *Wine* are sent out to all who held by Knights service, to repair to the King at *Glocester* by a certain day; which the Earl Marshall and his associates refusing, the King without the judgment of his Court and their Peers, causeth them to be proclaimed Out-laws, seiseth upon all their Lands, which he gives to his *Poitevins*; and directs out Writs to attach their bodies wheresoever in the Kingdom. But now of these confederate Lords, the Bishop of *Winchester* wonne the Earls of

They threaten to chuse a new King.

Chesler and *Lincoln* with a thousand Marks; and the King had so pleased his brother the Earl of *Cornwall*, that he likewise left them: whereupon they withdrew into *Wales*, and confederate with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*; whither also came *Hubert de Burgh*, escaped out of prison, and joyns with them; taking intermutual oaths that no one without other should make their accord. Hereupon the King goeth himself in person into *Wales*, where not prevailing, he returns to *Glocester*, imployes new forces of strangers, but all without successe. At last a Fryer is imployed to persuade the Earl Marshall to submit himself to the King, but all in vain; till at length a train is laid to draw him over into *Ireland*, to defend his state there, being seised upon by the King; where by treachery circumvented he lost his life; *Militia slos temporum modernorum*, saith *Matthieu Paris*. Yet the King disavows the sending of any such commission into *Ireland*, protesting he never knew thereof; and layes the fault upon his Officers; an easie way for Princes, never to be

The Lords proclaimed Out-laws, and their estates seised.

E found in any fault.

Richard, Earl Marshall, by a train drawn into *Ireland*, is there by treachery slain.

After two years affliction, a Parliament is assembled at *Westminster*, wherein the Bishops admonish the King by his fathers example, to be at unicy with his people, and to remove from him strangers, and to govern the Kingdome by Natives of the Realm, and by the Laws: otherwise they would proceed by Ecclesiastical censure, both against his Counsellours and himself. The King seeing no way to subsist but by temporizing, consents to call home those Lords out of *Wales*; restores them to their places and possessions; removes all strangers from about him, and calls his new Officers to account. Hereupon the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave* take Sanctuary; but afterward by mediation they obtained with great Fines their Liberties, dearly paying for their two years greatnesse. After this a Parliament is again called, which the

The Bishops threaten to excommunicate the King.

F King would have to be kept in the Tower, whither the Lords refusing to come, another place of more freedom is appointed; in which Parliament, order is taken for removing all Sheriffs from their places, upon complaint of corruption: and here the King displaceth his Steward, and offers to take from the Bishop of *Chichester*, then Chancellor, the great Seal, which he refuseth to deliver, as having received it by the Common-councell of the Kingdome; and now *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave*, are received again into grace; by which may appear the vicissitude of fortune in Princes favors. After this, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, another Parliament is held at *London*, where the King requires the thirteenth part of all the moveables as well of the Clergy as Laity; which being directly opposed, the King promiseth by oath,

The King calls home the Lords and removes strangers.

G never more to injure the Nobility, so they would but relieve him at that present: After four dayes consultation, the King promising to use onely the Counsell of his naturall Subjects, and protesting against the Revocation lately propounded, and freely granting the inviolable observation of their Liberties, under pain of Excommunication, a Subsidy is granted him; but so, that four Knights be appointed in every Shire to receive and deliver the same, either to some Abbey or Castle, where it may be safely kept; that if the King fail in performance of his Grants, it may be restored to the Country from whence it was collected: & now the King to make a shew of true reconciliation for his part, suddenly causes the Earls *Warren* & *Ferrers*, with

The Chancellor refuseth to deliver the Seal.

Ann. Dom. 1237. Ann. Reg. 21.

The King grants their Liberties, and thereupon hath a Subsidie granted, but with conditions.

But the conditions not performed.

The Lords thereupon confederate again.

They come armed to the Parliament.

Ann. Reg.
22.

The King oppresses the Lords.

The Pope sends over 300 Romans to have the first Benefices vacant.

The King once again makes a journey into France.

He comes to the Parliament to demand a Subsidy, but is denied.

He returns out of France without success.

The King again in person demands a Subsidy, but is denied, without granting the Lords demands.

John Fitz-Geffrey to be sworn his Counsellours: yet was neither of the points either for removing of strangers or for disposing the money observed afterward by the King: for the money he made bold to take at his pleasure; and for strangers, they were so far from removing, that they were drawn nearer to him: for now *William Valence*, Uncle to the Queen, is grown the most inward man with him, and nothing done but by his counsel; also the Earl of *Provence*, the young Queens father, a poor prince, hath a good share of the money that was collected: and *Simon de Mountford*, a French man born, is entertained by the King, and preferred secretly in marriage to *Eleanor* the Kings sister, Widow of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, the great Marshall, and is made Earl of *Leicester*, by right of his Mother *vice*, daughter of *Blanchman*, Earl of *Leicester*: which courses so incense the Nobility, that it put them out into a new commotion; and *Richard* the Kings brother becomes one of the party, whom the other Lords make their spokesman to the King, to aggravate his breach of promise, and to acquaint him with all the disorders of the Kingdom; with whose remonstrance the King is so moved, that after he had tryed the *Londoners*, and found them also to partake with the Lords, he calls a Parliament at *London*, whither the Lords come armed for their own safety: where after long debating, the King taking his oath to refer the matter to certain grave men of the Kingdom; Articles are drawn, sealed, and publicly set up to the view of all, with the seals of the Legate, and divers great men: but before it came to be effected, the Earl of *Cornwall*, by the working of *Simon Mountford*, hath his edge rebated, and is brought to be unwilling to meddle in the matter any more; which the other Lords seeing, they also grew cold, and so for that time it rested, and no more was done in it. About this time, a certain fanatic fellow, had got into the Kings chamber in the night, having a naked knife in his hand, with a resolved purpose to kill him: but finding him not there, (for the King lay that night with the Queen) he then went looking about to finde him out: but being taken and confessing who were his complices, he was afterwards drawn in pieces with wilde horses. So provident a care hath God to protect his Anointed.

And now is the Kings turn to play his part in using his authority, which he fails not to doe to the uttermost: for upon a small occasion he causeth the gates of *Gilbert* now Earl of *Pembroke* (the third son of *William* the great Marshall) to be shut against him at *Winchester*, whereupon the Earl retires into the North. Also *Simon Norman*, Master of the Kings Seal, and his greatest Favorite, is thrown out with disgrace, and his brother *Geffrey* a Knight Templar, is put out of the Counsell; both of them for not yeelding to passe a Grant from the King, made unto *Thomas* Earl of *Flanders*, the Queens Uncle, of foure pence upon every sack of Wooll. And now that load enough is laid upon those of the Laity, comes a new load to be laid upon the Clergy; for the Pope nothing dainty to make use of the power he had in the King, sends over three hundred Romans, requiring to have the first Benefices that should be vacant, bestowed upon them: which seemed so unreasonable a request, and to the Clergy of *England* so dammageable, that it made *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to give over all, and betake himself to a voluntary Exile in the Abbey of *Pontinnac* in *France*; yet to shew his respect to the Pope, gave him eight hundred Marks before his departure. And to lay more weight upon the Clergy, great sums are also required of them for maintenance of the Popes warre against the Emperour: which though the Clergy opposed, and shewed many good reasons of their opposition both to the King and the Legat, yet by promises or threatnings, they were won or forced to yeeld unto it. And now comes the Earl of *March*, and once again solicits the King to make another journey into *France*, which being yeelded to by the King, and assented to in Parliament, an aid presently was demanded towards it: but this demand was not only opposed, but all the Kings Taxations and aids before granted, were now repeated; and thereupon an absolute denial to grant any more. Upon this, the King comes to the Parliament himself in person; earnestly, and indeed humbly craving their aid for this once: but all prevailed not, they had made a vow to the contrary: and the King is driven to get what he could of particular men; of whom partly by gift, and partly by loan, he gets so much, that he carries over with him thirty barrels of Sterling money. This expedition had no better success then the former, for after a whole years stay, the King was driven to make a dishonourable Truce with the King of *France*, and return home. At his return he puts the *Jews* to another redemption; and the *Londoners* to another exaction; and to help on his charge, his wives mother, the Countesse of *Provence* comes now to visit him, who bringing her daughter *Isabella* with her, a marriage is solemnised between her and *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, whose wife was lately dead, and he returned from the Holy warres. The old Countesse at her return, is presented with many rich gifts, having besides received an annual pension of four thousand Marks out of *England*, for five years past, in consideration of a pact made, that King *Henry* after her decease should have the Earldom of *Provence*: but shortly after her return, the disappoints him of this, and bestows it upon her youngest daughter *Matriza*, married to *Charles* the French Kings brother; who was after King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, so as this Countesse lived to see all her four daughters Queens: *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, coming after to be elected King of the Romans. Upon these profusions, a consultation is had for new supplies, and no way thought so fit as by Parliament; hereupon a Parliament is again assembled at *Westminster*, whither the King comes again himself in person, urging his necessities, yet nothing would be granted without the assurance of reformation and due execution of the Laws. And here they desire to have it ordained, that four of the most grave and discreet Peers should be chosen as Conservators of the Kingdom, and sworn of the Kings Counsell, both to see Justice administered, and the treasure issued, and

A and these or two of them at least, should ever attend about the King. Also that the Lord Chief Justiciar, and the Lord Chancellor, should be chosen by the generall voyces of the States assembled, or else be one of the number of those four. Besides they propound, that there might be two Justices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer, and one Justice for the *Itens*; and those likewise to be chosen by Parliament. But while these things were in debating, comes one *Martin*, a new Legat from the Pope, with a larger Commission then ever any before, to exact upon the State; but at the same time, Letters coming from the Emperour *Frederick*, to entreat that the Pope might have no more supplies out of *England*; the Popes Mandate is rejected, and his Agent *Martin* disgracefully sent home. This businesse took up so much time, that nothing else was done in this Parliament; but only an aid granted to the King for the marriage of his daughter to *Alexander* King of *Scots*; twenty shillings of every Knights Fee; and that with much ado, and repetition of his former aids.

That the chief Justice and Lord Chancellor should be chosen by the Parliament

The Popes Legate for money rejected

Aid to marry the Kings daughter granted.

The King sheweth his necessity and requires relief; but is denied. Hereupon he raiseth money by violent courses.

The Winter following he assembles another Parliament, wherein he moves for an aid upon a design he had upon *Wales*; and to pay his debts, which were urged to be so great that he could not appear out of his chamber for the infinite clamour of such, to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other necessaries of house; but they all to his face, refused to grant him any thing: whereupon other violent courses are taken, an ancient quarrell is found out against the City of *London*, for which they are commanded to pay fifteen thousand Marks, and *Passelerve* the Clerk is employed, with others, in a most peremptory commission, to enquire of all such Lands as had been inforested, and either to fine the occupiers thereof at their pleasure, or else to take it from them and sell the same to others; wherein such rigour was used, that multitudes of people were undone. But now to shew the King the estate of his Kingdome, and the oppression of Popes, inquiry was made of the Revenues which the *Romans* and *Italians* had in *England*; which were found to be annually sixty thousand Marks; being more then the yearly Revenues of the Crown: which so moved the King, that he caused the same to be notified, with all other Exactions, to the Generall Councell now assembled at *Lyons*: and this (with the ill usage of his Agent *Martin*) so vexed the Pope, that he is said to have uttered these words: It is time to make an end with the Emperour, that we may crush these perty Kings, for the Dragon once appeased, or destroyed, these lesser Snakes will soone be troden downe. But upon the Popes rejecting the consideration of these grievances of *England*, and despising the Kings message (who he said, began to

D *Frederick*) it was absolutely here Ordained, under great penalty, that no contribution of money should be given to the Pope by any Subject of *England*; and the King for a time assents unto it, but being of an irresolute and wavering nature, and afraid of threats, he soongave over what he undertook, so as the Pope continued his former rapine; and though he had promised never to send any more Legates into *England*, yet sent he other Ministers under the title of Clerks, that had as great power as Legates, and effected as much.

The King assents that no more contribution be given to the Pope, But soon revokes.

And now, for the other part of the State, new occasions also of complaint were offered: *Peter of Savoy* Earl of *Richmond*, comes into *England*, bringing with him certain maids to be married to young Noble men of this Countrey, the Kings Wards, of whom *Edmund* Earl of *Lincoln* hath ones, and *Richard de Burgh* another: and the same year three of the Kings brothers by the mother, *Guy de Lusignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar Clark*, are sent over to be provided E of Estates in *England*; also *Thomas of Savoy* (sometimes Earl of *Flanders* by right of his Wife) comes with his sister *Beatrice*, Countesse of *Provence* the Queens mother, who are again Feasted and Gifted; for which the King is taxed the next Parliament in *Candlemas* term, and besides sharply reprehended for his breach of promise, having Vowed and Declared by his Charter never more to injure the State in that kind; also for his violent taking up of provision, of Wax, Silk, Robes, and especially of Wine, contrary to the will of the sellers, and many other grievances they complain of; all which the King patiently hears, in hope to obtain his desire, but yet nothing is effected, and the Parliament being prorogued till *Midsummer* following, and the King growing more obdurate then before, it aitenward brake up in discontent. But the Parliament not supplying him, he is advised to furnish his wants with sale of his Plate, and jewels of the Crown, being F told, that though they were sold, yet they would revert again unto him; and having with great tosse received money for them, he asks who had bought them; Answer is made, the City of *London*. That City (said he) is an inexhaustible Gulph, if *Othavins* Treasure were to be sold, they surely would buy it. In his two and fourtieth year, a Parliament was held, which by some was called *Insolent Parliament*, the mad Parliament; for that, at this Parliament (to which the Lords came with great numbers of armed men), many things were Enacted contrary to the Kings pleasure, and his royall prerogative.

The King furniseth his wants with sale of his Plate and Jewels.

And now to vex them, he appoints a Faire to be kept at *Westminster*, forbidding under great penalty, all exercise of Merchandize within *London*, for fifteen dayes, and all other Fairs in *England*, and namely that of *Ely*; but this Novelty came to nothing; the inconvenience of the place, and was then, and the foulness of the weather, brought more affliction then benefit to the Traders. That *Christmas* also he requires New-years gifts of the *Londoners*, and shortly after writes unto them his Lettess imperiously deprecatory to aid him with money, and thereby gets of them twenty thousand pound; for which the next year after he craves pardon of them. And notwithstanding his continuall taking up all provisions for his house, yet he lessens his house-keeping in no honourable manner; And then seeing he could get nothing of the States together, he calls unto him, or writes unto every Nobleman apart, declaring his poverty; and how he

He tries to get money of particular men.

was

But fails in it.

The Jews most of all taxed.

The King preacheith, to have his brother *Arhelmar* chosen Bishop of *Winchester*.

Henry de Bath Chief Justice fined for corruption.

Yet after restored to his place. A bountifull Feast.

King *Henry* undertakes the Croffe.

But can get no money.

Thereupon falls again to violent courses.

For preventing whereof the Parliament grants him a subsidy.

was bound by Charter in a debt of thirty thousand pounds to those of *Burdeaux*; and his *Gascoyne* (who otherwise would not have suffered him to depart home) at his last being in *France*: but failing herein of Temporall Lords, he addresseth his Letters to the Prelates, of whom he finds as little relief; by much importunity and his own presence, he got of the Abbot of *Ramsay* a hundred pound, but the Abbot of *Borough* had the face to deny him, though the King told him, it was more Alms to give money to him, then to a Begger that went from door to door. The Abbot of *Saint Albans* yet was more kind, and gave him threescore Marks. To such lownesse did the necessity of this indigent King (through his profusion) bring him. The Jews ever exposed to his will, feel the weight of these his wants; One *Abraham*, found a Delinquent, redeems himself for seven hundred Marks, and *Aaron* another Jew protests, the King had twice his last being in *France* taken from him at times, thirty thousand Marks of silver, besides two hundred Marks of gold given to the Queen.

But now the Lords attëble again at *London*, and presse him with his promise made unto them, that the Chief Justiciar, Chancellour and Treasurer should be appointed by the Generall Council of the Kingdom, but by the absence of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, (which was thought to be done of purpose) they return frustrate of their desire. And now the Bishoprick of *Winchester* falling void, the King sends presently to the Monks of the Cathedral Church, to elect his brother *Arhelmar*; and because he would not be denied, he goes thither himself in person, and there enters the Chapter house as a Bishop or Prior, gets up into the Presidents Chair, begins a Sermon, and takes his Text, *Justice and Peace have kissed each other*; and thereupon useth these words: To me and other Kings who are to govern the People, belongs the rigour of Judgement and Justice; to you who are men of quiet and Religion, peace and tranquillity; and this day I heare you have (for your own good) been favourable to my request, with many such like words: whereby the Monks finding the earnestnesse of his desire, held it in vain to deny him, and *Arhelmar* is elected: but with this reservation, if the Pope allow it. Shortly after follows the memorable Case of *Sir Henry de Bath*, a Justiciar of the Kingdom, and a speciall Counsellour to the King, who by corruption had attained to a mighty Estate, and is said, in one Circuit to have gotten two hundred pound land *per annum*; He is accused by *Sir Philip Darcie* of falsehood in the Kings Court; and the King is so incensed against him, that in the Parliament at this time holden in *London*, Proclamation is made, that whosoever had any Action or Complaint against *Henry de Bath* should come and be heard. One of his fellow Justiciars accused him of acquiring a malefactor for a bribe. The King seeing *Henry de Bath*s friends to be many and strong, breaks out into rage, protesting, that whosoever would kill *Henry de Bath* should be acquitted for the deed. But afterward by intercession of the Earl of *Cornwall*, and the Bishop of *London*, the King becomes pacified, and *Sir Henry* is released, paying two thousand Marks; and after is restored to his former place and favour. The King keeping his Christmas at *Tower*, the marriage is solemnized between *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his Daughter; the Feast of which solemnity it is said the Archbishop gave six hundred fat Oxen, which were all spent at one feast: and besides, the Feast cost him four thousand Markes.

About this time, the Pope solicits King *Henry* to undertake the Croffe, and so doth *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, offering to accompany him in person, to rescue the King of *France* who was now held Prisoner by the *Souldan*, and because a rancome collected for him in *France* was by tempest cast away at Sea, the Captive King offers to restore *Normandy* to the King of *England*, so he would come to his rescue. Upon this solicitation of the Pope, and the grant of a tenth of the Clergy and Laity for three years to come; the King undertakes the Croffe, rather, it seems, to get the money, then with any purpose to perform the Journey: which had it been collected (saith *Paris*) would have amounted to six hundred thousand pounds, to the utter impoverishing of the Kingdome. And now the King by Proclamation calls the *Londoners* to *Westminster*, and there causeth the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester* to declare his intentions; and to exhort the people to undertake the Croffe and attend him; but few are moved by their persuasions, only three Knights of small note, whom thereupon the King in open view embraceth, kisseth, and calls his Brethren; checking the *Londoners*, as ignoble Mercenaries: and there himself takes his Oath for performing it, and to set forth upon *Midsummer* day next. In taking his Oath, he layes his right hand on his Breast, according to the manner of a Priest; and after, on the Book, and kisseth as a Layman. About this Tenth (granted by the Pope, but not by the People) a Parliament is called at *London*, where the Bishops are first dealt withall, (as being a work of piety) and they absolutely refuse it; then the Temporall Lords are set upon: and they answer as the Bishops: which put the King into so great a rage, that he drove out all that were in his Chamber as if he had been mad. Then he falls to perswade them apart, sending first for the Bishop of *Bay*, and deals with him in all kind manner, recounting the many favours he had done him. The Bishop replies, dissuading him from the Journey by the Example of the King of *France*; and to that purpose useth many good reasons; which the King hearing, in great passion commanded his servants to thrust him out of door, perceiving by this what was to be expected of the rest; and thereupon falls upon his former violent courses; and first the City of *London* is compelled to the Contribution of a thousand Markes: and the *Gascoyne*s being upon revolt, unless speedy succour be sent them, generall Musters are made, and commandement given, that whosoever could spend thirteen pounds *per annum*, should furnish out a Horseman. This occasions another Parliament, wherein it seems, the State began wisely to consider that all their oppositions

A did no good, the Kings tyme must be served one way or other; therefore they agreed to relieve him rather by the usual way, then force him to those extravagant courses which he took; but yet so, as the Reformation of the Government, and the ratification of their Laws and Liberties, might once again be solemnly confirmed. And after fifteen dayes consultation, to satisfie the Kings desire for his holy Expedition, a Tenth is granted by the Clergy, and Scutage, three Marks of every Knights Fee by the Laity; and thereupon those often confirmed Charters are again ratified, and that in the most solemne and Ceremoniall manner, that State and Religion could possibly devise. The King with all the great Nobility of England, all the Bishops in their reverent Ornaments with burning Candles in their hands, assemble to heare the terrible sentence of Excommunication against the infringers of the same. And at the lightning of those Candles the King having received one in his hand, gives it to a Prelate that stood by, saying; It becomes not me, being no Priest, to hold this Candle, my heart shall be a greater Testimony; and with all laid his hand spread upon his Breast all the time the sentence was read; which was thus pronounced, *Auctoritate Dei Omnipotentis, &c.* Which done, he causeth the Charter of King John his Father, granted by his free consent, to be openly read. In the end, having thrown away their Candles, which lay smoaking on the ground, they cryed out, So let them who incurre this sentence be extinct, and have no better favour then these snuffes; and the King with a loud voyce said, As God help me, I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King Crowned and appointed, inviolably observe all these things: and therewithall the Bells rung out, and the people shouted for joy.

But upon condition to confirm their Charters. Which are confirmed with the greatest solemnity that could be devised.

C Yet was not all so quieted by this Grant, but that there were grievances still, whereof the first falls upon his Brother Richard Earl of Cornwall: for the King having seven and twenty years before given him the Province of Gascoigne, now that he had a Son of his own, he would take it from his Brother, and give it to his Son; and the Earl refusing to deliver his Charter, it is plotted to imprison him, but he escaping out of Burdeaux, comes over into England. The King, to win the Nobility of Gascoigne to turn him, promiseth them thirty thousand Marks, which they accept so as he bind himself by his Oath and Charter to performe it. This strictnesse of theirs the King takes in ill part, and thereupon sends Simon Montford Earl of Leicester, a flem man, to be their Governour, who with his insolent Government, so discontentes them, that after three years suffering, they send the Archbishop of Burdeaux, with other great men, to complaine of his Insolencies; whereupon Montford is sent for, and because the Lords took part with him, the King takes part with the Gascoigners; which Montford took so ill, that he upbraids the King with breaking his promise: to whom the King in great rage replied, that no promise was to be kept with an unworthy Traytor; at which word Montford riseth up, protesting that he lyed; and were he not protected by his Royall Dignity, he would make him repent those words. The King commands his Servants to lay hold on him, but the Lords would not permit it. Yet after this great affront to the King, is Montford sent over again into Gascoigne though with a more limited Authority, and shortly after the King with a Fleet of three hundred Ships goes thither himself, and soon composeth all differencies in the Country.

Montford gives K. Henry the lie to his face. Yet soon reconciled.

But now the King of Spaine pretends a title to Aquitaine, and to take him off, King Henry sends to treat of a marriage between Prince Edward and his Sister Eleanor, which being accepted by the King of Spaine, the Marriage his solemnized at Burgos, where the King of Spaine knights the Prince, and quits his claim to Aquitaine for him and his Successours for ever; and King Henry invests the Prince and wife in it, and gives unto him besides Ireland, Wales, Bristow, Stamford, and Grantham: and from hence it came that ever after this, the Kings eldest Son was immediately upon his birth Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester. After this King Henry prepares to returne home, and well he might, having spent in this and his former Journeys into those parts, the summe of seven and twenty hundred thousand pounds; More then all the Lands if they had been sold were worth; which when the King was told, he desired there might be no words made of it for his credite. And now being to returne, he is desirous, wih the King of France, leave to passe thorow France; and coming to Paris with a thousand Horse, where he stayed eight dayes, is there most Royally feasted by the King of France; and he as royally feasts the King of France again. But it is the Londoners and the Jewes that are like to pay for all. For coming home about Christmas, when the Londoners presented him with a hundred pounds in money, and afterwards with two hundred pounds in plate: it was so feighted, and so ill taken, that a hole was presently found in their coat, for an escape of a Prisoner, which cost them three thousand Marks: Yet was not this enough, but he takes good Fleeces from the Jewes, and then lets them out to Farme to his Brother Richard, for a great summe of money, and he to make what more of them he could.

King Henries eldest son Edward marries Eleanor the K. of Spaines sister. The Kings eldest son immediately Prince of Wales from this time. K. Henry spends seven and twenty hundred thousand pounds at his Journey to France.

The King lets the Jewes out to Farme.

Yet after all this he complains of his Debts, which he saith are at least three hundred thousand Marks, which must needs be the heivyer to him, because he had diminished his owne meanes, by the allowance of fifteen thousand Markes per annum to his son the Prince. The only hope is in the Parliament, but a Parliament being called, they fall presently upon their old grievances, complaining upon the King for breach of Charters, and renewing their claime, to have the chief Justiciar, the Chancellour, and Treasurers to be chosen by themselves: so nothing was done for the King at this time, and the Parliament being prorogued till Michaelmas after, as little then, by reason many of the Peers came not, as not being summoned according to the tenor of Magna Charta. And now while the King was using means to wind himself out of debt, there

The parliament requires to have the chief Justice, Chancellour, and Treasurers.

The Earl of Cornwall likes not to lend the Pope money; and why.

The Pope promisseth to make the Kings younger son King of Sicilie.

An. Dom. 1257.

Disorders committed by the Prince and his followers.

The Earl of Cornwall is chosen King of the Romans

The Earl of Cornwall's great estate.

He returns into England in a poor estate.

K. Henry can get no money of the Parliament to make his son Edmund a King.

there happened occasions to put him further in; for now *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy*, the Queens Brother being at war with the City of *Thurn*, must be supplied with money towards it by the King of *England*. Now the Elect Bishop of *Toledo*, the King of *Spain*'s brother, comes into *England*, and must be sumptuously Feasted, and have great gifts presented him: Now *Eleanor* the Princes wife, arrives with a multitude of *Spaniards*, and must all be entertained at the Kings charge, and have no small presents given them at their departure: Now comes *Rustandus* from the Pope, with power to collect the Tenth of the Clergy, for the Popes use and the Kings, and to absolve him from his oath of the holy War, so he would come to destroy *Manfred*, son to the Emperour *Frederick*, now in possession of the kingdom of *Sicilie*, and *Apulia*. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed upon him; besides a rich Prebend in *Tork*; but the Pope by too much seeking his profit, loseth credit and all; for the Clergie sleightshim, and will give him nothing: and when he would have borrowed of the Earl of *Cornwall* five hundred Marks, the Earl answered; He liked not to lend his money to one, upon whom he could not distrust. But King *Henries* greatest charge was his purchasing a kingdom for his son *Edmund*; for now comes the Bishop of *Bononia* from the Pope, with a ring of Investiture to Prince *Edmund*, in the kingdom of *Sicilie*, which he pretends to be at his disposing; and King *Henry* takes it in so good earnest, that after this he calls his son *Edmund* by no other name then King of *Sicilie*. But all this was done by the Pope, but to angle away King *Henries* mony, as indeed upon this hope he had drawn the King into the engagement of an hundred and fifty thousand Marks; for to draw the King on, it was given out that the Pope had defeated all *Manfreds* Forces, and was thereby in possession of the Kingdom, when the truth was, that *Manfred* had defeated the Popes Forces, and was thereby himself established in the kingdom.

The year 1257, the King keeps his *Christmas* at *Winchester*, where new grievances arise. The Merchants of *Gascoyn*, having their Wines taken from them by the Kings Officers without satisfaction; complain to their Lord the Prince, he to his father, and his father having been informed before-hand by his Officers that their clamour was unjust, as relying upon the Princes favour; he falls into a great rage with the Prince, and breaks out into these words: See! now my Blond, and my own Bowels impugn me: but afterwards pacified, he gives order the injuries should be redressed. And now the Princes followers themselves come to be a grievance, who relying upon their Master commit many outrages, and spoil and wrong men at their pleasure; and the Prince himself is not altogether free, of whom it is said, that meeting a young man travelling by the way, he caused one of his ears to be cut off, and one of his eyes to be put out: and many such pranks plaid by him and his followers in *Wales*, made the *Welsh* break out into open Rebellion, which the Prince would fain have suppressed, but there was no money to be had towards the doing it. And now the King falls to shifts, he comes into the Chequer himself, and there layes penalties upon Sheriffs, that return not their monies in due time; then he falls upon measures of Wine and Ale, upon Bushels and Weights, and something he gets; but *London* is his best Chequer, and every year commonly, he hath one quarrel or other to the *Londoners*, and they are sure to pay. And now falls out an accident, seeming of great honour, but certainly of no profit to the Kingdom. *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* the Kings brother is elected King of the *Romans*; for although *Alphonse* King of *Spain*, the great Mathematician were his Competitor, yet Earl *Richards* money wrought more then his learning, and the Archbishop of *Colen* comes over to fetch him, and Crowned he is as *Aquisgrane*. This Earl of *Cornwall* is reported able to dispend a hundred Marks a day, for ten years, besides his Revenues in *England*. But now as a man that payes dear for an Office, looks that his Office should pay him again: so Earl *Richard* having given infinitely to compass his advancement, looked to help himself again by the place; and this, and the desire he had to revenge himself upon those that had opposed his Election, made him take such violent courses that he came soon to be dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to return into *England*, a poorer King then he went out an Earl.

Acts done in the contention between the King and his Barons.

Now King *Henry* very proud to have his younger son a King as well as his brother, calls a Parliament, wherein he brings his son *Edmund* clad in *Sicilie* habit, and tells the Parliament, that for advancing this son of his to the kingdom of *Sicilie* he had bound himself under covenant of losing his kingdom in the sum of an hundred and forty thousand Marks, and hoped they would not think much to aid him with money for so great an advancement; but the Parliament stood firm to their usual condition of *Magna Charta*; so as that might be confirmed, they were content to give two and fifty thousand Marks: but this gave the King no satisfaction. The year after, another Parliament is holden at *London*, wherein upon the Kings pressing them again for means to pay his debts to the Pope, the Lords tell him plainly, they will not yield to give him any thing for any such purpose; and give their reasons, and withall repeat their own grievances, his breach of promise, the insolencie of his brothers, and specially *William de Valence*, who had given the lye to the Earl of *Leicester*, and no right done him in it; and many such things; which the King hearing, and not able to deny, humbles himself, and tells them how he had often by ill counsel been seduced; but promisseth by his Oath which he took on

A on the Tomb of S. Edward, to reform all those errors. But the Lords not well knowing how to deal in this business, as being divided between a desire to satisfy the King, and a desire to be satisfied themselves; and knowing withall the variableness of the Kings nature, they get the Parliament to be adjourned to S. Barnabies day, and then to assemble at Oxford. In which mean time the Earls, Gloucester, Leicester, Hereford, the Earl Marshall, Bigod, Spencer, and other great men confederate, and provide by arms to effect their desire; and here is the foundation laid of those bloody wars that ensued between King Henry, and his Barons.

The Lords confederate again.

And now the King being put to his shifts for money, gets the Abbot of Westminster to put his Seal, and that of his Convent to a Deed Obligatory, as a Surety for two hundred Marks, making account, that by his example, others would be drawn to do the like; but his trusty servant

K. Henry useth shifts to get money.

B Simon Passeloves, being employed to other Monasteries, and telling them amongst other reasons, to persuade them, that the King was Lord of all they had; they only answered, they acknowledged indeed the King to be Lord of all they had, but yet so, as to defend, nor to destroy the same; and this was all he could get of them. The Prince also in no less want than his father, is driven to mortgage his Town of Stamford, Braban, and many other things, to William de Valence,

The Liberty of the Subject.

a Poitovins, whereby appeared the disorder of the time, when the Prince was in want, and strangers had such plenty. And now is the Parliament assembled at Oxford, whither the Lords come attended with large trains, and here they begin with the exposition of the former Liberties, requiring that the chief Justiciar, the Chancellor, and Treasurer may be ordained by publick choice; and that the twenty four Conservators of the Kingdom may be confirmed,

The Lords require that the chief Justice, the Chancellor and Treasurer may be chosen by Parliament The King and Prince swear unto it.

C twelve by the election of the Lords, and twelve by the King: some write there were but twelve in all, and were called The Dozco Peers, the twelve Peers, who ruled all things at their pleasure without controulment. The King, seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, swears solemnly again to the confirmation of them, and causeth the Prince to take the same Oath. But the Lords left not here, the Kings brethren, the Poitovins, and other strangers must presently be removed; and this also, though with some little opposition, was at last concluded: and thereupon the Kings brethren and their followers are despoiled of all their fortunes, and exiled by prescription under the Kings own hand, directed to the Earls of Hereford, and Surrey. But now sickness and mortality happening to many great ones, it is imputed to poisons, supposed to have been prepared by those strangers prohibited; the Earl of Gloucester in

The Poitovins are removed.

D a sickness suddenly lost his hair, his teeth, his nails; and his brother hardly escaped death: which made many to suspect their nearest servants, and their Cooks: Walter Scogin the Earls Steward, is strictly examined, committed to prison, and afterward without confession, is upon presumptions only executed at Winchester: Elias a converted Jew, is said to have confessed, that in his house the poison was concocted; but it was when he was a Jew, and not a Christian. Every man that had received any wrong by those strangers, now put up their complaints, and are heard. Guido de Rochfort, a Poitovin, to whom the King had given the Castle of Rochester, is banished, and all his goods confiscate. William Bussey, Steward to William de Valence, is committed to the Tower of London, and most reproachfully used. Richard Grey, whom the Lords had made Captain of Dover Castle, is sent to intercept whatsoever the Poitovins conveyed that way out of England: and much treasure of theirs, and of the Elect of Winchester is by him E taken; besides great sums committed to the new Temple are found out, and seized for the King.

And now the chief Justiciar Hugh Bigod, brother to the Earl Marshall (chosen this last Parliament by publick voice) procures that four Knights in every Shire should enquire of the oppressions of the poor, done by great men; and certify the same, that redresse might be made. Also order was taken against corrupting of Justice; when yet notwithstanding this pretended care of the publick, it is noted by the Writers and Records of that time, how the Lords were themselves but as resident tyrants, enforcing the services of the Kings Tenants that dwelt near them. But to make their cause the more popular, it was rumoured that the King stood upon it, that his necessity might be supplied out of the Estates of his people, whether they would or no: which

The Lords themselves tyrannize.

F the King hearing, sends forth Proclamation, declaring how certain malicious persons had falsely and seditiously reported, that he meant unlawfully to charge his Subjects, and subvert the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom; and by these false suggestions averted the hearts of his people from him: and therefore desires them not to give credit to such perturbers: for that he was ready to defend all Right, and Customs due unto them: and that they might rest of this secured, he caused his Letters to be made Patens. But now Montford, Gloucester, and Spencers, enforce the King to call a Parliament at London, where they get the authority of the twenty four to be estated wholly upon themselves, and they alone to dispose of the custody of the Castles, and other businesses of the Kingdom: and here they bind the King to lose to them their Legal obedience whensoever he infringed this Charter.

The Liberty of the Subject.

G At this time intelligence was given to the Lords, that Richard King of the Romans had a purpose to come into England; and the Lords suspecting he would come with power to aid the King his brother, take order for guarding the Ports, with intent to hinder his landing: but finding his train to be but small, accompanied only with his Queer, two German Earls and eight Knights, upon his promise to take their propounded Oath, they admit him to Land, but would neither permit the King (who came thither to meet him) nor himself to enter into Dover Castle. At Canterbury they bring him into the Chapter house, where the Earl of Gloucester standing forth in

Four and twenty chosen to be Governors of the Kingdom; but Montford and Gloucester get all the authority to themselves. Richard King of the Romans returning, swears to assist the Lords.

K. Henry lends
us Rome to be
absolved of his
oath.
He resigns his
Right in Nor-
mandy for a
sum of mony.

The King of
France is
made Arbitr
of the differ-
ence between
the King and
his Barons.

The Earl of
Leicester takes
many Castles.
The King
concludes a
Peace with his
Barons.

Many Lords
return to the
King for
peace, but are
denied.

The Earl of
Leicester strag-
egem.

The Earl of
Leicester takes
the King, the
Prince, and
divers other
Lords priso-
ners.

Vitiance be-
tween the
Earls of Lei-
cester, and Glo-
cester.
Gloucester joins
with the
Prince.

the midst, calls out the Earl, not by the name of King, but *Richard Earl of Cornwall*; who in a reverent manner coming forth, taketh his Oath in these words. *Hear all men, that I Richard, Earl of Cornwall, do here swear upon the holy Evangelists, that I shall be faithfull and diligent to reform with you the Kingdome of England, and be an effectuall Coadjutor to expell all Rebels and disturbers of the same, and this Oath will inviolably observe, under pain of losing all the Land I have in England: So help me God.* But though this Earl came home both weak and poor, yet upon his return the King takes heart, and seeks all means to vindicate his power, and first sends messengers secretly to *Rome*, to be absolved from his enforced Oath; and to have the more assurance from the King of *France*, he makes an absolute resignation of all his Right to the Duchie of *Normandy*, and the Earldomes of *Anjou, Poitou, Touraine, and Main*; in regard whereof the King of *France* gives him three hundred thousand pounds (some say Crowns) of *Anjouin money*; and grants him to enjoy all *Guyen*, beyond the River *Garonne*, all the Countrey of *Xaintonge* to the River of *Charente*, the Countrey of *Limousin* and *Quercie*, for him and his successors, doing their homage to the Crown of *France*, as Duke of *Aquitan*.

And now was the King of *France* made arbitrer of the difference between King *Henry* and his Barons, who gives sentence against the Barons concerning the Provisions at *Oxford*; but of their side concerning King *John*s Charter: by which nice distinction, though he did but leave the matter as he found it: (for those Provisions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded upon that Charter) yet did his sentence draw many away from the party of the Barons, amongst whom was *Henry* son to the Earl of *Cornwall*, *Roger Clifford*, *Roger de Leisbourn*, *Haimo Lestrange*, and many others. But the Earl of *Leicester*, notwithstanding this revolt, recovers the Town and Castle of *Gloucester*. The Earl of *Leicester*, contrains the Citizens to pay a thousand pounds for their redemption; goes with an Army to *Worcester*, possesseth him of the Castle, thence to *Shrewsbury*, and so comes about to the Isle of *Ely*, subdues the same, and grows exceeding powerfull. The King doubting his approach to *London*, falls to treat of a Peace, and a Peace is concluded upon these conditions; that all the Castles of the King should be delivered to the keeping of the Barons; the Provisions of *Oxford* should inviolably be kept; all strangers by a certain time should avoid the Kingdome, except onely such as were licensed to stay. The Prince had fortified *Windsor* Castle; but *Leicester* coming to besiege it, he treats with him for Peace, which is refused, and the Castle is rendred to him.

The King at this time, to win time convokes another Parliament at *London*, wherein he won many Lords to take his part; as namely the Prince *Richard* his brother, *Henry* his son, *William Valence*, with the rest of his brothers lately returned, and with them the King marcheth to *Oxford*, whither divers Lords of *Scotland* repair to him, as *John Commin*, *John Balioll*, Lords of *Galloway*, *Robert Bruce*, and others: also many Barons of the North; *Clifford*, *Piercy*, *Basset*, and others. From *Oxford* he goes to *Northampton*, where he took prisoners, *Simon Montfort* the younger, with fourteen other principall men; thence to *Nottingham*, making spoils of such possessions as pertained to the Barons in those parts. And now the Kings side grows strong; which the Earls of *Leicester* and *Gloucester* seeing they write to the King, protesting their Loyalty, and how they opposed onely such as were enemies to him and the Kingdome, and had belied them. The King returns answer that themselves were the perturbers of him and his State, and fought his and the Kingdomes destruction; and therefore defies them. The Prince likewise, and the Earl of *Cornwall* send Letters of defiance to them. Yet the Barons continue to mediate a Peace, and send the Bishops of *London* and *Worcester*, with offer of thirty thousand Marks to the King, for the dammages done in these wars, so as the Statutes of *Oxford* may be observed; but this offer is not accepted. The Earl seeing no remedy, but it must be put to a day, takes his time to be earlier ready then was expected, and supplies his want of strength with policie, placing on the one side of a hill near *Lewis*, where the battel was fought, certain Ensigns without men, in such sort, as they might seem afar off to be squadrons of succours to second those he brought to the encounter, whom he all caused to wear white Crosses, both for their own notice, and the signification of his cause, which he would have to be thought for Justice. Here the fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earl of *Cornwall*, and his son *Henry*, the Earls of *Arundell* and *Hereford*, with all the Scottish Lords, are taken prisoners, and of the English, five and twenty Barons and Bannerets: onely the Earl *Warren*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Lusignan*, the Kings brother, with *Hugh Bigod* Earl Marshall, save themselves by flight: five thousand (some say twenty thousand) others are slain in the battel. A year and a half is *Simon Montfort* in possession of his prisoners, carrying the King about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten all the strongest Castles in the Kingdome.

And now comes *Erinnys* and sets debate between the two great Earls of *Leicester* and *Gloucester*, about their Dividend: *Leicester* is taxed to do more for his own particular then the common good; his sons also presuming upon his greatnesse, grew insolent, whereupon *Gloucester* discontented forsakes that side, and betakes him to the Prince; who lately escaping out of the Castle of *Hereford*, had gotten a power about him to try the fortune of another battell. The revolt of this Earl being great in itself, was greater by its example; for now many others revolted likewise; and the Earl of *Leicester*, seeing the improvement of the Prince's Forces, who was now with his Army about *Worcester*, though he saw his own disadvantage, yet imbattels in a Plain near *Evesham* to encounter him; and noting the manner of the approach of the Princes Army, said to those about him; These men come bravely on, they learn it not of themselves, but of me,

A me, and seeing himself likely to be better, and overlaid with multitude, he advised his friends *Hugh Spencer, Ralph Basset*, and others to shift for themselves; which when they refused to do, then (saith he) let us commend our souls to God, for our bodies are theirs: and so undertaking the main weight of the battell, perished under it, and with him are slain his son *Henry*, eleven Barons, with many thousands of common Souldiers. And thus ended *Montford* the great Earl of *Leicester*, highly honoured in his life, and more highly should have been after his death, if the people might have had their will, who talkt of miracles enough to make him a Saint. Montford the great Earl of Leicester slain. Miracles reported of him being dead.

And now is King *Henry* by this victory of his son, at liberty; who together repair to *Winchester*, where a Parliament is convoked, and all who adhered to the Earl *Montford*, are disinherited, and their estates conferred on others, at the Kings pleasure; the *Londoners* also have their Liberties taken from them. But though the death of *Montford* gave a great wound to the party of the Barons, yet it was not mortall, at least not mortall presently, for there remained reliques that kept it alive a good while after. *Simon* and *Guy de Montford* sons of the Earl of *Leicester*, and other of the Barons, take and defend the Isle of *Ely*: the Castle of *Killingworth* held out half a year, till their victuals failed; and then yielded upon conditions to have their lives and goods saved, and many others there were resolute and desperate persons, strongly knit and fastned together, though now shortly upon dissolving. For after the Parliament at *Westminster*, the King with an Army going against them, and being at *Northampton*, *Simon* and *Guy de Montford* submit themselves to him: but when the Earl of *Glocester* opposed the restoring them to their estates, they were faine to flie the Kingdome, and make their fortunes in other Countries, as indeed they did; the younger in *Italie*, the elder in *France*, where they were propagators of two great Families. Montfords sons flie the Kingdome.

C Their Mother was banisht shortly after the battell of *Evesham*, a Lady of eminent note, as being the Daughter and Sister of a King, and yet of more note for her patient bearing of adversity, or rather for her making a benefit of adversity; for by this means she betook her self to the veil of Piety, and dyed a Nun at *Montargis* in *France*. About this time a great slaughter was made of *Jews* in *London*: and the quarrel was, because a Jew would have forced a Christian to give him more then two pence a week for the use of twenty shillings; two pence only being then allowed by the Law.

Three years after this, the disinherited Barons held out, till at length, conditions of render are propounded; but here the Councell are divided in opinion: *Mortimer* and others staid in the possessions of the disinherited, are against restauration, alledging it were injustice to take from them the rewards of their service. *Glocester* and twelve ordained to deal for the peace of the State, are earnest for restauration; alledging, it were hard measure to grant them their lives, and not their livelihoods: but not prevailing, in great discontentment *Glocester* retires from Court, sends Messengers to warn the King to remove strangers from his counsell; and observe the Provisions at *Oxford*, as he promised at *Evesham*: otherwise that he should not marvell if himself did what he thought fit. Hereupon *John de Warren*, Earl of *Surrey*, and *William de Valentia*, are sent to the Earl of *Glocester*: who though they could not perswade him to submit to the King; yet thus much they got of him under his hand and Seal, that he would never bear arms against the King, or his son *Edward*, but only defend himself and pursue *Roger Mortimer*, and his other enemies. Montfords sons flie the Kingdome.

E And now a Parliament is convoked at *Bury*, wherein many demands are made by the King and the Legat, and all for money from the Clergy; but all denied, that nothing but denials are done in this Parliament. After this, the Legat imployes Solicitors to perswade the disinherited Lords which held the Isle of *Ely*, to return to the faith and unity of the Church, and to the Peace of the King, according to the form propounded at *Coventry*: to which the Lords make answer, that they never opposed the unity of the Church, but the avarice of Church-men that were put in authority; and that they never opposed the King, but for the good of the Kingdome: and then required, that the Provisions at *Oxford* might be observed, and pledges be given them for their security. Hereupon the year after, the King prepares a mighty Army, and Prince *Edward* with Bridges entring the Isle of *Ely*, shuts them up so, that he constrains them at last to yield; also the Earl of *Glocester* coming to *London* with an Army, is by the Legate once again perswaded to render himself to the King, and upon forfeiture of twelve thousand Marks if ever he should raise any commotion again, is reconciled. Now remains *Lewellin* and the *Welsh* to be chastened for aiding of *Simon Mountford*; but the King going against them with an Army, they give him two and thirty pounds sterling, and so make their peace, and here was an end of the first wars between the Kings of *England*, and their Barons.

The next year after the Popes Legat *Ottobon* signs with the Croysado both the Kings sons, *Edward*, and *Edmund*, the Earl of *Glocester*, and divers Noble men induced to undertake the Holy war by the solicitation of him and the King of *France*; who notwithstanding his former calamities endured in that action, would once again adventure it: and because Prince *Edward* wanted means to furnish himself out, the King of *France* lends him thirty thousand Marks upon a mortgage of *Gascoyn*. And now whilest this preparation is in hand, King *Henry* labours to establish the Peace of the Kingdome, and to reform the excesses which the war had bred; and the same year assembles his last Parliament at *Marleborough*, where the Statutes of that Title were enacted. Near two years it seems to have been after the undertaking the Crosse before Prince *Edward* set forth, but then taking his wife *Eleanor* with him, though young with child, he set forward, and in the voyage, when many of his pepole seemed desirous to leave him, and return home, he is said to have stricken his breast, and sworn; that if all his followers forsook him,

The Kings sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*, undertake the Holy War.

The Statutes of *Marleborough*. Prince *Edward* resolution to the Holy War.

him, he would yet enter *Acon*, or *Prolemais*; though but onely with his horse-keeper *Ferras*. Shortly after *Richard* King of the *Romans* died, and the year following King *Henry*.

Of his Taxations and wayes for raising of money.

K. Henry gets money by begging.

NEVER son was more like a Father in any thing, then King *Henry* was like his father King *John*, in this point, for raising of Money; for he trode directly in all his steps, if he added not something of his own. King *John* had great Subsidies granted him by Parliament, for any great action he undertook, so had King *Henry*. King *John* resumed the Lands aliened from the Crown, so did King *Henry*. King *John* made benefit of the vacancy of Bishopricks, and Abbeyes, so did King *Henry*. King *John* took great Fines of many for crimes not proved, but onely supposed, so did King *Henry*. King *John* made benefit of a new Seal so did King *Henry*. King *John* extorted great sums from the *Jews*, so did King *Henry*. And one way more he had to get money, which perhaps his father had not, and that was by begging, as he told the Abbot of *Borough*. It was more Alms to give money to him, then to the Begger that went from door to door. Indeed Taxations in this Kings Reign may be reckoned amongst his annual Revenues, for scarce any year passed without a Parliament, and seldome any Parliament without a Tax; or if any sometimes without, it was then cause of the greater Taxation some other way; as when he took of the *Londoners* for having aided the Barons twenty thousand Marks.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

Wardships of Barons given to K. Henry.

Aldermen of London when first ordained.

Suit of Court when first brought up.

IN this Kings Reign were ratified and confirmed the two great Charters of *Magna Charta* and *Charta de Foresta*; also in his time were enacted the Statutes called of *Merton*, of *Oxford*, and of *Marleborough*. Also stealing of cartell, which before was but pecuniary, he made capitall: and the first that suffered for the same, was one of *Dunstable*, who having stolen twelve Oxen from the Inhabitants of *Colne*, and being pursued to *Redburn*, was by a Bayliff of *Saint Albons*, according to the Kings Proclamation, condemned and beheaded. And it may seem strange, that in these times so much blood should be shed in the field, and none upon the Scaffold; for till the twenty sixth year of this King, that one *William Maris*, the son of *Geoffrey Maris*, a Noble man of *Ireland*, being condemned for Piracy and Treason, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered; there is no example of that kind of punishment to be found in our Histories. Particularly in this Kings Reign was made that Statute, by which the Ward and marriage of the Heirs of Barons within age is given to the King. Also in this Kings Reign the Pleas of the Crown were pleaded in the Tower of *London*. All Wears in the Thames are in this Kings time ordained to be pluckt up and destroyed. Also the Citizens of *London* are allowed by Charter, to passe Toll-free through all *England*; and to have free Warren about *London*; also to have and use a common Seal. Also it was ordained, that no Sheriff of *London* should continue in his Office longer then one year, which they did before for many. In the five and twentieth year of this King, were Aldermen first chosen within the City of *London*, which then had the rule of the City, and of the Wards of the same, and were then yearly changed, as now the Sheriffs are. It was in this Kings time allowed to the City of *London* to present their Mayor to the Barons of the Exchequer to be sworn: which before was to be presented to the King, wheresoever he were. In his time the clause *Non obstante* (brought in first by the Pope) was taken up by the King in his grants and writings. Also in this Kings time, *William* Bishop of *Salisbury*, first caused that custome to be received for a Law, whereby the Tenants of every Lordship are bound to ow their suit to the Lords Court, of whom they hold their Tenements. Also in the 32. year of this Kings Reign, the Wharf of *London* called *Queen Hithe*, was let to farm to the Citizens for fifty pounds the year, which is since grown scarce worth fifteen. In this Kings time a Proclamation was set forth, that all such as might dispend fifteen pound in Land, should receive the Order of Knight-hood; and those that would not or could not, should pay their Fines.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

Ottobone the Popes Legat in fear at Oxford.

Affairs of the Church for matter of Doctrine, were never more quiet then in this Kings Reign; for now all Heresies accounted of the time, especially the *Albigenses* were in a manner suppressed by the Arms of the King of *France*, not without the vote of the King of *England*, who forbore to make war upon him in tendernes to this service; but for matter of manners they were never more turbulent: for now Abbies were fleeced, Sanctuaries violated, Clergy-men outraged, Bishops themselves not spared; and all for greedinesse of money, or for revenge.

Ottobone, the Popes Legat here in *England*, lying at the Abbey at *Osney*, there happened a difference between his servants and the Scholars at *Oxford*; in which contention a brother of his was slain, and the Legat himself fain to flie into the Steeple for the safeguard of his life: whereupon

A whereupon afterward being gotten from thence by the Kings safe conduct, he thundered out curses against the Scholars, and interdicted the University, so as the Colledges grew desolate, and the Students were dispersed abroad into other places, for the space of half a year: till the Monk of *Oseney*, and the Regent Masters of *Oxford* were faine to go barefoot and bare-head through *London*, as far as *Durham* house, where the Legate lay, and there upon their humble submission, and great mens intercession, they were absolved, and the University restored to its former estate. But of this *Ottobone*, it may not be impertinent to relate a little further; that going afterward out of *England*, he came by degrees, after the death of *Innocent* the fifth, to be Pope of *Rome* himself, by the name of *Adrian* the fifth, and died within fifty dayes after his election. Amongst the affairs of the Church, may be reckoned the Ulcers of any member of the Church: such an one as in this Kings time broke out most loathsome, for one procuring five wounds to be made in his body, in resemblance to the five wounds in Christs body, took upon him to be Christ, and had gotten a Woman, that took upon her to be the Virgin *Mary*; who continuing obstinate in their madnesse, were adjudged to be immured and shut up between two walls, to the end (no doubt) the contagion of their filthinesse should spread no further. In this Kings time a little novelty was brought in by Pope *Innocent* the fourth, who ordained that Cardinals should wear red Hats: something perhaps for mystery, and something for distinction. Also in this Kings time, the *Grecians* forsook their obedience to the Church of *Rome*, and the Archbishop of *Antioch* claims to have precedence and authority above the Bishop of *Rome*, because the Apostle *Peter* had first governed the Church of *Antioch* seven years together. Also in the fifth year of this King, the Friers Minors (as some write) came first into *England*, but it is not like they came so soon, for they were Gray Friers of the order of *St. Francis*: and *St. Francis* had no grace till Pope *Honorius* the third, which was some years after. And it is miraculous which is related here of *St. Francis*, that fifteen dayes before his death appeared wounds in his hands and feet, like to those which Christ received there upon the Crosse, and that as soon as he was dead, there remained not so much as any marks of the said wounds upon him.

He interdicted the University and how pacified.

One takes upon him to be Christ.

Cardinals red Hats when first ordained.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

D This King caused a chest of Gold to be made for laying up the Reliques of King *Edward* the Confessour, in the Church of *Westminster*. He builded a Church for converted *Jews* in *London*: also an Hospitall at *Oxford*, for Passengers, and diseased persons: also the new Conventuall Church and the Chappell of our Lady at *Westminster*, whereof he laid himself the first stone: also the house of *Black-Friers* in *Canterbury*. In his time, *Elo* Countesse of *Salisbury* founded the Abbey of *Lacock* in *Wiltshire*: *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, founded *Hailes*, a monastery of Cistercian Monks near to *Winchcomb* in *Glocestershire*: *Reginald de Moun*, Earl of *Somerset*, & Lord of *Durster*, founded the Abbey of *Newham* in *Devonshire*: *Ranulph* the third Earl of *Chester*, and Lord of little *Britain*, builded the Castles of *Chartley*, *Bestones*, and the Abbey of *Dela Cresse*: *Sir John Marsel* the Kings Chaplain, founded a house of Regular Chanons near to *Rumney* in *Kent*: *William de Albineto* Earl of *Arundel*, founded the Priory of *Wimondham*: *William Brunc*, a Citizen of *London*, and *Rosia* his wife, founded the Hospitall of our Lady without *Bishops-gate* in *London*: And *Isabel* Countesse of *Arundel* founded the Nunnery of *Marran*, near to *Linne*. Friers Minors first arrived at *Dover*, nine in number, whereof five remained at *Canterbury*, and there builded the first Covent of *Friers Minors*, that ever was in *England*: the other four came to *London*, who encreasing in number, had a place assigned them in *Saint Nicholas Shambles*; which *John Inyng*, Mercer of *London*, appropriated to the use of the said Friers, and became himself a Lay brother. Also in this Kings time the new work of *Saint Pauls* Church in *London* was begun. If it were piety in the *Jew*, who falling into a Privie upon a Saturday, would not be taken out that day, because it was the *Jews* Sabbath: it was as much piety in the Earl of *Glocester*, that would not suffer him to be taken out the next day, because it was the Christian Sabbath; and when the third day was come, he was taken out dead; whose piety was the greater? A strange accident upon an act of piety, is related in this Kings time; which if true, is a Miracle; if not true, is yet a Legend, and not unworthy to be read: that in a time of dearth, one man in a certain Parish, who allowed poore people to relieve themselves with taking corn upon his ground, had at Harvest a plentifull crop; where others that denied them had their corn all blasted, and nothing worth. In this Kings time also, *Hugh Balsamus* Bishop of *Ely* founded *Saint Peters* Colledge in *Cambridge*. *Hubert de Burgh* Earl of *Kent*, was buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers in *London*, to which Church he gave his Palace at *Westminster*, which afterward the Archbishop of *York* bought, and made it his Inne; since commonly called *Tork-place*, now *White-Hall*.

Friers Minors when first in England.

A Jew falling into a Privy would not be taken out on the Sabbath day.

Charity rewarded from heaven.

S. Peters Colledge in Cambridge by whom founded

White-Hall to whom it anciently belonged

Casualties happening in his time.

A T one time there fell no Raine in *England*, from the first of *March* to the Assumption of our Lady; and at another time there fell so much Raine, that *Holland*

The first Elephants now brought into England.

and *Holdernes* in *Lincolnshire* were overflowed and drowned. In the 17. year of his reign, were seen, A
5; Suns at one time together; after which followed so great a dearth, that people were constrained to eat horie-flesh, and barks of Trees: and in *London* twenty thousand were starved for want of food. Also in his time the Church of *Saint Mildred* in *Canterbury*, and a great part of the City was burnt. Also the Town of *Newcastle upon Tyne* was burnt, Bridge and all. And though it may seem no fit place to tell it, yet here or no where it must be told; that in this Kings time there was sent by the King of *France*, the first Elephant that ever was seen in *England*. In this Kings time, *Matthew Paris* relates of a maid in *Leicestershire*, that being exactly watched, was found in seven years together, neither to eat nor drink, but only that on Sundays she received the Communion: and yet continued fat and in good liking: which if it be true, we may well believe that in the Resurrection our life may be maintained without meat or drink. Also in this Kings time, there was found a plentiful Mine of Tinne in *Germany*, which before this time was never known to be any where found but only in *Cornwall*; which much abated the price of Tinne in *England*. In his time also the Sea by the space of four or five daies, flowed not up to her usuall height, which was never known to happen at any time before. Also in his time a child was born in *Kent*, that at two years old cured all diseases. Also in his 56. year a Lamb was yeaned at *Greenwich* beside *London*, that had two perfect bodies and but one head. Also in his time a child was born in the Isle of *Wight*, who at 18 years old, was scarce growne to be three foot high; and therefore brought to the Queen, she carried him about with her as a Monster of Nature.

Of his Wife and Children.

Edmund Crouch-back the first ancestor of the house of Lancaster.

HE married *Eleanor*, the second of the five daughters of *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, who lived his wife thirty seven years, his widow nineteen, dyed a Nun at *Aimsbury*, and was buried in her Monastery. By her he had six sons and three daughters: of his sons, the four youngest dyed young, and were buried, three of them at *Westminster*, and the fourth in the New Temple by *Fleetsfrete*. His eldest son *Edward*, surnamed *Longshanks*, of his tall and slender body, succeeded him in the Kingdom. His second son *Edmund*, surnamed *Crouch-back*, of bowing in his back, (as some say) but more likely of wearing the sign of the Crosse, (anciently called a *Crouch*) upon his back, which was usually worn of such as had vowed voyages to *Hierusalem*, as he had done. He was invested titular King of *Sicilie* and *Apulia*, and created Earl of *Lancaster*; on whose person originally the great contention of *Lancaster* and *York* was founded. He had two wives, the first was *Avelin* daughter and heir of *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, by whom he left no issue. The second was *Queen Blanch*, daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*, (brother of *Saint Lewis* King of *France*) widow of *Henry* of *Champaigne* King of *Navarre*: by her he had issue three sons and one daughter. His eldest son *Thomas*, who after his father was Earl of *Lancaster*, and having married *Alice* daughter and heir of *Henry* *Lacie* Earl of *Lincoln*, was beheaded at *Pomfret* without issue. His second son *Henry* Lord of *Monmouth*, who after his brothers death was Earl of *Lancaster*, and father of *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*: his third son *John*, who dyed unmarried. His daughter *Mary* married to *Henry* Lord *Piercie*, mother of *Henry* the first Earl of *Northumberland*. This *Edmund* dyed at *Bay* in *Gascogne*, in the year 1296. when he had lived fifty years, whose body half a year after his death was brought over into *England* and entombed at *Westminster*. Of King *Henries* three daughters, the eldest *Margaret* was married to *Alexander* the 3. King of *Scotland*, by whom she had issue, two sons, *Alexander* and *David*, who dyed both before their father, without issue; and one daughter *Margaret* Queen of *Norway*, wife of King *Erick*, and mother of *Margaret* the heir of *Scotland* and *Norway*, that died unmarried. The second daughter of King *Henry* was *Beatrice*, born at *Burdeaux*, married to *John* the first Duke of *Brittain*, and had issue by him, *Arthur* Duke of *Brittain*, *John* Earl of *Richmont*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* married to *Philip* son of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*; *Eleanor* a Nun at *Aimsbury*, and *Mary* married to *Guy* Earl of *S. Paul*, she deceased in *Brittain*, and was buried at *London* in the Quire of the Gray Fryers within *Newgate*. The third daughter of King *Henry*, named *Katherine*, dyed young, and lyes buried at *Westminster*, in the space between the Chappels of King *Edward* and *Saint Benet*.

Of His Personage and Conditions.

HE was of stature but mean, yet of a well compacted body, and very strong: one of his eyes hanging down, and almost covering the black of his eye: For his inward endowments, it may be said, he was wiser for a man, then for a Prince: for he knew better how to govern his life then his Subjects. He was rather Pious then Devout, as taking more pleasure in hearing Masses then Sermons, as he said to the King of *France*, He had rather see his friend once, then hear from him often. His mind seemed not to stand firm upon its Basis, for every sudden accident put him into passion. He was neither constant in his love, nor in his hate; for he never had so great

A a Favorite whom he cast not into disgrace, nor so great an Enemy whom he received not into favour. An example of both which qualities was seen in his carriage towards *Hubert de Burgh*, who was for a time his greatest Favorite, yet cast out afterward in miserable disgrace, and then no man held in greater hatred, yet received afterward into grace again. And it is memorable to hear with what crimes this *Hubert* was charged at his arraignment, and specially one: That to diswade a great Lady from marriage with the King; he had said, the King was a squint-eyed Fool, and a kind of Leper, deceitfull, perjured, more faint-hearted then a Woman, and utterly unfit for any Ladies companie. For which, and other crimes laid to his charge in the Kings Bench, where the King himself was present; he was adjudged to have his Lands confiscate, and to be deprived of his Title of Earl; yet after all this was restored to his estate again, and suffered to live in quiet. He was more desirous of money, then of honour, for else he would never have sold his Right to the two great Dukedoms of *Normandy* and *Anjou* to the King of *France* for a sum of money. Yet he was more desirous of honour, then of quietnesse, for else he would never have contended so long with his Barons about their Charter of Libertie, which was upon the matter but a point of honour. His most eminent vertue, and that which made him the more eminent, as being rare in Princes, was his continencie; for there is nothing read, either of any base children he had, or of any Concubine he kept.

A strange affront to a King.

Of his Death and Buriall.

C Though he had lived a troublesome life, yet he died a quiet death; for he had settled Peace in his Kingdome, and in his conscience, for being at *Saints Edmunds-Bury*, and finding himself not well at ease, he made the more hast to *London*; where calling before him his Lords, and specially *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Glocester*; he exhorted them to be true and faithfull to his son Prince *Edward*, who was at that time far from home, and therefore had the more need of their care, which consisted chiefly in their agreement one with another. And then his sicknesse increasing, he yielded up his soul to God, on the sixteenth day of *November*, in the year 1272. when he had lived threescore and five years, reigned six and fifty, and was buried at *Westminster*, which he had newly builded.

Of men of note in his time.

OF Martiall men famous in his time there were many, but three specially who obscured the rest: the first was *William Marshall*, Earl of *Pembroke*, memorable for the great care he had of King *Henry* in his minority, and more memorable for the little care that *Destinie* had of his posterity; for leaving his five sons behind him, they all lived to be Earls successively, yet all died without issue: So as the great Name and numerous Family of the *Marshalls* came wholly to be extinct in that Generation: and this happened (if we may believe *Matthew Paris*) by reason of a curse of an *Irish* Bishop, from whom he had taken two Mannors belonging to his Bishoprick, and neither he, nor all his sons, upon any intreaties would be gotten to restore them. The second was *Richard de Clare* Earl of *Glocester*, who in a Battel against *Baldwyn de Gifnes*, a valiant *Fleming*, employed by King *Henry*, himself alone encountered twelve of his enemies, and having his horse slain under him, he pitcht one of them by the leg out of the saddle, and leapt into it himself, and continued the fight without giving ground, till his Army came to rescue him. An Act, that may seem fitter to be placed among the Fictions of Knights Errant, then in a true Narration. The third was *Simon Montford*, a man of so audacious a Spirit, that he gave King *Henry* the lie to his face, and that in presence of all his Lords, and of whom it seems, the King stood in no small fear: for passing one time upon the *Thames*, and suddenly taken with a terrible storm of Thunder and Lightning, he commanded to be set on shore at the next stairs, which happened to be at *Durham* House, where *Montford* then lay, who coming down to meet the King, and perceiving him somewhat frighted with the Thunder, said unto him, Your Majesty need not fear the Thunder, the danger is now past: No *Montford* (said the King) I fear not the Thunder so much, as I do thee. Of men famous for sanctitie of life, there were likewise many in his time, but three more eminent then the rest, *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Thomas* Arch-Deacon of *Hereford*, all three either Canonized, or at least thought worthy to be Canonized for Saints. To these may be added *Robert Gros-head* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who translated the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, out of Greek into Latine; which through envie of the Jews, never came to the knowledge of Saint *Hierome*, wherein are many Prophecies of our Saviour Christ. Of men famous for Learning, there were likewise many in his time; of whom some left Works behind them for Testimonies of their knowledge in divers kinds, as *Alexander Hales*, a Friar minor, who wrote many Treatises

The numerous Family of the Marshalls suddenly extinct.

The notable valour and activity of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester.

The audacious spirit of Simon Montford

Braffton wrote
a book of the
Law.

titles in Divinity; *Ralph Coggeshall*, who wrote the Appendix to the Chronicle of *Ralph Niger*, *Randolph Glawille*, the Earl of Chester, the third and last of that name, who compiled a book of the *Laws of England*; *Henry Braffton*, who wrote the book commonly called by his name, *de consuetudinibus Anglicanis*: and besides these, *Hugh Kirkstead*, *Richard of Ely*, *Peter Hamham*, *John Gyles*, and *Nicholas Fernham*, excellent Physicians; *Richard* (named *Theologus*), and *Robert Bacon*, two notable Divines; *Stephen Langton*, *Richard Fishers*, *Simon Steyer*, *John of Kent*, *William Shirwood*, *Michael Blampain*, *John Gadar*, *Vauxant of Coventry*, *Alberrick Vaux*, *Richard Wich*, *John Basing*, *Roger Waltham*, *William Svingham*, and others.

The Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,
William Hardel was Maior.
John Travers, *Andrew Newland*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Robert Serl was Maior.
Thomas Bokerell, *Ralph Holyland*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Robert Serl continued Maior.
Benet Seinturer, *William Blundivers*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Robert Serl continued Maior.
John Wayls, or *Veil Josue le Spicer*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Robert Serl continued Maior.
Richard Wimbaldon, *John Wail* or *Veil*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Robert Serl continued Maior.
Richard Renger, *John Veil*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Robert Serl continued Maior.
Richard Joyner, *Thomas Lambert* Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Richard Renger was Maior.
William Joyner, *Thomas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Richard Renger continued Maior.
John Travers, *Andrew Bokerell*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Richard Renger continued Maior.
John Travers, *Andrew Bokerell*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Richard Renger continued Maior.
Roger Duke, *Martin Fitz-Williams*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Roger Duke was Mayor.
Stephen Bokerell, *Henry Cocham*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Maior.
Stephen Bokerell, *Henry Cocham*, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Maior.
William Winchester, *Robert Fitz-John*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Maior.
Richard VValter, *John de VVethorn*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Andrew Bokerell was Maior.
Michael of S.Helen, *VValter de Enfield*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Andrew Bokerell continued Maior.
Henry de Edmonton, *Gerard Bat*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Andrew Bokerell continued Maior.
Simon Fitz-Mary, *Roger Blane*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Andrew Bokerell continued Maior.
Ralph Ashwy, *John Norman* Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Andrew Bokerell continued Maior.
Gerard Bat, *Richard* or *Robert Hardel*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty first year,
Andrew Bokerell continued Maior.
Henry Cobham, *Jordan Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty second year,
Andrew Bokerell continued Maior.
John Tolofon, *Gervais the Cordwainer*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty third year,
Richard Renger was Maior.
John Codras, *John Whilball*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty fourth year,
VVilliam Joyner was Maior.
Reymond Bongy, *Ralph Ashwy*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty fifth year,
Gerard Bat was Maior.
John Gisfons, *Michael Tony*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty sixth year,
Reymond Bongy was Maior.
Thomas Dureson, *John Foyl*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty seventh year,
Reymond Bongy continued Maior.
John Fitz-John, *Ralph Ashwy*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty eighth year,
Ralph Ashwy was Maior.
Hugh Blunt, *Adam Basing*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty ninth year,
Michael Tony was Maior.

Ralph Foster, Nicholas Bay, Sheriffs.

In his Thirtieth year,

John Gisors was Maior.

Robert Cornhill, Adam of Bewley, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty first year,

John Gisors continued Maior.

Simon Fitz-Marys, Laurence Frowick, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty second year,

Peter Fitz-Alwin was Maior.

John Vois, Nicholas Bay, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty third year,

Michael Tony was Maior.

Nicholas Fitz-Jesue, Geoffrey Wimblesler, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty fourth year,

Roger Fitz-Roger was Maior.

Richard Hardel, John Tolason, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,

John Gisors, was Maior.

Humphrey Bay, William Fitz-Richard, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty sixth year,

Adam Basing, was Maior.

Lawrence Frowick, Nicholas Bay, Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year,

John Tolason, was Maior.

William Durham, Thomas Wimburn, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty eighth year,

Richard Hardel, was Maior.

John Northampton, Richard Picard, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty ninth year,

Richard Hardel continued Maior.

Ralph Abwy, Robert of Limon, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,

Richard Hardel continued Maior.

Stephen Doe, Henry Walmond, Sheriffs.

In his Forty first year,

Richard Hardel continued Maior.

Michael Bokereh, John the Minor, Sheriffs.

In his Forty second year,

Richard Hardel continued Maior.

Richard Orwel, William Abwy, Sheriffs.

In his Forty third year,

Richard Hardel continued Maior.

Robert Cornhill, John Adrian, Sheriffs.

In his Forty fourth year,

John Gisors was Maior.

John Adrian, Robert Cornhill, Sheriffs.

In his Forty fifth year,

William Fitz-Richard was Maior.

Adam Basing, Henry Crenyng, Sheriffs.

In his Forty sixth year,

William Fitz-Richard continued Maior.

John Northampton, Richard Picard, Sheriffs.

In his Forty seventh year,

Thomas Fitz-Richard was Maior.

John Tailor, Richard Valbroke, Sheriffs.

In his Forty eighth year,

Thomas Fitz-Richard continued Maior.

Robert de Mountpiter, Osbert de Suffolk, Sheriffs.

Yet Fabian saith, that from this 48. year, to the end of his Reign, there were no Maiors of London, but onely Guardians of the City.

In his Forty ninth year,

Thomas Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Richard, was Maior.

Gregory Rochesley, Thomas de Dunsford, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,

Thomas Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Richard, continued

Maior.

Edward Blunt, Peter Anger, Sheriffs.

In his Fifty first year,

William Richards was Maior.

John Hinde, John Walraven, Sheriffs.

In his Fifty second year,

Alan de la Souche, was Maior.

John Adrian, Lucas de Batencourt, Sheriffs.

In his Fifty third year,

T. Wimburn; Custos, Sir Stephen Edward.

Walter Harney, William Duresme, Sheriffs.

In his Fifty fourth year,

Hugh Fitz-Ottomer, Custos of London, and Constable of the Tower.

Thomas Basing, Robert Cornhill, Sheriffs.

To this time the Maior and Sheriffs had been chosen, but now the King grants the choice of them to the City it self.

In his Fifty fifth year,

John Adrian was Maior.

Walter Potter, Philip Tailor, Sheriffs.

In his Fifty sixth year,

John Adrian continued Maior.

Gregory Rochesley, Henry Walker, Sheriffs.

In his Fifty seventh year,

Sir Walter Harry was Maior.

Richard Harris, John de Wadley, Sheriffs.

THE
LIFE and REIGN
OF
KING EDWARD
THE FIRST,
Surnamed of WINCHESTER.

Of his coming to the Crown.



Prince Edward poisoned in the Holy Land.

The poison sucked out of his wounds by his wife.

He takes the death of his father more heavily than of his son. Prince Edward his valour.

Reciprocall courtesies between K. Edward and the K. of France.

As soon as King Henry was dead and buried, the great Lords of the Land caused his eldest son Prince Edward to be proclaimed King: and assembling at the New Temple in London, they there took order for the quiet governing of the Kingdome till he should come home. For at this time he was absent in the Holy Land; and had been there above a year when his Father died. But we cannot bring him home without telling what he did, and what he suffered in all that time, and in his return; for at his first coming thither he rescued the Great City of Acon from being surrendered to the Souldan; after which out of Envy to his Valour, one Anzarin a desperate Saracen, who had often been employed to him from their Generall, being one time, upon preence of some secret message admitted alone into the chamber, with a poisoned Knife gave him three wounds in the body, two in the arm and one near the armpit, which were thought to be mortall, and had perhaps been mortall, if out of unspeakable love the Lady Eleanor his wife had not sucked out the poyson of his wounds with her mouth, and thereby effecting a cure, which otherwise had been incurable: and it is no wonder, that love should do wonders, which is it self a wonder. And now being disappointed of aids that were promised to be sent him, and leaving garisons in fit places for defence of the Countrey, he with his wife Eleanor takes his journey homewards, and first passing by Sicilie, was there most kindly received by Charles, King of that Island, where he first heard of his fathers death; which he took more heavily far, then he had taken the death of his young son Henry, whereof he had heard a little before; at which when King Charles marvelled, he answered that other sons might be had, but another father could never be had. From hence he passeth through Italie, where much honour is done him both by the Pope, and other Princes, and then descends into Burgogne, where by the Earl of Chalbois, a stout man at Arms, he is challenged at a Turnement, with a pretence to solemnize his presence, but with a purpose indeed to disgrace his person; and though Prince Edward in many respects might justly have refused it, yet the noblenesse of his mind would not suffer him to passe by any occasion of shewing his valour, and in this encounter he so foiled the Earl, as he made it appear, that Fame had been no lier in the Report it had made of him. And here a great part of his English Nobility met him, from whence he passed into France, where the King Philip his near Cousin (as being sisters sons) entertains him with great solemnity, and graceth his solemnity with so much courtesie, that it won Prince Edward voluntarily to do him homage for the Territories he held in France; and this voluntarinesse in Prince Edward won the King of France again to grant quietly unto him all the Lands in France that belonged to him, and so these two great Kings by reciprocall courtesie, effected that, which their Predecessours by force could

A could never effect. From hence he passeth through *Aquitain*, and having there taken homage of his Subjects, and set all things in order, he set sail and arrived in *England*, above a year after the death of his father : a long time for plotting of mischief, and a strong temptation to plotters of mischief, if all the causes of quietnesse had not concurred : but such was the worthinesse of Prince *Edward*, person, and such the undoubtednesse of his Title, that as there could be no Competitor, so there would be no oppugner. And indeed the divine Providence had shewed a special care over him from his Childhood: whereof one or two Examples will not be unfit to be related. One was this, that being yet but young, and playing one time at *Chesse* with a friend, in the midst of his games, without any apparent occasion, he removed himself from the place where he sate, when suddenly there fell from the roof of the house a great stone, which if he had stayed in the place but never so little had beaten out his brains. Another example of the divine Providence over him, (though it happened afterwards) was this : Having prepared a great Fleet of ships for a journey into *Flanders*, and being at *Winchelsey*, where the ships were to meet ; it happened that riding about the Harbour, his horse frighted with the noise of a Windmill, which the wind drove violently about, skrambled up and leapt over the Mud wall of the town, so as neither the King nor the horse was to be seen, but every one judged the King could not choose but be thrown and killed : yet such was the divine Providence over him, that the horse lighted upon his feet, and the King keeping the saddle returned safe. And under the wing of this divine Providence, he had now passed all the dangers of his tedious journey ; and being safely come to *London*, was on the fifteenth day of *August* in the year 1274. Crowned at *Westminster*, together with his wife Queen *Eleanor*, by *Robert Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury* ; where five hundred great horses were let loose, for any that could take them ; and yet the outward solemnity was not more great then the inward joy was universall, every man rejoycing, not only at a change, which of it self is pleasing, but at a change so much for the better, as this was like to be.

K. Edw. protected by the Divine hand from his childhood.

He is Crowned.

Of his Acts done after he was Crowned.

THE Acts of this King after he was Crowned, may not unfitly be divided into five parts : His Acts with his Temporall Lords ; His Acts with his Clergy ; Then with *Wales* ; Then his Acts with *Scotland* ; And lastly with *France*. And first, concerning his Lords, he gave them good contentment in the beginning of his reign by enlarging their liberties, and granting them easier Laws, for which purpose he called a Parliament, wherein were made the Statutes called of *Westminster* the first ; so as he had no difference with them, till toward the end of his reign, as shall be shewed hereafter. In the next place, concerning his Acts with his Clergie, he began with them betimes ; for having lived to be of good age, three or four and thirty years old, in his fathers reign, he observed in that time, that their power was too predominant, and therefore thought fit to clip their wings, at least to keep them from farther growing ; which he did by these means : First, in the 6. year of his reign, he deprived many chief Monasteries of their Liberties, and took from the Abbot and Covent of *Westminster*, the Return of Writs granted them by the Charter of his father, King *Henry* the third. The next year after he got to be enacted the Statute of Mortmain, to hinder the increase of their Temporall possessions. In the second Statute of *Westminster*, he defaultked the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiasticall Judges ; and growing more upon them, he required the moiety of all their goods, as well Temporall as Spirituall, for one year. Then calls he a Parliament of his Nobles at *Salisbury*, without admission of any Church-men in it : And it is worth the noting, that *Marchian* his Treasurer, acquainting him that in Churches and Religious houses, there was much treasure to be had if it might be taken ; he made no scruple of it, but caused it to be taken and brought into his Exchequer. But finding his Prelates not wel contented with it, to please them again, he bids them ask something of him, wherein they should see how much he favoured them. And they asking of him to repeal the Statute of Mortmain, that had been made so much to their hinderance ; He answered, that this was a statute made by the whole body of the Realm, and therefore was not in his power, who was but one Member of that Body, to undo that which all the Members together had done ; and perhaps whatsoever they should have asked else, he would have had an answer to redeem his offer. And thus much concerning his Clergy.

He gives contentment to his Lords.

He abates the power of the Clergie.

The Statute of Mortmain enacted.

A Parliament without any Clergie men admitted.

The King cannot undo a Statute.

In the next place are the *Welsh*, who had themselves begun with the King : For their Prince *Leolyn* being summoned to attend at his Coronation, refused to come ; and afterwards at more leisure, being required to come and do his homage, he stood upon terms of safe conduct, pretending doubt to be used, as his father *Gryffin* had been who upon hard usage in the Tower, seeking to make escape, fell from the wals and brake his neck. But indeed it was alwaies a custome with this Nation, at every change of Princes in *England*, to try conclusions, hoping at one time or other to have a day of it, and to change their yoke of bondage into liberty ; for which they were never better provided then now ; (especially which is the greatest matter in war) having a valiant Prince to be their Leader. But there happened an accident which took off their edge at at this time : For the Lady *Eleanor*, a daughter of the late Earl *Simon Montford*, whom Prince *Leolyn* extremely loved, being passing out of *France* into *Wales*, was by the way upon the Sea taken by *English* ships, and brought to King *Edward*, and for the love of her, Prince *Leolyn* was content to submit himself to any conditions ; which besides subjection of his Stare, was to pay

Prince Leolyn delays to doe his homage.

For the love of his Lady he submits himself.

pay

pay fifty thousand pounds sterling, & a thousand pounds *per annum* during his life; & upon these conditions the marriage with his beloved Lady was granted him, and was solemnized here in *England*, whereat the King and Queen were themselves present. Three years *Leolyn* continued loyal and within the bounds of obedience, in which time *David*, one of his brothers, staying here in *England*, and found by the King to be of a stirring spirit, was much honoured by him; knighted and married to a rich widow, daughter of the Earl of *Derby*, and had given him by the King besides, the Castle of *Denbigh*, with a thousand pounds *per annum*: though, (as it was afterwards found) he lived here but in the nature of a spie: For when Prince *Leolyns* Lady was afterwards dead, and that he (contrary to his Conditions formerly made) brake out into rebellion, then goes his brother *David* to him, notwithstanding all these favours of the King: and they together enter the *English* Borders, surprize the Castles of *Flint* and *Rutland*, with the person of the Lord *Clifford*, sent Justiciar into those parts: and in a great Battell overthrew the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Surrey*, with the slaughter of Sir *William Lindsey*, Sir *Richard Tanny*, and many others. King *Edward* advertised of this Revolt and overthrow, being then at the *Wyres* in *Wiltshire*, prepares an Army to repress it; but before his setting forth, goes privately to his mother Queen *Eleanor*, lying at the Nunnerie of *Aimsbury*, with whom whilst he conferred, there was one brought into the chamber, who feigned himself (being blind) to have received his sight at the Tomb of *K. Henry* the third: As soon as the King saw the man, he remembered he had seen him before, & knew him to be a most notorious lying Villain, and wished his mother in no case to believe him: but his mother, who much rejoiced to hear of this Miracle, for the glory of her husband, finding her son unwilling that his father should be a Saint, grew suddenly into such a rage against him, that she commanded him to avoid her chamber: which the King obeys; and going forth, meets with a Clergy man, to whom he tells the story of this Impostor, and merrily said; He knew the justice of his father to be such, that he would rather pull out the eyes (being whole) of such a wicked wretch, then restore them to their sight. In this mean time the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had gone of himself to Prince *Leolyn*, and had laboured to bring him and his brother *David* to a re-submission, but could effect nothing; for besides other reasons that swayed Prince *Leolyn*, the conceit of a Prophecie of *Merlin*, that he should shortly be Crowned with the Diadem of *Brute*, so overweighed him, that he had no ear for peace, and shortly after no head: for after the Earl of *Pembroke* had taken *Bere* Castle, which was the seat of Prince *Leolyn*, he was himself slain in battell; and his head cut off by a common souldier, was sent to King *Edw.* D who caused the same to be crowned with Ivie, and to be set upon the Tower of *London*; And this was the end of *Leolyn*, the last of the *Welsh* Princes, betrayed (as some write) by the men of *Buelth*. Not long after his Brother *David* also is taken in *Wales*, and judged in *England* to an ignominious death: first drawn at a horse tail about the City of *Shrewsbury*, then beheaded, the trunk of his body divided, his heart and bowels burnt, his head sent to accompany his brothers on the Tower of *London*, his four quarters to four Cities, *Bristol*, *Northampton*, *Tork*, and *Winchester*. A manifold execution, and the first shewed in that kind to this Kingdome, in the person of the son of a Prince, or any other Noble man that we read of in our History. It is perhaps something which some here observe, that at the sealing of this conquest, King *Edward* lost his eldest son *Alphonso*, of the age of 12. years, (a Prince of great hope) and had only left to succeed him, his son *Edward* lately born at *Carnarvan*, and the first of the *English*, intituled Prince of *Wales*, but no Prince worthy of either *Wales* or *England*. And thus came *Wales* to be united to the Crown of *England*, in the eleventh year of this *K. Edwards* reign; who thereupon established the government thereof, according to the Laws of *England*, as may be seen by the Statute of *Rutland*, in the twelfth year of his reign.

The work of *Wales* being settled, King *Edward* passeth over into *France*, upon notice of the death of *Philip* the Hardie, to renew and confirm such conditions as his state in those parts required, with the new King *Phi.* the fourth, intituled the Fair; to whom he doth homage for *Aquitain*, having before quitted his claim to *Normandie* forever. After three years and a half being away in *France*, he returns into *England*, and now in the next place comes the business with *Scotland*, and will hold him work at times as long as he lives, and his son after him. *Alexander* the third, King of *Scots*, as he was running his horse, fell horse and man to the ground, and brake his neck, and dyed immediately; by reason whereof (he leaving no issue, but only a daughter of his daughter *Margaret*, who died also soon after, there fell out presently great contentions about succession. Ten Competitors pretend title, namely, *Erick* King of *Norway*, *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Anandale*, *John de Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, *John de Hastings* Lord of *Abergeveny*, *John Cummin* Lord of *Badenaw*, *Patrick de Dunbarre* Earl of *March*, *John de Vescie*, *Nicholas de Sules*, *William de Rosse*; all or most of them descending from *David* Earl of *Huntington*, younger brother to *William* King of *Scots*, and great Uncle to the late King *Alexander*. This title King *Edward* takes upon him to decide, pretending a Right of Superiority from his Ancestors over that kingdom: and proving it by authority of old Chronicles, as *Marianus Scotus*, *William of Malmesbury*, *Roger de Hoveden*, *Henry of Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*, and others; which though the *Scottish* Lords who swayed the *Interregnum* opposed, yet are they constrained for avoiding of further inconveniences, to make him Arbitrator thereof, and the ten Competitors bound to stand to his award. Two are especially found, between whom the right lay, *John de Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*, the one descending from an elder daughter, the other from a son of a younger daughter of *Alan*, who had married the eldest

She dead be
fals into rebel-
lion.

An Impost or
discovered by
the King.

Prince Leolyn
deceiv'd by a
Prophecie,
stands out, and
is slain.

The last of the
Welsh Princes.
His brother
Davids igno-
minious death.

Wales united
to the Crown
of England.

Ten Compet-
itors for the
Crown of
Scotland.

K. Edward ar-
bitrator in whom
the Right.

Ather kingdom learned in the Laws, are elected to debate the same at *Berwick*; all the best Civilians in the Universities of *France* are solicited to give their opinions; all which brought forth rather doubts then resolutions: whereupon King *Edward* the better to sway this businesse by his presence, takes a journey Northward; where being come as far as *Lincolnshire*, he lost his beloved wife *Queen Eleanor*, and thereupon going back to see her Funerall performed at *Westminster*: that done he returns presently to his Scottish businesse. And now six years were passed since the death of King *Alexander*, and yet nothing concluded in this controvercie; whereupon King *Edward* deals privately with *Bruce*, (who had the weaker title, but the more friends) and promiseth him if he would swear fealty and homage to the Crown of *England*, he would invoid him in that of *Scotland*. But *Bruce* answers, he was not so desirous to rule, as thereby to infringe the liberties of his Countrey. Whereupon with the like offer he sets upon *Baliol*, who having better right, but lesse love of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdome then honour, accepts the condition; and thereupon is Crowned King at *Scots*, hath fealty done him by all the chiefe Nobility, except *Bruce*: comes to *New-Castle* upon *Tine*, where King *Edward* then lay; and there with many of his Nobles, swears fealty, and doth homage to him, as his Sovereign Lord. Which act done to secure him, overthrew him; for being little beloved before, hereby he became lesse: such as stood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility (tender of the preservation of their Countries liberties) took stomack against him; and not only for this, but shortly after for his injustice in the case of the Earl of *Fife*, one of the six Governors in the time of the *Interregnum*, who had been slain by the Family of *Albany*; the brother of which Earl prosecuting Law before King *Baliol*, in his high Court of Parliament, and having no right done him (King *Baliol* giving judgment of the side of the *Albany*) he appeals to the Court of the King of *England*: whereupon *Baliol* is summoned, appears, sits with King *Edward* in his Parliament, till his cause was to be heard, and then is cited by an Officer to arise, and to stand in the place appointed for pleading; then he craves to answer by a Procurator, but is denied, and thereupon descends to the ordinary place, and defends his cause himself; which indignity (as he took it) so incenseth him, that he returns home with a brest full charged with indignation; meditates revenge, renues the ancient league with *France*, confirms it with marriage of his son *Edward* to a daughter of *Charles*, brother to King *Philip*, glad in regard of late offences taken against the King of *England*, to embrace the same; which done, *Baliol* defies King *Edward*, renounceth his Allegiance, as unlawfully done, being not in his power, without consent of the State to do any such act. Hereupon brake out the mortall diffension between the two Nations, which consumed more Christian bloud, and continued longer then ever quarrell we read of did, between any two people in the world. For he that began it, could not end it, but it lasted almost three hundred years; and was never thoroughly abolished, till the late blessed union wrought by him, in whom Wisdom and Vertue, Right and Power concurred all to make it firm. And now the fatal Chair in which the Kings of *Scotland* used to be Inaugurated, seems to recover its secret operation according to ancient Prophecie: that whithersoever that Chair should be removed the kingdome should be removed with it; and this Chair King *Edward* caused to be brought out of *Scotland* to *Westminster*, and to be placed there amongst the Monuments, where it still continues. But now King *Baliol* being summoned to appear at *New-Castle*, and refusing to come; King *Edward* enters *Scotland* with an Army consisting of four thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot, besides five hundred Horse and one thousand Foot of the Bishop of *Durham*. *Berwick* is first won, with the slaughter of fifteen thousand *Scots*; (our Writers say more) and after that, the Castles of *Dunbar*, *Roxborough*, *Edinburgh*, *Stirling*, and *Saint Johns Town*: and King *Baliol* sues for Peace, submits himself, takes again his Oath of Fealty to King *Edward*, as his Sovereign Lord: which done, a Parliament for *Scotland* is held at *Berwick*, where the Nobility likewise did homage to him, confirming the same by their Charter, under their hand and seals; only *William Dowglass* refuseth, content rather to endure the misery of a Prison, then yeeld to the subjection of the K. of *England*. But King *Baliol*, notwithstanding his submission, is sent prisoner into *England* after his four years Reign in *Scotland*; and King *Edward* returns home, leaving *John Warren* Earl of *Suffex* and *Surrey*, Warden of all *Scotland*; *Hugh Cressingham* Treasurer, and *Ormesley* Chief Justice, with Commission to take in his name, the Homages and Fealties of all such as held lands of that Crown. But this continued not long, for King *Edward* being absent in *France*, the *Scots* fell upon the Officers he had left; slew Sir *Hugh Cressingham* with six thousand *English*, recovered many Castles, and regained the town of *Berwick*, and all by the animation and conduct of one *William Wallace*, a poor private Gentleman, (though Nobly descended) who seeing his Countrey without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men, either in captivity, or subjection) assembles certain of as poor and desperate estate as himself, and leads them to attempt upon whatsoever advantages they could find to annoy the *English*; and having therein good success it so increased both his courage, and company, that he afterward came to be the generall Guardian of the whole Kingdom; and was in possibility to have absolutely redeemed his Country, from the subjection of the *English*, if the speedy coming of King *Edward* had not prevented him. For now King *Edward*, to bring his work near together, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to *York*, where they continued above six years; and thither he calls a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knights service, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptory day: where there assembled three thousand men at Arms on barded horses, and four thousand other armed men on horse without bards, with an Army of Foot inveterate, consisting most of

King *Edward* Queen *Eleanor* dieth.

King *Edward* arbitrateth the Crown to *Baliol*.

Baliol is incensed against K. *Edward*; and why.

The fatal Chair of *Scotland* brought into *England*.

Baliol sues for peace, and submits himself.

Baliol is sent Prisoner into *England*.

William Wallace opposeth K. *Edward*.

The Exchequer and Courts of Justice removed to *York*.

- Welsh and Irish*, besides five hundred men at Arms out of *Gascain*; and with this power he makes his second expedition into *Scotland*: the Earls of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, with the Earl of *Lincoln*, led his Vaunt-guard at the famous battell of *Punkirk*, where the shouts of the *Scots* were so great, that King *Edwards* horse frighted withall, cast him off, and brake two of his ribs; which notwithstanding he gets up again, goes on, and gets victory; wherein are reported to be slain two hundred knights, and forty thousand foot of the *Scots*: but *William Wallays*, with some few, escaped to make more work. And here again that kingdom might seem as if quite overthrown. Most of the estates of the Earls and Barons of *Scotland* (with their titles) that had stood out, were bettowed on the *English*; and a Parliament is called at *Saint Andrews*, where all the great men of that kingdom, except only *Wallays*, once again swear Fealty to the King of *England*. It seems swearing of Fealty was with the *Scots* but a ceremonie without substance, as good as nothing: for this is now the third time they swore Fealty to King *Edward*; yet all did not serve to make them loyall: for not long after, comes the news of a new King made and Crowned in *Scotland*, *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, son to that *Bruce* who was competitor with *Baliol*, escaping out of *England*, becomes Head to the confused Body of that kingdom: and perceiving *John Cummin* (who had a title himself) to goe about to bewray his intentions to King *Edward*, he finding him at *Dunfrays* sets upon him and murders him in the Church. Whereof as soon as King *Edward* heard, he sends *Amyer de Valence* Earl of *Pembrooke*, and the Lords *Clifford* and *Piercie*, with a strong power to revenge the death of *Cummin*, and to relieve his Wardens of *Scotland*; who upon *Bruces* revolt, were all retired to *Berwick*, whilst himself prepares an Army to follow: wherein to be the more nobly attended, he caused Proclamation to be made, that whosoever ought by their Paternall succession, or otherwise had means of their own for service, should repair to *Westminster*, at the feast of *Pentecost*, to receive the Order of Knighthood, and a Military ornament out of the Kings Wardrobe. Hereupon three hundred young Gentlemen, all the sons of Earls, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the day appointed, and receive Purples, Silks, Sindons, Scarffs, wrought with gold or silver, according to every mans estate. For which train (because the Kings house was too little, by reason a part of it had been lately burnt) room is made, and the Apple trees cut down at the new Temple for their Tents, where they attire themselves, and keep their Vigile. The Prince (whom the King then likewise knighted, and gave him the Dutchie of *Aquitain*) kept his Vigile with his Train at *Westminster*, and the next day he girded these three hundred Knights with the Military Belt, in such manner as he himself had received it. Which done, the King before them all makes a Vow, that alive or dead, he would revenge the death of *Cummin* upon *Bruce*, and the perjured *Scots*: Adjuring his son and all the Nobles about him, upon their Fealty, that if he dyed in this journey, they should carry his corps with them about *Scotland*, and not suffer it to be interred, till they had vanquished the Usurper; and absolutely brought the Countrey to subjection. The Prince and all the Nobles promise upon their faith, to employ their utmost power to performe his Vow: and herewithall he sets forth with a potent Army, presently after Whitsuntide, and makes his last expedition into *Scotland*, in the four and thirtieth year of his reign; at which time he made above two hundred Knights.
- The Earl of *Pembrooke*, with that power sent before, and aid of the *Scottish* party, had before the King arrived in *Scotland*, defeated in a battell near *S. Johns Town*, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his Person, but he escaping in disguise, and sheltering himself in obscure places, was reserved for greater battels, his brothers *Nigell*, *Bruce*, and shortly after, *Thomas* and *Alexander* a Priest, were taken and Executed after the manner of Traytors at *Berwick*. And now King *Edward* had done for fighting, all was now for Executions: and indeed his desire of revenge made him inexorable, and vow to spare none of what degree soever. The Earl of *Athol*, (though of Royall blood, and allyed unto him) was sent to *London*, where all his preferment was, to have a higher pair of Gallies then the rest. The wife of *Robert Bruce*, taken by the Lord *Rosse*, is sent prisoner to *London* and his daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*. The Countesse of *Bouham*, who had been aiding at *Bruces* Coronation, is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out upon the wall of *Berwick* for people to gaze on. But though *Bruces* party was thus dejected, and himself at this time appeared not, but shifted privily from place to place in a distressed manner, (attended only with two Noble Gentlemen, who never forsook him in his misfortunes, the Earl of *Lenox* and *Gilbert Hay*) yet gives he not over, but gathers new Forces, with which he suddenly assails the Earl of *Pembrooke* at unawares, gives him a great defeat, and within three dayes after chaseth the Earl of *Glocesters*, into the Castle of *Aire*, where he besieged him, till by the Kings forces he was driven again to his former retire. Whereupon King *Edward*, who had spent his Winter at *Carlisle*, in *July* following, with a fresh Army enters *Scotland* himself, but falling into a Dysentery or Bloudy flux at *Borough* upon the Sands he ended his life: and thus ended King *Edwards* troubles with *Scotland*, but not *Englands* troubles, which are more to come then yet are past.
- But though this businesse of *Scotland* never left King *Edward* till his dying day, yet it had been upon him but as an ague, sometimes putting him into violent heats, and sometimes leaving him in a quiet temper with such a vicissitude, that when he had quietnesse with *Scotland*, he had troubles with *France*, whereof the time is now to speak. It is well known that *Philip* King of *France*, father of the present King, and *Edward* King of *England* were near Cousins, the sons of two sisters, and it hath been shewed before at King *Edwards* returning from the Holy Land, and passing through *France*, what extraordinary kindnesse and mutuall courtesie, passed between them, that

The battell of
Punkirk.

The Scots
swear Fealty
to K. *Edward*.

Robert Bruce attempts
for the
Crown.

The order of
Knighthood
imposed upon
men of means.

King *Edward*
makes a jour-
ney into *Scot-*
land to revenge
the death of
Cummin.

He defeats the
Scottish Army.

The Countesse
of *Bouham* is
nomini-ous pu-
nishment.

King *Edward*
enters *Scotland*;
and there
dieth.

A that one would have thought neither they nor theirs should ever have fallen out: and perhaps never should, if they had been private men, and not Princes. For private men may easily continue friends, as having none to consider but themselves; but Princes hardly, as having besides themselves, their Subjects to consider. And though they be the Subjects oftentimes that make the quarrel, yet they are the Princes that must maintain it. And besides, between Princes there can never be but jealousies, and where jealousies are, every trifle makes a quarrel. And this was the case of these two kings, certain of the king of *England's* subjects had upon the Coast of *Normandie* done spoil to some subjects of the King of *France*: and this difference of the Subjects made a difference between the Kings, while each of them standing in defence of his own, fall out themselves; and for a beginning the King of *France* summons King *Edward*, as owing homage to that Crown, to appear and answer B it in his Court. And King *Edward*, though voluntarily before he had done it in a way of courtesy, yet being now imperiously commanded, he refuseth it; upon which refusal, all his Territories in *France* are condemned to be forfeited, and an Army is presently sent to seize upon the same, led by *Charles de Valois*, and *Arnold de Neel*, Constable of *France*. *Burdeaux*, with divers other Pieces of importance, are taken from him. And now King *Edward* well knowing what danger it was to have so powerfull an adversari; endeavours first to strengthen himself with friends abroad, seeks to match his son *Edward* with a daughter of *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*: Marries one of his daughters to the Duke of *Barre*, who pretended title to *Champaign*; another to *John* Duke of *Brabant*: sends fifteen thousand pound sterling to *Adolph de Nassau* the Emperour, for recovery of certain Lands which he claimed in *France*; and with all these and C many other confining Princes, he sets upon the King of *France*, and then sends over his brother *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, the Earls of *Lincolne* and *Richmonds*, with eight and twenty Banners, seven hundred men at Arms, and a Navie of three hundred and sixty sail. In the mean time the King of *France* having had intelligence of the intended alliance between King *Edward*, and *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, sends for the said Earl (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his wife and daughter, to make merry with him at *Paris*: where in stead of feasting him, he makes him Prisoner, and takes from him his daughter, in regard he fought (being his Vassall) to match her with his capitall Enemy. The Earl excuseth it the best he could; and by much mediation is released himself, but not his daughter; whereupon the Earl, presuming upon aid from King *Edward*, takes Arms and defies the King of *France*; who thereupon comes with an Army of sixty D thousand against him: which caused King *Edward* with all speed possibly to relieve this distressed Earl; and to leaving the Government of the kingdom in his absence, to the Bishop of *London*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lords *Raynold Gray*, and *Clifford*; with five hundred sail, and eighteen thousand men at Arms he passeth over into *France*, but finding the Country distracted into many popular factions, and the King of *France* dayly getting upon them, (having already won *Lille*, *Doway*, *Courtray*, *Burges*, and *Dam*) and the Emperour *Adolph* failing to send him aid as he had promised, he fell into great perplexity: and having stayed the whole Winter at *Gann*, where by reason of many outrages committed by his souldiers, he was so affronted by the *Gantois*, that his own person was not without some danger; he thereupon in the Spring of the year, concludes a Truce with the King of *France* for two years, takes his sister *Margaret* to Wife, and E affianceth the daughter of the same King to his son Prince *Edward*, and so returns into *England*: And these were all the troubles King *Edward* had with *France*.

The Kings of England and France fall out; and why.

A truce is concluded between them. King *Edward* marries his son *Edward* to a daughter of the K. of *France*.

But now must something be spoken of troubles with his Lords at home, whereof this was the beginning: In a parliament at *Salisbury*, the five and twentieth year of his reign, the King requires certain of his Lords to go to the warres in *Gascoin*; which needed a present supply, by reason of the death of his brother *Edmund*: but the Lords make all their excuses, every man for himself: Whereupon the King in great rage threatned, they should either go, or he would give their Lands to others that should: Upon this *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, High Constable, and *Roger Bigod* Earl of *Norfolk*, Marshall of *England*, make their Declaration, that if the King went in person they would attend him; otherwise not. Which answer offended the King more, F and being urged again, the Earl Marshall protested he would willingly go thither with the King, and march before him in the Vanguard, as by right of inheritance he ought to doe; But the King told him plainly, he should goe with any other, though he went not himself in person, I am not so bound (saith the Earl) neither will I take that Journey without you. The King swore by God, Sir Earl, you shall either goe or hang. And I swear by the same oath (saith the Earl) I will neither goe nor hang; and so without leave departs. Shortly after the two Earls assemble many Noble men, and other their friends, to the number of thirty Bannerets, so as they were fifteen hundred men at Arms, well appointed, and stood upon their Guard. The King like a prudent Prince, who knew his times, prosecutes them not as then, but lets the matter passe, in regard that his business called him presently into *Flanders*; when being ready to take ship, G the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons send him a Roll of the grievances of his Subjects, concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and other Impositions, with his seeking to force their services by unlawfull courses: to which the King sends answer, that he could not alter any thing without the advice of his Counsell, who where not now about him, and therefore required them, seeing they would not attend him in his journey, (which they absolutely refused to doe, though he went in Person, unless he had gone into *France* or *Scotland*) that they would yet do nothing in his absence prejudiciall to the peace of the kingdome; and that at his return, he would set all things in good order to their contentment. But having taken his journey, and being held

The Lords refuse to attend the King, unless he went himself in person.

King *Edward* condescends to the Lords demands.

King Edward confirms the two Charters,

Is released of his grant by the Pope,

held there with long delays, to his exceeding great expenses, he was forced to send over for more supply of Treasure; and thereupon gave order for a Parliament to be held at York by the Prince, and (because of his Minority, for he was then but sixteen years of age) by such as had the managing of the kingdome in his absence: and to the end he would not be disappointed of aid, he condescends to all such Articles as were demanded, concerning the great Charter: Promising from thenceforth never to charge his subjects otherwise then by their consents in Parliament, and to pardon all such as had denied to attend him in this Journey. After this, in the 27. year of his reign, a Parliament is called at Westminster, wherein the promised confirmation of the two Charters, and the allowance of what disafforestation had heretofore been made, was earnestly urged, and in the end with much adoe granted; and that with omission of the clause, *Salvo jure Corona nostra*: which the King laboured to have inserted, but the people by no means would agree, and the perambulation of the Forrests of England was then committed to three Bishops, three Earls, and three Barons. But some years after in the two and thirtieth year of his reign, King Edward begun to shew his resentment of the stubborn behaviour of his Nobles towards him in times past; and so terrifies Roger Bigod, Earl Marshall, that to recover his favour the Earl made him his Heir, in possession; (though he had a Brother of his own living) reserving onely to himself a thousand pounds *per annum* during his life. Of others likewise he got great sums for the same offence; The Earl of Hereford escaped his fine by death. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, (whom he accused to have disturbed his Peace in his absence) he sends over to Pope Clement the fifth, (who succeeded Boniface) that he might be crusht with a double power. This Pope was Native of Burdeaux, and to the more regardfull of the Kings desire; and the King the more confident of his favour; wick to entertaine and increase, King Edward sends him a whole furnish of all vessels for his Chamber of cleane gold: which great gift so wrought with the Pope, that he untied the King from the Covenant made with his subjects concerning their Charters, confirmed unto them by his last three Acts of Parliament, and absolved him from his Oath: A safe time for Princes, when they might tye themselves to any Obligation to their subjects, and afterward for a bribe to the Pope be untied again.

His Taxations, and waies for raising of money.

IF Taxations may suffer degrees of comparison, it may not unfirly be said of these three last Kings, that King John was in the Positive; his son Henry the third in the Comparative; and this King Edward in the Superlative. For not only he far exceeded the two former, but he hath left a spell to all that come after, for ever coming near him: but then under the name of Taxations, we must include the wayes he took for raising of profit. But first in the way of Parliament. In the first year of his reign, was granted him a tenth of the Clergy for two years, besides a fifteenth of them and the Temporalty. In his fifth year, a twentieth of their goods towards the Welsh warres. In his seventh, the old money was called in, and new coined, in regard it had been much defaced by the Jews; for which 297. were at one time executed in London: and this brought in profit of no small value. In his eleventh year, he had a thirtieth of the Temporalty, and a twentieth of the Clergy, for his wars in Wales. In the thirteenth, Escuage, forty shillings of every Knights Fee. In his fourteenth year he had a thousand Marks of certain Merchants fined for false weights. In his nineteenth, the eleventh part of all movables of the Clergy, and shortly after a tenth for six years. In his twentieth, William Marchian then Lord Treasurer of England, perceiving great riches to be in Churches and religious houses, put it so into the Kings head, that they were all brought into the Kings Treasury. In the eight year of his reign, he sent out his Writ *Quo Warranto*, to examine by what title men held their lands; which brought him in much money, till John Earl of Warren, being called to shew his title, drew out an old rusty sword, and then said, he held his land by that, and by that would hold it to death; which though it made the King desist from his project, yet he obtained at that time a fifteenth part of the Clergy his seventeenth year he fined all his Judges for corruption: Sir Ralph Higham Chief Justice of the higher Bench, in seven thousand Marks: Sir John Loveton Justice of the lower Bench, in three thousand Marks: Sir William Brompton, in six thousand Marks: Sir Salomon Rochesters, in four thousand Marks: Sir Richard Boyland, in four thousand: Sir Walter Hopton in two thousand: Sir William Saham, in three thousand: Robert Lisbury Master of the Rols, in one thousand: Roger Leicester, in one thousand: Henry Bray Escheator, and Judge for the Jews, in one thousand: but Sir Adam Stratton chief Baron of the Exchequer, in four and thirty thousand: and Thomas Wayland (found the greatest Delinquent, and of the greatest substance) had all his goods and whole estate confiscated to the King; and himself banished out of the Kingdom. In his eighteenth year he banished the Jews; of whom there was at that time above fifteen thousand in the kingdom, who had all their goods confiscate, leaving them only means to bear their charges in going away.

John Earl of Warren opposeth the Writ of Quo Warranto.

The Judges fined for corruption.

He Banisheth the Jews.

In his four and twentieth year, he commanded a Subsidy to be levied upon all sarplers of Wooll going out of England: as likewise with Fels and Hides. In his five and twentieth year, he calls a Parliament at S. Edmundsbury, where is granted the eight part of the goods of good Towns, and of other people the twelfth. As for the Clergy they desire to be excused, and refuse to contribute, in regard of their many late payments; as in the two and twentieth year of his reign, they payed

A payed the moiety of their goods : and in his three and twentieth year, he seised into his hands, all Priories aliens and their goods : besides he had a loane of the Clergy, which amounted to an hundred thousand pounds : but notwithstanding upon this refusal of the Clergy, the King puts all Clergy men out of his protection, whereby they were to have no Justice in any of his Courts; (a strain of State beyond any of his Predecessours) which so amazed them, that in the end, the Archbishop of York with the Bishops of Durham, Ely, Salisbury, and Lincoln, yeelded to lay down in their Churches, the fifth part of all their goods towards the maintenance of the Kings wars; whereby they appeased his wrath, and were received into grace. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, by whose animation the rest stood out, had all his goods seised on, and all the Monasteries within his Diocese, taken into the Kings hands, and Wardens appointed to minister onely necessities to the Monks, converting the rest to the Kings use : at length by much suit, the Abbots and Priests giving the fourth part of their goods, redeem themselves, and the Kings favour. In the six and twentieth year of his reign, at a Parliament holden at York, is granted him the ninth penny of the goods of the Temporality, the tenth penny of the Clergy of the Diocese of Canterbury, and of York the fifth : and in this year also he raised the Imposition upon every sack of Wooll, from a Noble to forty shillings. In his two and thirtieth year he sends out a new Writ of inquisition, called *Trailbaston*, for intruders on other mens lands; who to oppresse the right owner, would make over their land to great men; for Batterers hired to beat men, for Breakers of Peace, for Ravishers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, false Assisours and other such Malefactors: which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and such Fines taken, that it brought in exceeding much treasure to the King. As likewise did another Commission at the same time, sent forth to examine the behaviour of Officers, and Ministers of Justice; wherein many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly for it. At this time also he called his Lords to account for their stubbornnesse some years before, in denying to attend him into Flanders; which brought him in profit answerable to their greatnesse that were called. After all this, in his four and thirtieth year, there is granted him the thirtieth penny of both Clergy and Laity, and the twentieth of all Merchants towards his journey into Scotland. And this may be sufficient to shew his taxations to have been in the superlative degree. And yet besides these, he had no small benefit by silver Mines, which in his time were found in Devonshire.

The Clergy is put out of the Kings protection.

The writ of Trailbaston sent forth.

Silver mines found in Devonshire.

D Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN the first year of his reign were made the Statutes called of *Westminster* the first. In his twelfth year were made the Statutes of *Alton Burnell*. In the fourteenth year of his reign were made Statutes called *Addisamenta Glocestria*. He ordained such men to be Sheriffs in every County, as were of the same County where they were to be Sheriffs. He ordained that *Jews* should wear a Cognisance upon their upper garment whereby to be known, and restrained their excessive taking of Usury. In his time was also Enacted the Statute of Mortmain. In his twelfth year, in the Quindenes of Saint Michael, the Justices Itinerants began to goe their generall Circuits. In his time new pieces of money were coyned, and half pence of silver came to be in use, which were before of base metall. In his time, three men for rescuing a prisoner, arrested by an Officer, had their right hands cut off by the wrists. In his time all *Jews* were banished out of the Realm. This King by proclamation prohibited the burning of Sea-coal in London and the Suburbs, for avoiding the noisome smoak. In his eleventh year the Bakers of London were first drawn upon Hurdles, by Henry Wallays Maior, and Corn was then first sold by weight. In this Kings time the title of Baron which had before been promiscuous to men of estate, was first confined to such only as by the King were called to have voice in Parliament. In the sixth year of this King, Michaelmas term was kept at Sherburne. In his twelfth he divided Wales into Shires, and ordained Sheriffs there as are used in England.

The Justices Itinerants, when first begun.
Sea-coale prohibited to be burned in London.
The title of Barons confined to such only as were called by writ to the Parliament.

F Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN his time, at a Synod holden at Reading by the Archbishop of Canterbury, it was ordained according to the Constitutions of the Generall Council, that no Ecclesiasticall person should have more then one Benefice, to which belonged the Cure of souls: and that every person promoted to any Ecclesiasticall living, should take the order of Priesthood within one year after. In his time lived and dyed Pope Boniface the 8. of whom his Predecessour had prophesied: *Ascendes ut Vulpes, regnabis ut Leo, morietur ut Canis*.

No Ecclesiasticall person to have more then one Benefice.

G Workes of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THis King founded the Abbey of the Vale Royall in Cheshire, of the Cisteaux Order. In this time John Balliol King of Scots, builded Baylioll Colledge in Oxford: also in his time, Walter Merton Lord Chancellour of England, and after Bishop of Rochester, founded Merton Colledge in Oxford, who was drowned passing over the water at Rochester being at that time no builded.

Balliol Colledge in Oxford founded by whom

Merton Col-
ledge in Ox-
ford by whom
builded.

The Stocks a
market for
fish and flesh;
when made.

Bridge there, as now there is. In his time was finished the new work of the Church of *Westminster*, which had been three score and six years in building. In his time was laid the foundation of the *Black Friars* besides *Ludgate* by *Robert Kilmarbie* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and of *Baynards Castle*: also in his time, his second wife *Queen Margaret* began to build the Quire of the *Gray Friars* in *London*. In his time was begun to be made the great Conduit in *London*, standing against the Church called *Acres* in *Cheap*. In his time *Henry Walley*, Maior of *London*, caused the *Tom* upon *Cornhill*, to be a Prison for night-walkers: and also builded a house called the *Stocks*, for a Market of fish and flesh, in the midst of the City. In this Kings time, *Edmund* Earl of *Leycester*, the Kings brother, founded the *Minories*, a Nunnery without *Algate*. This King builded the Castle of *Flint* in *Wales*, and the Castle of *Beaumaris* in the Isle of *Anglesey*, and the Castle of *Carnarvan* by *Snowdon*. Also in this Kings time, *John Peckham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a Colledge of Canons at *Vvingham* in *Kent*.

Casualties happening in his time.

A rot of sheep
five and twenty
years together,
and how
caused.

The price of
victuals at
this time or-
dained.

IN the second year of this Kings reign, there happened the greatest rot of sheep in *England* that ever was known, which continued five and twenty years; and came (as was thought) by one infected sheep of incredible greatnesse, brought out of *Spain* by a *French* Merchant into *Northumberland*. In the fifteenth year of this Kings reign, Wheat was sold for ten groats a quarter; where the next year after there was so great a dearth, that it was sold for eighteen pence the bushell. In the seventeenth year of his reign, there fell so much rain, that Wheat was raised from three pence the bushell, to sixteen pence; and so increased yearly, till at last it was sold for twenty shillings the Quarter. And this year the City of *Carlisle*, and the Abbey with all the houses belonging to the *Fryers* Minors: was consumed with fire. In his one and twentieth year, a great part of the town of *Cambridge*, with the Church of our Lady was also burnt. In the seven and twentieth year of his reign, his Palace at *Westminster*, and the Monastery adjoining, were consumed with fire. The Monastery of *Glocester* also was burnt to the ground. In this year also an Act of Common Counsell by consent of the King, was made concerning victuals; a fat cock to be sold for three half pence, two Pullets for three half pence, a fat Capon for two pence half penny, a Goose four pence, a Mallard three half pence, a Partridge three half pence, a Pheasant four pence, a Herron six pence, a Plover one penny, a Swan three Shillings, a Crane twelve pence, two Woodcocks three half pence, a fat Lambe from *Christmas* to *Shrovetide*, sixteen pence, and at the year after for four pence; and Wheat was this year so plentiful, that a quarter was sold for ten groats. In his sixteenth year it chanced in *Gascoine*, that as the King and Queen sat in their chamber, upon a bed talking together, a thunderbolt comming in at the window behinde them, passed betwixt them, and slew two of their Gentlemen, that stood before them.

Of his Wives and Children.

Monuments
ordered in me-
mory of Queen
Eleanor.

The new Vic-
count *Monta-
cute*, from
whence de-
scended.

HE had two Wives, his first was *Eleanor* daughter to *Ferdinand* the third King of *Spain*; and he was married to him at *Bures* in *Spain*: who having lived with him six and thirty years, in a journey with him towards *Scotland*, at *Herdeby* in *Lincolnshire* she dyed; in whose memory, and as monuments of her vertue, and his affection, King *Edward* caused Crosses with her Statue to be erected in all chief places; where her Corps in carrying to *Westminster*, rested: as at *Stamford*, *Dunstable*, *Saint Albons*, *Waltham*, *Cheapside*; and lastly, at the place called *Charing Crosse*: she was buried in *Westminster*, at the feet of King *Henry* the third, under a fair Marble Tombe, adorned with her Portraiture of Copper gilt. By this wife King *Edward* had four sons and nine daughters; his eldest son, *John*; his second, *Henry*; his third, *Alphonfus*; dyed all young in their Fathers time: his fourth son, *Edward*, called of *Carnarvan*, because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. Of his daughters, the eldest named *Eleanor*, was first married by Proxy to *Alphonfus*, King of *Arragon*; but he dying before the marriage solemnized, she was afterward married at *Bristow* to *Henry* Earl of *Bary* in *France*; by whom she had issue, sons and daughters. *Joan* the second daughter of King *Edward* and Queen *Eleanor*, born at *Acon* in the Holy Land, and thereof called *Joan de Acres*, was married to *Gilbert Clare* called the Red Earl of *Glocester* and *Hereford*; by whom she had issue, sons and daughters. She survived her husband, and was re-married to the Lord *Ralph Monthermer*, Father to *Margaret* the Mother of *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*; from whom the now Vicount *Montacute* is descended. *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Edward* & Queen *Eleanor*, was married to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, *Berenger* and *Alice*, their fourth and fifth daughters, dying young and unmarried. *Mary* their sixth daughter, at ten years of her age, was made a Nun in the Monastery of *Aimsbury* in *Wiltshire*, at the instance of Queen *Eleanor* her Grandmother, who lived there. *Elizabeth* their seventh daughter, was first married to *John* Earl of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Freezeland*; he dying within two years, she was afterward married to *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Lord of *Brecknok*, and High Constable of *England*, by whom she had issue, sons and daughters. *Beatrice* and *Blanch*, their eight and ninth daughters, died young and unmarried. King *Edward*s second wife was *Margaret*, eldest daughter

A of Philip King of France, called the Hardy, and sister to Philip called the Fair; at eighteen years old she was married to King Edward, being above threescore; yet at the unequal years she had issue by him, two sons and a daughter: their eldest son was born at a little Village at Yorkshire called Brotherton, and was thereof called Thomas of Brotherton: he was created Earl of Norfolk, and Earl Marshall of England, after Roger Bigod, who died without issue. Their second son Edmund, was born at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, and of the place was so called: he was created Earl of Kent, and married Margaret Daughter of John, and sister and sole Heir of Thomas Lord Wakes of Lydell in the County of Northampton; by whom he had issue two sons and one daughter: his sons Edmund and John died without issue; his daughter Joan for her beauty called the Fair maid of Kent, was married first to William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, and from him divorced, was remarryed to Sir Thomas Holland, in her Right Earl of Kent, and Father of Thomas and John Holland, Duke of Surrey, and Earl of Huntington: and lastly, she was the Wife of Edward of Woodstock, the Black Prince of Wales; and by him Mother of King Richard the second. This Earl Edmund was beheaded at Winchester, in the fourth year of King Edward his Nephew. Eleanor the daughter of King Edward by his second wife Margaret, died in her childhood.

Of his personage and conditions.

CH E was tall of stature, higher then ordinary men by head and shoulders, and thereof called Longbanke; of a swarthy complexion, strong of body, but lean; of a comely favour; his eyes in his anger, sparkling like fire; the hair of his head black and curled. Concerning his conditions, as he was in war peacefull; so in Peace he was warlike, delighting specially in that kinde of hunting, which is to kill Stagges or other wilde beasts with Spears. In continency of life, he was equall to his Father; in acts of valour, far beyond him. He had in him the two wisdomes, not often found in any, single; both together, seldom or never: An ability of judgement in himself, and a readinesse to hear the judgement of others. He seemed to be a great observer of opportunity (a great point of wisdom in any, in Princes greatest) and that he could bear an injury long, without seeking to revenge it; as appeared by his carriage toward the Earl Roger Bigod, whom when he saw his time, he called to account for an affront he had offered him divers years before. He was not easily provoked into passion, but once in passion, not easily appeased; as was seen by his dealing with the Scots; towards whom he shewed at first patience, and at last severity. If he be censured for his many Taxations, he may be justified by his well bestowing them; for never Prince laid out his money to more honour of himself, or good of his kingdome. His greatest unfortunateness was in his greatest blessing; for of four sons which he had by his Wife Queen Eleanor, three of them died in his own life time, who were worthy to have out-lived him; and the fourth out-lived him, who was worthy never to have been born.

King Edward called Longbanke; and why:

Of his Death and Buriall.

E IN his last expedition into Scotland, being at Carlisle, he fell sick; and lying in his death bed, he sent for his son Edward: to whom, besides many admonitions to piety; he commanded three things specially; that he should carry his bones about with him through Scotland till he had subdued it: that he should send his heart into the Holy Land, with seven score knights to that war, and the two and thirty thousand pounds, he had provided for that purpose; and that he should never recall Gaveston from banishment: and soon after of a dysentery or Bloudy-Flix he died at Borough upon the Sands, the seventh of July, in the year 1307. when he had reigned four and thirty years and seven months, lived threescore and eight years: Being dead his Corps was brought to Waltham Abbey, and there kept the space of sixteen weeks, and after on Simon and Judas day buried at Westminster.

Kings Edwards admonition to his son.

Men of note in his time.

OF Martiall men there were many, these especially: John Earl of Warren, who opposed the Kings Inquisition by Quo Warranto: and Roger Bigod, who gave the King an affront to his face. Of learned men also many, specially these; John Breton Bishop of Hereford, who compiled a book of the Laws of England, called le Breton: Thomas Spot a Chronographer: John Eversden a writer of Annals, and of this Kings reign: Gregory Cairngent a Monk of Gloucester, and a writer also of Annals. John Peckham a Franciscan Fryer made Archbishop of Canterbury, who writ many excellent works: John Reed an Historiographer: Thomas Bungey a Frier Minor, an excellent Mathematician: Roger Bacon a Franciscan Frier, an excellent Philosopher and Mathematician: Robert Kilwarby Archbishop of Canterbury, and after made a Cardinall: also Ralph Baldock Bishop of London, who writ a Chronicle of England in the Latine tongue: but above them all, though of anothe Country, Thomas Aquinas, born of a Noble Family, whose works are too famous to be spoken of; who going to the Councel holden at Lyons by Pope Gregory the tenth, died by the way.

Breton who made a Book of the Law.

Thomas Aquinas when he died.

Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,
Sir Walter Harvey was Maior.
John Horn, *Walter Potter*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Henry VValleys was Maior.
Nicolas VVincchester, *Henry Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Gregory Rokesley was Maior.
Lucas Battencourt, *Henry Fromicke*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Gregory Rokesley continued Maior.
John Horne, *Ralph Blunt*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Gregory Rokesley continued Maior.
Robert de Arars, *Ralph L. Fewre*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Gregory Rokesley continued Maior.
John Adrian, *Walter Langley*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Gregory Rokesley continued Maior.
Robert Basing, *VVilliam le Adeyres*, Sheriffs.

In his eight year,
Gregory Rokesley continued Maior.
Thomas Box, *Ralph Moore*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Gregory Rokesley continued Maior.
VVilliam Farendon, *Nicolas VVincchester*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Henry VValleys was Maior.
VVilliam le Meyre, *Richard Chigwel*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry VValleys continued Maior.
Ralph Blunt, *Hawkin Betwell*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry VValleys continued Maior.
Jordan Goodcheape, *Martin Box*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Gregory Rokesley was Maior.
Stephen Cornhill, *Robert Rokesley*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich was Maior.
VValter Blunt, *John VVade*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Maior.
Thomas Crosse, *Walter Hawteyne*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Maior.
VVilliam Hereford, *Thomas Stanes*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Maior.
VVilliam Betaine, *John of Gamberbury*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Maior.
Fulk of S. Edmund, *Salomon Langford*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Maior.
Thomas Romain, *VVilliam de Lyre*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Maior.
Ralph Blunt, *Hamond Box*, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Maior.
Elias Russell, *Henry Bole*, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Maior.
Robert Rokesley, *Martin Awebery*, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year,
Sir Ralph Sandwich continued Maior.
Henry Box, *Richard Gloucester*, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth year,
Sir John Briton was Maior.
John Dunsable, *Adam de Flalingbery*, Sheriffs.

In his five and twentieth year,
Sir John Briton continued Maior.
Thomas of Suffolk, *Adam of Fulham*, Sheriffs.

In his six and twentieth year,
Henry Walley was Maior.
Richard Refham, *Thomas Sely*, Sheriffs.

In his seven and twentieth year,
Elias Russell was Maior.
John a Armenters, *Henry Fingene*, Sheriffs.

In his eight and twentieth year,
Elias Russell continued Maior.
Lucas de Havering, *Richard Champnes*, Sheriffs.

In his nine and twentieth year,
Sir John Blunt was Maior.
Robert Callor, *Peter de Besenhe*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
Sir John Blunt continued Maior.
Hugh Pourte, *Simon Paris*, Sheriffs.

In his one and thirtieth year,
Sir John Blunt continued Maior.
VVilliam Combmartin, *John de Burford*.

In his two and thirtieth year,
Sir John Blunt continued Maior.
Roger Paris, *John de Lincoln*, Sheriffs.

In his three and thirtieth year,
Sir John Blunt continued Maior.
William Cawson, *Reginald Thunderley*, Sheriffs.

In his four and thirtieth year,
Sir John Blunt continued Maior.
Geoffrey at the Conduit, *Simon Billet*, Sheriffs.

THE
LIFE and REIGN
OF
KING EDWARD
THE SECOND.

Of his Acts before, and at his Coronation.

- D** Edward of Carnarvan, eldest son of King Edward the first, succeeded him in the Kingdome, and never did Prince come to a Crown with more applause of Nobility and people; and there was good cause for it: for he had been trained up in all good courses for Piety and Learning; he had seen the Government of his Father, from whose Example he could not but have learned many good Lessons; he had been initiated in the ways of State, having been left Governour of the Realm, and presiding in Parliament in his Fathers absence; and he was now three and twenty years old, a fit age for bearing the weight of a Scepter; and yet for all these advantages, there wanted not fears of him in the minds of many, who could not but remember, what pranks he had played not long before; how he had broken the Bishop of *Chesters* Park, and in most disorderly manner had killed his Deer, for which both himself had been committed to prison, and his friend *Pierce Gaveston* banished the Realm; and if he did such things being but Prince, what might not be feared of him coming to be King? For seldome doth advancement in honour alter men to the better; to the worse often, and commonly then when it is joyned with an authority that sets them above controullment, Neither yet was their fear more out of what they had seen, then out of what they saw; for where he should have endeavoured to accomplish the charge his Father had given him on his death-bed, he seemed to intend nothing lesse, nothing more then wholly to break it; for he presently called home *Pierce Gaveston* from banishment; and the two and thirty thousand pounds, which his Father had specially appointed for the Holy War; either all or the most of it he bestowed upon *Gaveston*: and for carrying his Fathers bones with him about *Scotland*; it had been well if he had suffered them quietly to be laid at rest in *England*; for after the Corps had been kept above ground, sixteen weeks in the Abbey of *Waltham*, and that the Bishop of *Chester*, *Walter Langton*, the then Lord Treasurer, and Executor of his Fathers Will, was busie in preparing for his Funerall: he sent the Constable of the Tower to arrest him, and imprison him at *Wallingford*, seizing upon all his Goods, and giving them to *Gaveston*; and all for old grudges. And (that which seemed a high strain of incongruity) before he had seen performed his Fathers Funerals, which was not till the 27. of *October* following, he entered into a Treaty of his own Nuptials; for going over to *Bolaigne*, on the two and twentieth of *January*, he married *Isabel*, the Daughter of *Philip*, the Fair, King of *France*: which marriage was honoured with the presence of foure Kings, the King of *France* himself, the King of *Navarre* his sonne, the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *Sicilie*: and three Queens besides the Bride, *Mary* Queen of *France*, *Margaret* the Dowager Queen of *England*, and the Queen of *Navarre*; and yet did *Gaveston* exceed them all in braverie. This was observed by the Lords of *England*; and thereupon when his Queen and he came afterward to be Crowned, they went unto him, signifying what a hainous transgression of his Fathers will it was to call home *Gaveston*, and seeing the charge was no lesse given to them then to him, if he did not perform it they would; and therefore unlesse he would remove *Gaveston* from

An. Dom.
1307.

The disorders
of King Ed-
ward when he
was Prince.

He breaks his
Fathers admo-
nitions in all
thing,

He marries Is-
abel, the King
of France
daughter.

The Lords
threaten to
bind his Cor-
onation, un-
lesse he banish
ed Gaveston,

the

He and his
Queen are
Crowned.

To carry Saint
Edwards
Crown at the
Coronation,
the greatest
honour a sub-
ject could have
done him,
Gaveston's ad-
vancement in
honours.

the Court and Kingdome; they would hinder his Coronation from proceeding, which struck such a damp to Prince Edwards spirits, to think what a disgrace it would be to him, if so many of his great friends being present, *Charles of Valois* the King of *France* brother, the Dukes of *Brittain* and *Brabant*, the Count of *Luxemburg*, who was afterward Emperour, the Duke of *Savoy*, the two Duchesses of *Brabant* and *Artois*, with many other Princes and great Ladies, if now his Coronation should be called in question, that he solemnly swore he would do what they desired in the next Parliament, so they would be quiet now; and thereupon on the 24. day of *February*, in the year 1307. his Queen and he were both Crowned at *Westminster*, by the hands of *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, by Commission from *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being then in exile and out of the Kingdome: At which solemnity there was so great a presse of people, that Sir *John Blackwell* Knight was crowded to death. And now in the very act of his Coronation, there was given another provocation to the Lords against *Gaveston*: for the King had appointed him to carry the Crown of Saint *Edward* before him, (the greatest honour could be done to a subject) which added to the other honours the King had done him, (for he had made him Earl of *Cornwall*, Lord of *Man*, and Lord Chamberlain) so incensed the Lords, that they entered into consultation how to suppress this violence of the Kings affection; which shortly after they put in execution. Portion in money, King *Edward* had none with his Wife: but the King of *France* gave him the Duchy of *Guyenne*, which he had seised upon before, as confiscate to him: and thereupon King *Edward* did him Homage for that Duchy, and for the Countie of *Ponthieu*.

Of his difference with his Lords about Gaveston.

Gaveston gets
the prize in a
publick Tur-
neament.

He casts scoffes
upon all the
Lords.

Articles requi-
red by the
Lords of the
King.

Gaveston is ba-
nished into
Ireland, where
he doth many
good services.

Gaveston is
sent back, and
marries the
Earl of *Gloucester* sister.

The Lords re-
quire *Gaveston*
banish-
ment again.

WE shall have here no *Quinquennium Neronis*, no such five years, as *Nero* afforded in the beginning of his Reign; but this King at his first enterance will shew what he is, and what he will continue to be as long as he lives; for though he took some great and grave men to be of his Council, yet (as appeared afterward) he did it rather to the end they should be pliant to him, then that he had any meaning to apply himself to them; For let them say what they would, *Gaveston* must be the Oracle; all the Kings actions were but *Gaveston*s impressions: And now *Gaveston* presently after the Coronation, to let the world be a witness of his worthinesse, and that the King had not bestowed his Favours upon him without cause; caused to be published a Turnement at *Wallingford*: whither came all the great Lords of the Kingdome, as *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, *Humphrey* Earl of *Hereford*, *Aymer* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Warren*, with many others, all Valiant men at Arms; yet none had the honour of the day like to *Gaveston*. And thus far he did well, if he could have stayed here, if having gotten true glory, he had not fallen into vain-glory: For the Lords envied him not so much for his advancement in honours, as they hated him for his insolency in Manners: for in a scornfull pride he would be casting scoffes upon them all, calling *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, the Stage-player, the Earl of *Lincoln* Burstenbelly; *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Joseph* the Jew, and *Guy* Earl of *Warwick* the black Dog of *Ardern*; which scoffes together with his other insolencies, drew such a party upon him, that in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly obtains of the King to draw Articles of their grievances: of which the chief were, that the great Charter of *Magna Charta* should be observed; that all strangers should be banished the Court and Kingdome; that the busineses of the State should be treated of by the Counsell of the Clergy and the Nobles; and that the King should not begin any war, nor go out of the Kingdome without consent of Parliament. Which Articles though seeming harsh to the King, yet for avoiding of further inconvenience, he yields unto them; and specially to the banishment of his minion *Gaveston*, as hoping that would excuse him for all the rest; and *Robert* of *Winchelsey*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, lately called home from exile, pronounceth excommunication against all such as should oppose the Articles. Hereupon *Gaveston* is sent away into *Ireland*, where he lived a while, not as a banisht man, but as Lieutenant rather of the Countrey, and indeed not unworthily; for in the time of his being there, he is said to have made a journey into the Mountains of *Dublin*, and to have broken and subdued the Rebels there; built *New Castle* in the *Kerns* Countrey, repaired the Castle of *Kewyn*, and passed up to *Monster* and *Thoumour*: performing every where much service, with great valour and worthinesse, that if he had stayed there but a while longer, he might perhaps by his deserts in *Ireland* have redeemed his debts in *England*: but the King impatient of his absence, and asking advice what means might be used to recall him; It was told him, that if he could but march him with the Earl of *Gloucester* sister, a man of such greatnesse, and so greatly beloved of the people, for his sake certainly no man would grudge at his coming home. Hereupon the King sends for *Gaveston*, and makes up the Match between them, and married they were at *Barkamstead*: but this did no good; for *Gaveston* still working upon the King in such manner, that he scarce left him means to sustain himself, and as little to maintain the Queen; nothing being done, but as *Gaveston* would have it; put the Lords into a new discontentment; who thereupon went again to the King and told him plainly, that unless he would put *Gaveston* out of the Court and Kingdome they would rise up in arms against him as a perjured King. This put the King into a great strait: loath he was to leave *Gaveston*, and fearfull he was to provoke the Lords; in the end his fear prevailing over his love, he was content he should be banished, and in such sort banished, that if ever he returned, or were found in the Kingdome, he should be held and proceeded against as an enemy of the

The Life and Reign of King EDWARD the Second.

A the State. So once again is *Gaveston* sent packing out of the Kingdome, and goes into *France*, but found no safe harbouring there: For the King of *France* hearing of it, gave a strait charge, if he were found in his Dominions to apprehend him: Then he passeth into *Flanders*, but is no safer there then in *France*: After waving about, and finding no place to rest in safety, he returns secretly into *England*, relying upon the Kings love, and the Duke of *Gloucesters* favour. The King receives him as an Angel sent from heaven, and to be out of the Lords eye, goes a journey to *Torky*, taking *Gaveston* along with him, and there thinks to be in quiet; but the Lords hearing of it follow him thither, chusing for their Generall *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, a man posselt of five Earldomes, *Lancaster*, *Leicester*, *Ferrers*, *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*; besides the Liberties of *Pickering*, and the honour of *Cockermore*, and other Lands in *Wales*, and there was not a man of the whole Nobility that was not of the Party, but openly *Gilbert* Earl of *Glocester*, the Kings sisters Son; These Lords sent to the King, either to deliver *Gaveston* into their hands, or at least to send him peemptorily out of the Kingdome. But the King led by ill counsell, and little regarding the Lords Message, takes *Gaveston* with him to *New Castle* upon *Tine*, thence to *Tinmouth*, where the Queen then lay, (who though great with child, and entreating the King with tears to stay with her) yet such was his desire to see *Gaveston* put into some place of security, that hearing of the Lords approaching, he took a Ship, and passed with *Gaveston* to *Scarborough*, and leaving him there in a strong Castle, not easie to be wonne, he went himself into *Warwickshire*; perhaps that the Lords might see he had not *Gaveston* with him. But the Lords hearing where *Gaveston* was, assaulted the Castle with such violence, that *Gaveston* seeing no means to escape, was content to render himself; requesting only, that he might but once be allowed to see the Kings face; and the King hearing he was taken, desired as much: to which the Earl of *Pembroke* consented, and taking *Gaveston* into his custody, promised upon Forfeiture of all he had, to have him forth coming: but desiring to be with his Wife that night, who lay not far off, at *Dedington*, he delivers him to his servants to carry to *Wallingford*; From whom as they passed by *Warwick*, the Earl of that place hearing of it took him forcibly from his Keepers, and brought him to his own Castle. Where after long deliberation, whether it were wisdom to suffer *Gaveston* to speak with the King or no; it was at last concluded to take off his head; which at a place thereby called *Blacklow*, was presently put in execution. His corps was carried to *Oxford*, and kept there two years, till the King caused it to be brought to *Langley*, and there builded a Monastery of purpose, where his soul should be prayed for.

D This *Gaveston*, was the Son of a Gentleman of *France*, who had done good service for King *Edward* the first in *France*, and for his sake this Son of his was taken and brought up with the Prince: a man of excellent parts of body, and of no lesse endowments of mind; Valiant and Witty: to which if we might adde Vertuous, he had been compleat; Though the Lords (whether they had heard so, or whether they said it to wean the King from him) told the King, that his Father was a Traitor to the King of *France*, and for the same was executed; and that his Mother was burnt for a Witch; and that this *Gaveston* was banished out of *France* for consenting to his Mothers Witchcraft, and that he had now bewitched the King himself. But why should the Lords be so violent against *Gaveston*? might not the King place his affection where he pleased? Might he not make his own choice of what companion he liked? No doubt he might; and fit he should; but yet in this case the Lords had great cause to do as they did; both in regard of the King, of themselves, and of the Common-wealth. It is true, if the Valour of *Gaveston* could as well have made the King valiant, as his riot made him riotous; there might some good have come of their extraordinary conjunction: but seeing vertues are but personall, vices onely are communicative; it now made the King not only more vicious then otherwise he would have been, but vicious where otherwise he would not have been; and therefore great cause in regard of the King to remove *Gaveston* from his company; and no lesse in regard of the Lords themselves; For *Gavestons* advancing was their debasing; his greatnesse with the King made them but cyphers: but in regard of the Common-wealth, most cause of all; for while the King was altogether ruled by *Gaveston*, and *Gaveston* himself was altogether irregular, the Common-wealth would have but little hope of Justice, but was sure to suffer as long as *Gaveston* was suffered. And this may be sufficient to justify the Lords, that it be not interpreted to be Rebellion, which was indeed but Providence.

Of his Troubles with Scotland.

A Nd now we have seen two of the charges of his Fathers Will broken by the King and punished in him; the two and thirty thousand pounds appointed for the Holy War, bestowed upon *Gaveston*, and the King for it punished himself with want; *Gaveston* called home from banishment, and the King for it punished with the losse of his Subjects love. It remains to see how well he performed the third charge of his Fathers Will, for subduing of *Scotland*. It was now the sixth year after the death of his Father King *Edward*, and *Robert Bruce* now gotten to be King of *Scotland*, had stayed all this while to see how this new King *Edward* would prove: and when he found by the courses he held, that he was like to prove a good easie enemy; he thereupon took heart, and began to stir, and in a very short time had brought almost all *Scotland* under his obedience; and finding no opposition he entered the *English* borders, took and burnt Towns; that now King *Edward*, unlesse he would sit still, and suffer *Bruce* to come and pull his Crown from

So once
he is banishd.

But soon re-
turns again.
The King
seeks to shelter
him.

Gaveston is ta-
ken by the
Lords.

Is beheaded at
Blacklow.
The King
builds a Mo-
nastery of
purpose to
pray for his
soul.

Gavestons Pa-
rentage.

Bruce enters
the *English*
borders.
from

King Edwards Army of 100 thousand overthrown by the Scots.

The Scots Stratagem.

The battell of Bannocksborough.

The North parts from Carlisle to York in subjection to the Scots.

Edward Bruce Crowned King of Ireland: but after three years is taken prisoner, and beheaded.

Treachery justly punished.

King Edward besiegeth Barwick.

The Earl of Lancaster withdraws himself from King Edward; and why.

The Yorkshire men defeated by the Scots in the white Battell.

Once again King Edward enters Scotland with an Army, but without successe. So he makes a Truce with them for cert. years.

from his head, he could not chuse but do something to stop his proceeding. Hereupon he prepares an Army, but like himself, fitter for a Court then for a Camp: Many men and great bravery; but readier to take spoils, then to make spoil: and accordingly they speed; For going to raise the siege at *Striveling*, defended for King Edward by the valiant Knight *Philip Mowbray*; the Kings Army consisting of a hundred thousand, was defeated and overthrown by the Scots Army, consisting of scarce thirty thousand: So true is that saying of an ancient Souldier; There is more hope of an Army where the Generall is a Lion, though the Souldiers be but sheep; then of an Army, where the Generall is a sheep, though the Souldiers be Lions. But indeed the Scots, besides Valour used Policy: For having in their own Army none but Foot, no Horse at all, they had made Trenches in the ground three foot deep, covering them with Twigs and Hurdles, where the English Horsemen were to passe, who floundring in those Trenches, were killed no lesse by their own Fellows, then by the enemy. In this Battell, called of *Bannocksborough*, were slain the Lord *Mawle*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Tipstot*, the Lord *William Marshall*, Sir *Giles*, Doctor *Argenton*, and seven hundred Knights and Esquires, specially *Gilbert Earl of Gloucester*, who had shewed much valour that day; and whom the Scots would willingly have kept for rancome, if they had known him; but he had forgotten to put on his Coat of Arms, whereby to be known. The slaughter of common Souldiers was certainly great, though perhaps not so great as *Hector Boetius* speaks of, who saith they were fifty thousand. There were taken Prisoners *Humfrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *John Seagrave*, *John Claveringham*, *William Latimer*, and Sir *Roger Northbrook*, bearer of the Kings shield; the King himself with the Bishops, the Earls of *Hartford*, and *Pembroke*, and *Hugh Spenser*, saved themselves by flight; *Humfrey de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* was afterward released in Exchange for *Bruces* Wife, who had been long kept a Prisoner in *England*. After this many English fell away to the Scots, and all the North parts from *Carlisle* to *York*, came under their subjection; and the English grew so faint-hearted, and into such contempt, that three Scots durst venture upon a hundred English, when a hundred English durst scarce encounter with three Scots. And what can be thought the cause of this great disaster to this King, but the want of his Fathers blessing for not performing the charge he gave him dying, which is commonly accompanied with the want of a higher blessing, without which a *Vacat* is set upon the labours of men, that makes them all frustrate? But *Bruce* not satisfied with his acquets in *England*, sends his brother *Edward* into *Ireland* also; who so far prevailed, that many *Irish* came in unto him, and in the end crowned him King of a great part of that Island, and so continued the space of three years; till the Primate of *Armagh*, and the Lord *Brinningham*, Justiciar of *Ireland*, gathering Forces together opposed him, and in a Battell taking him prisoner at *Dundalk* cut off his head, with the slaughter of many thousands of the Scots besides. With which the Scots are so incensed, that they invade again the English borders, foraging as far as *York*; whereupon a Parliament is assembled at *London*, wherein an aid is granted of armed men to go against them; *London* sets forth two hundred, *Canterbury* forty, *Saint Albans* ten, and so proportionably for all Cities and Boroughs, whereby a great Army was levied; which coming to *York*, through mutiny, emulation, and other impediments was soon dissolved, and returned back without effecting any thing. Not long after the Town of *Barwick* was betrayed to the Scots through the treason of *Peter Spalding* the Governour, and other English men; whom the King of Scots to make them an example, caused to be hanged for being traitors to their Countrey. King Edward hearing of the surrendring of *Barwick*, raiseth an Army, and beleaguers it; but the Scots to divert his Forces, enter upon *England* by other wayes, and were like to have surprised the person of the Queen, lying then near *York*. The siege of *Barwick* is notwithstanding eagerly continued, and the King in great possibility to have regained the Town, had not the Earl of *Lancaster* with his followers withdrawn himself upon discontent; hearing the King say he would give the keeping thereof to *Hugh Spenser* the younger, who was now grown a speciall Favourite of the Kings, and therefore not to be endured by the Earl. In the mean time the Scots won the Castles of *Harbottle*, *Wark* and *Nidford*, so as they possessed the greater part of all *Northumberland*, burning all before them till they came to *Rypon*, which Town they spoiled, and tarrying there three dayes, they received a Thousand Marks to save the Town from burning, as they had done the Towns of *Northallerton*, *Borough-bridge*, and others. In their returning back they burnt *Knaresborough*, and *Skipton* in *Craven* and all other afore them, carrying into *Scotland* a marvellous number of cattell, besides prisoners, men and women. The *Yorkshire men* thus grievously endammaged, gather together the number of ten thousand, and at the Town of *Mitton*, ten miles from *York*, encounter the Scots, where they lost three thousand of their men, and were defeated: which battell, because of the many spirituall men that were in it, was called the white Battell. Whereof when the King heard he left the siege of *Barwick*, to follow the Scots, but they returned another way. The year following, King Edward once again with a great Army entered *Scotland*; but the Scots having destroyed all afore, the King oppressed with Famine was forced to return, whom the Scots followed, and in a place of the Forrest of *Blackmore* set upon him, that he hardly escaped; where were taken *John* Earl of *Britain*, and the Lord of *Silaico*, the French Kings Embassadour, and many others. After this King Edward finding the Scots either too strong, or too wily for him, made a truce with them for two years, some say for thirteen. And this was the successe of this unfortunate King in his Warres with *Scotland*.

A

Of his troubles at home.

BUT his troubles abroad were not so grievous as those at home; or rather, they were those at home that made his troubles abroad so grievous; for though the Lords having made an end of *Gaveston*, and cut off his head, thought they had made an end of their need to bear Arms, and had cut off the head of all their discontents; yet as if *Gaveston* had been a Phoenix, as it were out of his ashes another Phoenix riseth presently up, and puts the Lords to as much trouble as ever *Gaveston* did. For now the younger *Spenser* upon a suddain grows as great a favorite of the Kings as ever *Gaveston* was: and indeed in all points just such another, equall to him in goodlinesse of personage, in favour of the King, and in abusing the Lords; for though they were the Lords themselves that brought him at first to be the Kings Chamberlaine, the rather (as was thought) because he was one whom the King did not love: yet being once in the place, he so won upon the King by diligent service, and by complying with the Kings humour; that he brought the King at last to comply with his humour, and nothing must be done but as *Spenser* would have it. It seems it was the Kings nature, that he could not be without a bosome friend; one or other to be an *Alter idem*: and to seek to remove such a one from him, was to seek to remove him from himself; as impossible a thing as to alter nature; yet the Lords being more sensible of their owne grievance, to be insulted on by a Favorite, then of the Kings grievance to be affronted by his subjects, are more intentive to work their own ends then the Kings: and therefore to remove *Spenser* and his Father from the King, which they knew was a work not to be done but by strong hand; they continue their Arms, and confederating together, they send to the King, peremptorily requiring the confirmation and execution of the Articles formerly granted; threatening withall, that unlesse he presently perform the same, they would constrain him to it by force of Arms: and thereupon assenble strong Forces about *Dunstable*, where the King then lay. The great Prelates of the kingdome, with the Earl of *Glocester*, labour to appease them, and with two Cardinals sent lately by the Pope to reform these disorders, they repair to *Saint Albons*, and desire conference with the Lords, who receive them peaceably; but the Letters which the Pope had written to them, they refuse to receive; saying, they were men of the Sword, and cared not for reading of Letters; that there were many worthy and learned men in the kingdome, whose counsell they would use, and not strangers, who knew not the cause of their commotion: so the Cardinals with this answer returned to *London*. But the Prelates of *England* so labour the businesse, that the Lords were content to yeeld up to the King such horses, treasure and jewels, as they had taken of *Pierce Gaveston* at *New-Castle*, so as the King would grant their Petitions; and thereupon *John Sandall* Treasurer of the kingdome, and *Ingelard Warle* keeper of the Wardrobe, are sent to *Saint Albons* to receive those things at their hands.

Shortly after a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complains of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their rising in Arms, their taking and murdering *Pierce Gaveston*, and such other affronts. Whereunto with one accord they answer, that they had not offended therein, but rather merited his love and favour; having taken Arms, not for any contempt of his royall person, but to destroy the publique enemy of the kingdome, which otherwise would never have been done. Which stout resolution of theirs, the Queen with the Prelates and the Earl of *Glocester* seeing, they seek by all means to qualifie their heat; and at length so prevailed with them, that they humble themselves to the King and crave pardon for that they had done, which they obtained; and the King receives them into grace, as his loyall subjects: grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their Indennity concerning the death of *Gaveston*: and for the greater shew of true reconcilement, *Guy de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*; is made of the Kings Counsell, though shortly after he ended his life; not without suspicion of poyson; as being a man much envied by such as posselt the King. The King kept his Christmas at *Clipston*, and his Easter at *Clarendon*: and they seemed to be all good friends, but this reconcilement of the King with his Barons, was but as the covering of fire with ashes, every little winde that blew, made it break out into flames afresh; and the time being so unsettled as it was, it was impossible but such winds would continually be blowing. It was such a wind blew, when the great Earl of *Lancaster* had his wife (a Lady who had lived with him alwaies in good fame) taken out of his house at *Canford* in *Dorsetshire*, by one *Richard Saint Martin*, a deformed lame Dwarf, who challenged her to be his wife, and had lien with her before the Earl married her: and this wind was made to blow the stronger, by the Ladies own confession; for upon examination, the voluntarily averred, it was all true: and thereupon the ugly fellow in her right claimed the two Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*, which he durst not have done, if he had not been back'd with great Abettours: and it was not without aspersion upon the King himself. It was another such wind blew, when at the Feast of Pentecost, at dinner in the open Hall at *Westminster*, a woman fantastically disguised, entred on horseback, and riding about the Table, delivered the King a Letter, wherein was signified the great neglect he shewed of such as had done him and his Father noble services, taxing him for advancing men of unworthy parts, and such other complaints; which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage; they who guarded the doore being sharply reprehended for suffering her to enter in such manner, answered, It was the fashion of the Kings house in times of Festivals, to keep out

The younger *Spenser* in as great favour as *Gaveston*.

Whereupon the Lords take Arms again; and threaten the King unlesse he perform the Articles formerly granted.

The Lords humble themselves to the King: and the King confirms their Articles.

The Earl of *Lancaster*'s wife taken from him by a deformed dwarf.

An affront offered to the King, but put up.

A scandalous
forgery of
King Edwards
birth,

The Lords
confederate
again, to have
the two *Spensers*
banished.

The King an-
swers for them.

But at last
yeelds to their
banishment.
But soon revo-
ked.

The Queen is
denied to lodge
in Leeds Ca-
stle.

The King re-
vengeth the
indignity.

The King pro-
vides an Army
against the Ba-
rons.
Of whom ma-
ny submit
themselves, yet
are committed
to custody.

out none that came as this woman did, to make sport. Search being made for the woman, she A
is found and examined who set her on; she confessed a knight gave her money to doe it; the knight
is found, and upon examination, boldly answered, he did it for the Kings honour, and to no o-
ther end; and thereupon escaped without further trouble. It was such another wind blew, when
a knight was taken passing by *Pomfret*, with Letters sealed with the Kings Seal; directed to the
King of *Scots*, about murdering the Earl of *Lancaster*; which messenger is executed, his head
set upon the top of the Castle, and the Letters reserved to witness the intended plot. Which
whether it were feigned, or true, the report thereof reflected upon the King; and made many to
take the Earls part. It was such another wind blew, when a fanatic fellow, one *John Powdras*,
a Tanners son of *Excester* gave forth, that himself was the true *Edward*, eldest son of the late King
Edward the first, and by a false Nurse was changed in his cradle, and that the now King *Edward* B
was a Carters son, and laid in his place: but this wind was soon blown over, when at his death,
being drawn and hanged, he confessed he had a familiar Spirit in his house in the likeness of a
Cat, that assured him he should be King of *England*, and that he had served the said Spirit three
years before to bring his purpose about. But most of all, it was such a wind blew, when a Baron
named *William Brewis*, having wasted his estate, offers to sell unto divers men, a part of his in-
heritance called *Powis*. *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, obtains leave of the King to buy it,
and bargains for it. The two *Roger Mortimers*, Uncle and Nephew, great men likewise in those
parts, not understanding, it seems, any thing of the former bargain, contract also for the same
Land with the said Sir *William Brewis*. *Hugh Spenser* the younger, hearing of this sale, and the
land adjoining to part of his, obtains a more special leave of the King, being now his Cham- C
berlain, and buyes it out of their hands. The Earl of *Hereford* complains hereof to the Earl of
Lancaster: who thereupon at *Sherbourne* enters into a new confederation with divers Barons there
assembled, taking their Oaths intermutually, to live and dye together in maintaining the right
of the kingdome, and to procure the banishment of the two *Spensers*, father and son, whom
they now held to be the great seducers of the King, and oppressours of the State, disposing of
all things in Court at their pleasure, and suffering nothing to be obtained but by their means: and
under this pretence they take Arms, and coming armed to Saint *Albans*, they send to the King,
being then at *London*, the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford*, and *Chichester*, (who were there
assembled to consult for peace) requiring him as he tendered the quiet of the Realm, to rid his
Court of those Traitors, the *Spensers*, condemned in many Articles of high treason by the com- D
munitie of the Land; and withall to grant his Letters Patents of pardon and indemnity both to
them and all such as took part with them. The King returns answer, that *Hugh Spenser* the
father was now beyond the Seas, employed in his business, and his son was guarding the Cinque-
ports according to his office; and that it was against Law or Custome they should be banished
without being heard: and withall swore, he would never violate the Oath made at his Corona-
tion, by granting Letters of pardon to such notorious offenders, who contemned his person,
disturbed the kingdome, and violated the Royall Majesty. Which answer so exasperated the
Lords, that presently they approached to *London*, and lodged in the Suburbs, till they had leave
of the King to enter into the City, where they peremptorily urge their demands: to which at
length by mediation of the Queene, and the chief Prelates, the King is wrought to condescend,
and by his Edict, published in *Westminster* Hall, by the Earle of *Hereford*, the *Spensers* are bani- E
shed the kingdome. *Hugh* the father hearing it, keeps beyond the Seas, but the Son secretly
hides himself in *England*, expecting the turn of a better season. And indeed shortly after the
Archbishop of *Canterbury* in a Councell holden at *London*, pronounceth the banishment of the
Spensers to have been erroneous; and thereupon the Edict is revoked, and the *Spensers* are called
home, and set in as great authority as they were before. But the Lords having thus obtained their
desire, with the Kings Letters of indemnity return home, but yet not with such security as to
give over the provision for their own defence. Not long after there fell out an unexpected acci-
dent, that suddenly wrought the Lords confusion. The Queen making her progresse towards *Can-*
terbury, intended to lodge at the Castle of *Leeds*, belonging to the Lord *Bedelsmer*, (who had
been long the Kings Steward, but now tooke part with the Lords) and sending her Marshall to F
make ready for her and her train; they who kept the Castle told him plainly, that neither the
Queene, nor any else should enter there without Letters from their Lord. The Queene her self
goes to the Castle, and receives the like answer; whereupon she is driven to take such lodging
otherwise as could be provided. Of which indignity she complains to the King; who took it
so to heart, that presently with a power of armed men out of *London*, he lays siege to the Castle,
takes it, hangs the keeper *Thomas Colepepper*, sends the wife and children of the Lord *Bedelsmer*
to the Tower, and seizes upon all his goods and treasure. And having this power about him, and
warmed with successe and the instigation of the Queen, suddenly directs his course to *Chichester*;
where he keeps his Christmas, and there provides for an Army against the Barons: where G
of many (seeing the Kings power encreasing) left their Associates, and yeeld themselves to his
mercy: amongst whom were the two *Roger Mortimers*, men of great might and meanes; the
Lord *Hugh Audely*, the Lord *Maurice Barkley*, and others: who notwithstanding, contrary to
their expectation, were sent to divers Prisons. The Earls of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* seeing this
sudden change, withdrew themselves and their company from about *Glocester*, towards the
North-parts: whom the King follows with his army; wherein were the Earls of *Athol* and *An-*
gus; and at *Burton upon Trent*, where they had made a head, discomfited their forces, and
put

- A put them to flight. In the mean time the Earl of Lancaster had sent into Lancashire a knight of his, named Robert Holland, (one whom he had brought up of nought) to raise more Forces amongst his Tenants; but he hearing of this flight of his Lords, goes with his Forces to take the Kings part; which so dismayes the Earl, that he began now to thinke of suing to the King for grace; but being in the way, at a Towne called Borough-Bridge, was there set upon by Sir Simon Warde Sheriffe of York, and Sir Andrew Harkley Conitable of Carlile, who utterly defeat his Forces: In which fight was slain the Earl of Hereford, (who fighting valiantly upon a Bridge, was by a Varlet skulking under the Bridge, thrust with a Speare into the fundament) Sir Roger Benefield, Sir William Sulland and others, there was taken the Earl of Lancaster, Sir Roger Clifford, Sir John Mowbray, Sir Roger Tuckett, Sir William Fitz-Williams, with divers other, and were led to York.
- B This field was fought the fifteenth day of March, in the yeare 1320. It was not long after that Sir Hugh Daniell, Sir Bartholomew de Baddlesmer were taken. Three days after the Earl of Lancaster is brought to Pomfret, where the King sitting himself in judgement with Edmund Earl of Kent his brother, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl Warren, Hugh Spenser, lately created Earl of Winchester, and others; sentence of death is given against him, to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded as a Traitor. The two first punishments are pardoned, in regard he was of Royall blood: on the behead ed he was the same day without the Towne of Pomfret, before his own Castle. To speake of the Miracles said to be done by him after his death, might be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle; and therefore I omit them. By the like judgement were condemned the Lord Roger Clifford, the Lord Warren Lisle, the Lord William Tuchet, Thomas Mandit, Henry Bradburn, William Fitz-Williams, Lord Cheyney, Thomas Lord Mowbray, Joceline Lord Daniell, all which were executed at York: Shortly after, the Lord Henry Teyes is taken, drawne, hanged, and quartered at London, William the Lord Aldenham at Windsor; the Lords Baddlesmer and Ashburton at Canterbury: at Carwisse in Wales, Sir William Fleming, at Bristow, Sir Henry Womington, and Sir Henry Mansford Bannerets; at Gloucester, the Lord Clifford, and Sir William Elmbridge, principall men in principall places; to spread the more terror over the Kingdom: all their estates and inheritances are confiscated, and many new men advanced by the same. And this is the first blood of Nobility that ever was shed in this manner in England since William the Conquerour.
- * But not long after, the King in a calmer humour, began to have sense of the Earl of Lancasters execution, which he discovered upon this occasion: some about him making earnest suit for a Pardon to one of the Earls followers; and pressing the King hard to it, he fell into a great passion, exclaiming against them as unjust and wicked Counsellors, who would urge him to save the life of a notorious Varlet, and would not speak one word for his near kinsman the Earl of Lancaster: who (said he) had he lived, might have been usefull to me, and the whole kingdome; but this fellow the longer he lives, the more mischief he will doe, and therefore by the soul of God, he should die the death he had deserved. Sir Andrew Harkley, who was the man that took the Earl of Lancaster prisoner, being advanced for this service to the Earldome of Carlile, enjoyed his honour but a while; for the next year after, either thrust out into discontent by the Spensers, envying his high preferment, or combining with the Scots, upon hope of a great match, (as he was accused) he is degraded of all his honours; drawn, hanged, & quartered at London for Treason.
- E But now the King of France summons King Edward to come and doe his homage for Gascoine; and he not comming, all his Territories in France are adjudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance are seised on by the French. Hereupon a Parliament is called; and it is by common consent of all agreed, that the King should not goe in person himself, in regard of the distraction of the times, but should send some speciall man to excuse his appearance; whereupon Edmund Earl of Kent the Kings brother is sent, but to little effect. Then it is thought fit the Queen should goe, and indeed the Queen went; but what was the cause of her going, there is amongst Writers great variance: some say she was sent by the King to accommodate this businesse, which she negotiated so well, as that all quarrels were ended, upon condition the King should give to his son Edward, the Duchie of Aquitaine, with the Earldome of Ponthieu, and send him over to doe his homage for them; which after many consultations, the King is wrought to yeeld unto; and the Prince is sent with the Bishop of Exeter and others to the Court of France accordingly: but others say, she went out of discontent, to complain to her brother the King of France for wrongs offered her by the Spensers, who had so alienated the Kings mind from her, that he would scarce come where she was, nor allow her fit maintenance for her calling. But whatsoever was the cause of her going, there appeared no cause of her staying, but that she had gotten into her company, Roger Mortimer Lord of Wigmore, a gallant young Gentleman, whom the specially favoured, lately escaped out of the Tower of London, by giving his keepers (as was said) a sleeping drink. And withall, the Bishop of Exeter perceiving some plots to be in hand and their close consultations made without him withdraws himself secretly, and discovers to the King what he observed in their courses. Whereupon the King sends presently for the Queen and Prince, and solicits the King of France to hasten their return; which when he saw was neglected and delayed, he caused them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the kingdom, banished them and all their adherents out of the Land: and withall causeth all the Ports to be strongly kept; and sends three Admirals to attend in severall Coasts to hinder their landing. It was not without suspicion, that the King as for love of the Spensers, had his minde alienated from loving the Queen; so the Queen for love of Mortimer had her mind

The Earl of Lancaster defeated;

Is taken prisoner.

Is condemned, the King himselfe sitting in judgement; Is beheaded.

Miracles done by him after his death.

Divers Lords and others executed.

The first blood of Nobility shed since the conquest.

The King grieveth for the Earl of Lancasters death.

King Edward summoned into France.

His Queene goes to excuse his appearance.

The reason of the Queenes going uncertein.

The Queen stays in France for the love of Roger Mortimer.

Not coming at the Kings sending for, they are proclaimed enemies to the State.

The Queen upon a match of her sonne Prince Edward with a Daughter of the Earl of Heynault is aided by him. Coming into England many Lords resort unto her.

The King fearing the Queens forces, flies to the Isle of Lundy.

But is driven into Wales.

The Londoners favour to the Queen.

Hugh Spenser the Father executed; and most cruelly.

The King with Spenser the son, and others are taken and kept in custody.

Spenser the son hanged and quartered.

The Parliament agrees to depose the King, and set up his son.

The King is persuaded by the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, to resign his Crown to his son.

Coming to make his resignation he falls in a swoond.

The King is deposed.

mind alienated from loving the King, and therefore having him with her, cared not how long she A stayed. However it was, when the Queen heard of the Kings Proclamation, she knew there was no returning for her into England without some good assistance: whereupon soliciting her brother the King of France he aided her with men and money, say some, but others, that he refusing to aid her as being wrought under hand by the *Spensers* against her, she left the French Court, and went into *Heynault*, to the Earl of that Countrey, who upon a contract between her son Prince Edward and *Philippa* the Earls daughter, aided her with a comperent Army under the conduct of his brother *John*: and with them and her beloved *Mortimer*, she took shipping and landed at *Orwell*, a Port near unto *Harwich* in *Suffolk*: where presently came to her the Earl Marshal, *Henry* Earl of *Leicester*, and *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* with the wry neck, called *Torpoll*, with many other Lords and Bishops. The King at this time being at *London*, and hearing of the Queens landing B with such Forces, and chiefly how all the Realm ran flocking to her, was suddenly, stricken into a great amazement; and though he had his great counsellours the *Spensers* about him, yet now he found what little good their counsell could do him: and indeed in this case, what should he or what could he do? to stay in *London* was apparent danger, for he plainly saw the *Londoners* to be more inclining to take the Queens part then his; and to go from *London* to any other place was as unsafe, all places being posselt either with certain enemies, or uncertain friends: at last the Isle of *Lundy* is thought of, a place plentifull of provision, abounding with Conies, Fish and Fowl, and the Island of hard access, as having but one place in it where it could be entered, and that so narrow, that a few might easily keep out many; upon this place he resolves, and taking with him the Earl of *Glocester*, the *Spensers*, and *Robert Baldock* with some C few others, he takes shipping, but by contrary winds is driven back, and fain through Tempests to land in *Wales*, and there in the Abbey of *Nethe* in *Glamorganshire* kept himself close. In the mean time the Queen was come to *Oxford*, where *Adam* Bishop of *Hereford* took for his Text, *Caput meum doleo*, and thereupon inferred, that the Kingdome being now deadly sick of its head, it was fit to remove that head, and put a sounder in the place. At this time also, the *Londoners* to shew their love to the Queen, seized upon *Walter Stapleton*, the good Bishop of *Excester* and Lord Treasurer of *England*, left Governour there by the King, and with great despight beheaded him, as also divers others, onely because they favoured the King. In the mean time, the Queen went from *Oxford* to *Glocester*, and from thence to *Bristow*, where *Hugh* D *Spenser* the Father was, a man of fourscore and ten years old, who is there taken, and without examination or Judgement, in most cruell manner executed, having his heart pulled out of his body being yet alive, and his body left hanging upon the Gallows. After this the Queen stayed at *Hereford* the space of a moneth, and then dividing her Army, she sends one part of it under the Conduct of *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, and *Rice ap Powell* a Clerk to find out the King: and this *Ryce* being a *Welshman*, and knowing the Countrey well, brought the Earl to the Monastery of *Nethe* where the King was, whom they there take together with *Spenser* the Sonne, *Robert Baldock*, and *Simon of Reading*. The King is by the Bishop of *Hereford* committed to the custody of the Earl of *Leicester*: where all that winter he was used no worse then was fit for a captive King, but *Edmund* Earl of *Arundell*, *John Daniel* and *Thomas Micheldene*, at the inttance of *Mortimer*, are all three beheaded. Presently after is *Hugh Spenser*, the younger who was E now Earl of *Glocester*, drawn, hanged, and quartered, his head sent up to be set upon *London* Bridge, and his four quarters bestowed in severall Cities. The like is done with *Simon* of *Reading*, but *Robert Baldock* is committed to *New-Gate*, against whom, when no just cause of death could be found, there was used so much cruelty in his imprisonment, that he shortly after died.

Presently after *Christmas* a Parliament is called, wherein it was agreed to depose the King and set up his Sonne; which he hearing refused it, unlesse his Father would freely resign; whereupon are appointed three Bishops, two Earls, two Abbots, four Barons, and of every City a Burgess to go to the King; (in custody then at *Kenelworth*) the Bishops were *John* of *Stratford* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Adam Torleton* Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Lincoln*. But F the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln*, getting to the King before the rest came, perswade the King to resign his Crown to his eldest Sonne; craftily promising him he should have as good maintenance afterward, as ever he had when he was King. And contrarily threatening him, that if he did it not, the people would exclude both him and his Sonne too, and make a King of another Race. By these promises and threatnings, the meek King is drawn to yield to the Bishops motion; but when afterward the Bishop of *Hereford* and the other Commissioners came, and were sate in a place appointed to take his Resignation, the King coming forth amongst them in mourning Robes, upon a sudden fell down in a swoond; in whom the Earl of *Leicester*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, had much ado to recover life, but then the Bishop of *Hereford* rising up, delivered the cause of their coming, as the other Bishops before had done. G To which the King answered, that as he much grieved his people should be so hardened against him, as utterly to reject him; so it was some comfort unto him, that they would yet receive his Son to be their Sovereign. After this *Thomas Blunt* Knight, Steward of the Kings house brake the Staff of his Office; and *William Trussell* Speaker of the Parliament in name of the whole kingdome, pronounced a Form of renouncing all Allegiance to *Edward* of *Carnarvan*. Here *Caxton* writes, that from the time of this Kings deposing, which was in *December*, to the time of his Sonnes Crowning, which was not till *Candlemas* following, all Pleas of the

AKings Bench were stayed, and all Prisoners, arrested by Sheriffs, commanded to be set at liberty; which seems to have little probability, seeing his Sonne *Edward* presently upon his Deposing was received for King: But howsoever so great a Dowre was then assigned to *Queen Isabel*, that scarce a third part of the Revenues of the Crown is left for the new King and his wife: And to the late King is allowed a hundred marks a moneth for his maintenance; with which he lived with his cousin Earl of *Leycester*, in good plenty and contentment for a time; only this grieved him most of all (he said) that the Queen his Wife would never be gotten to come to see him. For he swore most devoutly that from the time he first saw her face, he could never like of any other Woman. By which it may appear, that neither *Gaveston* nor the *Spensers* had so debauched him, as to make him false to his bed, or to be disloyall to his Queen. But the Queen being hardened against him, and conceiving he had too great Liberty under the Earl of *Leycester*, by advice of her pestilent Counsellour, *Adam Forleton* Bishop of *Hereford*, appoints *Thomas Gournay*, and *John Matrevers* knights, to take him from the Earl into their own custody, and to carry him whither they thought good; who thereupon take him from *Kenetworth*, and carry him first to *Corfe* Castle, and from thence to *Bristol*; where they shut him in the Castle; till upon knowledge of a Plot laid to get him out, and send him beyond Sea, they took him in the night and carried him to *Barkeley* Castle, where by the way they abused him most inhumanely; as *Sir Thomas de la More* a knight of *Glocestershire* in his life relateth: For to the end he should not be known, they shaved his head and beard, and that in most beastly manner; for they tooke him from his Horse and set him upon a Hillock, and then taking puddle water out of a Ditch thereby, they went to wash him, his Barber telling him that cold water must serve for this time: whereat the miserable King looking stornly upon him, said, That whether they would or no, he would have warm water to wash him: and therewithall to make good his word, he presently shed forth a shewre of tears. Never was King turned out of a kingdom in such a manner; Many kingdomes have been lost by the chance of War, but this kingdom was lost before any Dice were cast; no blow struck, no battell fought; done forcibly, and yet without force; violently, and yet with consent; both parties agreed, yet neither pleased; for the King was not pleased to leave his kingdom, and the Queen was not pleased to leave him his life; it was not safe to leave him a part, by which he might afterward recover the whole; and therefore this was the mark now aimed at, having taken away his kingdom openly, how they might take away his life secretly; be the Authors of it, and not to be seen in it; but this must be the Contents of a Chapter hereafter.

Is inhumanely used.

Of his Taxations.

BY this King it appears, there is something else besides the grievance of Taxations, that alienates the mindes of *English* Subjects from their King; for never were fewer Taxations then in this Kings time, yet never were the Subjects mindes more alienated from their King, then they were from him. Before his Coronation, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Clergy, and a twentieth of the Temporality. In his fifth year in a Parliament at *London*, was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporality. In his fifteenth year was granted the sixth penny of temporall mens goods, through *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, towards his Warres with *Scotland*. And more then these we read not of, but then at the defeat of the Earl of *Lancaster*, there were Confiscations that supplied the place of Taxations, by which (as one saith) he became the richest King that had been since the Conquest,

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE Ordained that the moneys of his Father though counted base by the People, should be current. In the eighth year of his reign, by reason of a dearth which raised the price of all Victuals, it was ordained by Parliament, that an Oxe fatted with grasse should be sold for fifteen shillings; fatted with Corn, for twenty; the best Cow for twelve shillings; a fat Hogge of two years old, three shillings four pence; a fat sheep shorn, fourteene pence, with the Fleece twenty pence; a fat Goose for two pence half-penny; a fat Capon two pence; a fat Hen a penny; four Pigeons a penny; whosoever sold for more, should forfeit their ware to the King. But after these rates imposed, all kind of victuals grew so scarce, that provision could hardly be made for the Kings house; whereupon shortly after, the Order was revoked, and Market folks permitted to make the best of their wares. In this Kings time an ordinance was made against Knights Templars, accused of Heresie and other crimes, and they were all apprehended, and committed to divers prisons. The like was done by all the Kings of Christendome, at one instant, being condemned in a Generall Councell at *Vienna*. In the 14. year of his reign on the 15. of *October*, the Clerks of the Exchequer went towards *Tork* with the Book called *Domus Dei*, and other Records and Provision that laded one and twenty Carts, but in half a year they were brought back again.

Price of victuals in a dearth,

Knights Templars, accused of Heresie and committed to prison.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

A bishop arrested by the King, was rescued by the other Bishops.

IN the 17. year of his reign the Bishop of *Hereford* was arrested, accused of High Treason, for aiding the Kings enemies in their late rebellion; but he refused to answer, (being a consecrated Bishop) without leave of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whose suffragan he was, (and who he said was his direct Judge, next the Pope) or without the consents of his fellow Bishops: who then all arose, and humbly craved the Kings Clemency in his behalf; but finding the King implacable they took him away from the Barre, and delivered him to the custody of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: shortly after, he was again taken and convented as before, which the Clergy understanding, the Archbishops, *Canterbury*, *York*, and *Dublin*, with renne other Bishops, all with their Crosses erected, went to the place of Judgment, and againe took him away with them; charging all men, upon pain of Excommunication, to forbear to lay violent hands upon him; with which audacious Act, the King was so much displeased, that he presently commanded inquiry to be made *ex Officio Judicis*, concerning those Objections against the Bishop: wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his Goods and Possessions seised into the Kings hands. In this Kings time the Crowcher Fryers came first into *England*. In his time Pope *John* the two and twentyeth, first instituted the Feast of *Corpus Christi*; begun before by *Urban* the fourth.

Crowcher Fryers come first into England.

Workes of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

Oriall Colledge in Oxford founded.

THis King founded *Oriall* Colledge, and *Saint Mary Hall* in *Oxford*: He builded a Church of Fryers at his Manour of *Langley*, where the soul of *Gaufray* should be prayed for. In this Kings twentyeth years, *Richard Rotbing* Sheriffe of *London*, builded the Parish Church of *Garlick-hish* in *London*, *Ralph Baldock* Bishop of *London* gave two thousand Marks to the building of the new Works of the Chappell, on the South side of *Pauls* Church. And left much more by his Testament.

Casualties.

A marvellous dearth.

IN the eight year of this Kings reign, was so great a dearth, that Horses and Dogges were eaten; and Theeves in prison pluckt in pieces those that were newly brought in amongst them, and eat them half alive; which continuing three years, brought in the end such a pestilence, that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead. In the fourth year of his reign, the Church of *Middleton* in *Dorsetshire*, with all the Monuments, was consumed with Lightning, the Monks being at *Martins*. In this Kings time digging the Foundation of a work about *Pauls*, were found more then a hundred heads of Oxen and kine, which confirmed the opinion, that of old time it had been the Temple of *Jupiter*, and that there was the Sacrifice of Beasts.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Isabel* Daughter of *Philip* the Fair, King of *France*, she being but twelve years of age; who lived his Wife twenty years, his Widow thirty, and dying at threescore and three years old at *Ryings* near *London* was buryed in the midtt of the *Gray-Fryers* Quire in *London*. By her he had issue two Sons and two Daughters: his eldest Son named *Edward* of *Windsor*, because born there, succeeded him in the kingdom. His second Son named *John* of *Eltham*, because born there, was at twelve years old created Earl of *Cornwall*: he dyed in *Scotland* in the flowre of his Youth, unmarried. His eldest Daughter *Joan*, being a child, was married in the fourth year of King *Edward* her brother, to *David* Prince of *Scotland*, Son to King *Robert Bruce*, at seven years old; who coming afterward into *England* to visit her brother, dyed here, and was buryed at the *Gray Friars* in *London*. His second Daughter *Eleanor*, was married to *Reginold* the second Earl of *Gelder*, with a portion of fifteen thousand pounds, and had issue by him two sons, who were Earls successively.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was fair of body, and of great strength, but given much to drink, which made him oftentimes bewray his own Secrets; For his other conditions, his greatest fault was, that he loved but one, for if his love had been divided, it could not have been so violent. He was extream in nothing but in loving; and though love moderated, be the best of affections, yet the extremity of it is the worst of passions. He was rather unfortunate then unhappy; seeing unfortunateness is in the event, unhappiness in the cause; & if his fortune had been to love good men, his

His own goodnesse would have made him happy. Two Vertues were eminent in him above all his Predecessours, Continence, and Abstinence: So continent, that he left no base issue behind him; so abstinent, that he took no base courses for raising of money. They who despised him being alive, so much honoured him being dead, that they could have found in their hearts to make him a Saint.

Of his Death and Buriall.

MAny wayes were attempted to take away his life: First, they vexed him in his diet, allowing him nothing he could well indure to eat, but this succeeded nor. Then they lodged him in a chamber over carion and dead carkasses, enough to have poysoned him; and indeed he told a workman at his window, he never endured so great a misery in all his life, but neither did this succeed. Then they attempted it by poysons, but whether by the strength of his constitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this succeed. At last the peccilent *Archbishop*, the Bishop of *Hereford*, devised a Letter to his keepers, blaming them for giving him too much liberty, and for not doing the service which was expected from them: and in the end of his Letter wrote this line, *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*: Craftily contriving it in this doubtfull sense, that both the keepers might find sufficient warrant, and himself might find sufficient excuse. The keepers guessing at his meaning, took it in the worst sense, and accordingly put it in execution; they took him in his bed, and casting heavy bolsters upon him, and pressing them hard down stifled him; and not content with that, they heared an iron rod hot, and through a pipe thrust it up into his Fundament, that no marks of violence might be seen; but though none were seen, yet some were heard; For when the Fact was in doing, he was heard to roare and cry all the Castle over. *Gourney* and *Matrevers*, his murderers, looking for reward, had the reward of murderers: For the Queen and Bishop *Torleton* disavowing the command, threatened to question them for the Kings death: whereupon they fled beyond Sea; and *Gourney* after three years being taken in *France*, and sent into *England*, was in the way upon the Sea beheaded. *Matrevers* flying into *Germany*, had the grace to repent, but lived ever after miserably. Thus dyed this King in the year 1327. more then half a year after his deposing; when he had reigned almost 19. years, lived 43. His body was carried to *Glocester*, and there without any Funerall Pompe buried in the Monastery of Saint *Peter*, by the Benedictine Fryers.

Wayes devised to take away his life.

Of Men of Note in his time.

IN this Kings time, of Martiall men were many, whose Acts have been spoken of in the late Kings life. Of learned men also many, as *John Duns* the great Logician, called *Doctor Subtilis*, born in *Northumberland*, at *Emildune* a Village three miles distant from *Alnwick*; though both the *Scots* and the *Irisb* challenge him for theirs. *Robert Walsingham* a Carmelite Fryer, who wrote divers Treatises. *Robert Baston* born in *Nottinghamshire* a Carmelite Fryer of *Scarborough*, whom King *Edward* took with him into *Scotland*, to write some remembrances of his victories; but being taken by the *Scots* was constrained by *Robert Bruce* to write Remembrances of his overthrowes. *William Rishanger*, a Monk of Saint *Albans*, an Historiographer; *Ralph Batdocks* Bishop of *London*, who wrote a History intituled *Historia Anglica*; *John Walsingham*, a Carmelite Fryer, who wrote divers treatises; *Nicolas de Lyra* a Jew by birth, who wrote many excellent Treatises, in Divinity; *William Ockam* a Fryer Minor, who wrote divers Treatises, and namely against *John Duns*, and also against Pope *John* the 23. in favour of the Emperour *Lewis of Bavaria*; *Thomas Halfewood*, a Canon of *Leeds* in *Kent*, who wrote a Chronicle, called *Chronicon compendiarium*; *Robert Perscrutator* born in *Yorkshire*, a black Fryer and a Philosopher, or rather a Magician; and lastly, though not least worthy to be remembered, *John Mandevile*, the great travellour, a Doctor of Physick and a Knight.

John Duns called *Doctor Subtilis*, when he lived.

John Mandevile the great traveller, when he lived.

Maors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,
Sir *John Blunt*, continued Maior.
Nicolas Pigot, *Nigellus Drury*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Richard Reffam, was Maior.
Simon Cooper, *Peter Blackney*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Nicolas Faringdon, was Maior.
William Basing, *James Buteler*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *John Gyfors*, was Maior.
Simon Metwood, *Richard Wilford*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Thomas Romaine, was Maior.
Roger la Palmer, *James of S. Edmund*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *John Gyfors*, was Maior.
John Lambin, *Adam Lutkin*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Nicolas Faringdon, was Maior.
Robert Gyrden, Hugh Garson, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir Iohn Gisors, was Maior.
Sterben Abingdon, Hamond Chickwell, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year.
Stephen de Abingdon, was Maior.
Hamond Goodcheap, William Bodeleigh, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
John Wingrave, was Maior.
William Causton, Ralph Balancer, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
John Wingrave, continued Maior.
John Prior, William Furneux, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
John Wingrave, continued Maior.
John Pointell, John Dalling, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Hamond Chickwell, was Maior.
Simon de Abingdon, John Preston, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Nicolas Farendon, was Maior.
Renauld at the Conduit, Will. Prodham, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Hamond Chickwell, was Maior.
Richard Constantine, Richard de Hackney, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Hamond Chickwell, continued Maior.
John Grantham, Richard de Ely, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Nicolas Farendon, was Maior,
Adam of Salisbury, John of Oxford, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Hamond Chickwell, was Maior.
Benet of Fulham, John Cawson, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Hamond Chickwell, continued Maior.
Gilbert Mordon, John Causton, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Richard Britaine, was Maior.
Richard Rothing, Roger Chantclere, Sheriffs.

THE

THE
LIFE and REIGN
OF
KING EDWARD
THE THIRD.

Of his coming to the Crown, and Acts done in his Minority.

Edward of Windsor, eldest sonne of King Edward the second, by Order of *An. Dom.* Parliament, upon his Fathers Resignation, was proclaimed King of *1327.* England, on the five and twentieth day of January, in the year 1327. and because he had not yet received the Order of Knighthood, he was by Henry Earl of Lancaster girt solemnly with the Sword; and on the first day of February following, was crowned at Westminster by Walter Reginald Archbishop of Canterbury: and thereupon a generall Pardon is Proclaimed, which hath since been used as a Custome with all succeeding Kings: that at their first coming to the Crown, a generall Pardon is alwaies granted. And because the King was under age, (scarce fifteen years old (though *King Edward the third* crowned. *A generall pardon at the Kings Coronation, when first begun.* *His first action was an expedition against the Scots, but without successe; and why.* *He marries Philippa of Haynault.* *King Edward surrenders all his title to the Crown of Scotland.* *Edward saith he was then eighteen*) there were twelve appointed Governours of him and the kingdome; namely the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Winchester, Hereford, and Worcester; Thomas of Brotherton, Earl Marshall, Edmund Earl of Kent, the Kings Uncles; John Earl Warren, Thomas Lord Wake, Henry Lord Pierce, Oliver Lord Ingham, and John Lord Rosse: but though these were appointed and bore the name, yet the Queen and Roger Mortimer took all the authority to themselves. The first action that was undertaken, was an expedition against the Scots; for Robert Bruce, though now old and sickly, and (as was said) Leprous: yet considering the youth of the new King, and the distractions of the kingdome, thought it now a fit time to doe some good upon England: and entring the English borders with an Army, sent defiance to King Edward: whereupon an Army is raised, and the Heynalders, (whom the Queen had brought over) are joyned with the English; but a variance falling out between the two Nations, made the action not successfull. For the Kings Army encountering the Scots at Stanhope park in Werridall in the Bishoprick of Durham, though three times as many as the Scots, as being thirty thousand; yet through this variance, but more through treason of some great men, suffered them all to escape their hands, and the Scots returned home in safety, the English with dishonour: and after this, the English seeing the Heynalders could do them no good, sent them away to their own Countrey. In King Edwards second year, his marriage with Philippa of Haynault is solemnised, (a dispensation being first gotten, because of their nearnesse in blood) and a Parliament is holden at Northampton, where the King made three Earls: John of Eltham his brother, Earl of Cornwall, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and James Butler of Ireland, Earl of Ormond: and in this Parliament a dishonourable peace is concluded with the Scots, and confirmed by a match between David Bruce Prince of Scotland, being but seven years old, and Joane sister to King Edward not so old; at which time by the secret working of Queen Isabell, Roger Mortimer and Sir James Dowglasse, the King surrenders by his Charter all his title of Sovereignty to the kingdom of Scotland, restores divers Deeds and Instruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous Evidence called Ragmans Roll, and many ancient Jewels and Monuments, amongst which was the Black Crosse of Scotland; and besides, any English man is prohibited to hold Lands in Scotland, unless he were a dweller there. In consideration whereof

Edmund Earl
of Kent, the
Kings Uncle
beheaded; and
why.

King Edward
confineeth his
mother,

Seiseth upon
Mortimer; and
in what man-
ner.

Who is hanged
at Tyburn.

King Edward
claims the
Crown of
France; but
Philip of Va-
lois is prefer-
red; and why.
King Edward
doth homage
to the King of
France for his
Duchy of
Guyenne; and
the manner of
doing it.

Edward Bali-
oll is crowned
King of Scot-
land.

whereof King Bruce was to pay 30000. Marks, and to renounce his claim to the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, and any other place possessed by him in *England*. This was no good beginning, and yet worse followed after. For another Parliament being holden at *Winchester*, *Edmund Earl of Kent*, the Kings Uncle, is there accused, and condemned upon his confession, for intending to restore his brother, the late King *Edward*; an intention onely without any fact; yet condemned he was; and brought to the Scaffold, but generally so beloved of the people, that he stood on the Scaffold from one a clock till five, before any executioner could be found that would do the office, till at last a silly wretch of the *Marshalsee* was gotten to cut off his head. But the Authors of his death escaped not long themselves, for in the third year of the Kings reign, another Parliament is holden at *Nottingham*, wherein the Queen hath all her great Joynture taken from her, and is put to her Pension of a thousand pounds a year, and her self confined to a Castle, where she remained the rest of her dayes, no fewer then thirty yeares, a time long enough to finde that her being the daughter of a King, the sister of a King, the wife of a King, and the mother of a King, were glorious titles, but all not worth the liberty of a mean estate; and as for *Mortimer*, (lying then in the Castle of *Nottingham*) and lately created Earle of the *Marches of Wales*) he was seised on in this manner; the King taking with him *William Montacute*, *Robert Hollands*, and others, goe secretly one night by Torchlight, through a privy way under ground, till they came to the Queens Chamber, where leaving the King without, they entred and found the Queen with *Mortimer*, ready to goe to bed: then laying hands on him, they led him forth: after whom the Queen followed, crying, *Bel fils, ayez pitie du gentil Mortimer*; good son, good son, take pitie upon the gentle *Mortimer*, suspecting that her son had been amongst them: this course was taken to apprehend him for avoiding of tumult, he having no fewer then nine-score Knights and Gentlemen, besides other meaner servants continually about him. But thus seised on, he is committed presently to the Tower, accused of divers great crimes, whereof these were chief; that he had procured the late Kings death; that he had been the author of the Scots safe escaping at *Stanhope Parke*, corrupted with the gift of thirty thousand pounds; that he had procured the late marriage and Peace with *Scotland*, so dishonourable to the King and kingdom; that he had been too familiar with the Queen, as by whom she was thought to be with child: of which Articles he is found guilty and condemned; and thereupon is drawn and hanged on the common Gallows at the Elmes, now called *Tyburne*, where his body remained two dayes as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders.

After these busineses in *England*, there comes a new businesse upon him from the King of *France*: for about this time *Philippe le Bel*, King of *France*, the Queens brother, dying without issue, the right of succession to the Crown is devolved upon the Heir to *Charles* a former King, wherein are competitors *Philip Duke de Valois*, and *Edward King of England*; *Edward* is the nearer in blood, but draws his Pedegree by a Female: *Philip* the father off, but descending by all Males; and because the Law *Salique* excluding Females, was conceived as well to exclude all descendants by Females, therefore is *Philip*s title preferred before King *Edwards*; and *Philip* is received and crowned King of *France*: to which preferment of his, *Robert de Artois* a Peere of great power, gave no small furtherance. And now as soon as *Philip* was Invested in the Crown, he summons *Edward* to come and doe his Homage for the Duchie of *Guyenne*, and his other lands in *France*, held of that Crown, according to the custome; which though it were some prejudice to King *Edwards* claim afterward, yet in regard his kingdom of *England* was scarce well settled, and himself but young, he was contented to doe; and thereupon the sixth of *June*, in the year 1329, King *Edward* in a Crimson Velvet gown imbroidered with Leopards, with his Crown on his head, his sword by his side, and golden Spurs on his heeles; presents himself in the body of the Cathed. all Church of *Amyens* before King *Philip*, sitting in his Chair of Estate, in a Velvet Gown of a Violet colour imbroidered with Flowers de lys of Gold, his Crown on his head, and his Scepter in his hand, with all his Princes and Peeres about him. The Viscount *Melun* Chamberlain of *France*, first commands King *Edward* to put off his Crown, his sword, and his spurs, and to kneel down, which he did, on a Crimson Velvet Cushion before King *Philip*, and then the Viscount putting both his hands together between the hands of the King of *France*, pronounced the words of the Homage, which were these: You become Leigeman to my Master here present, as Duke of *Aquitaine* and Peere of *France*, and you promise to bear faith and loyalty unto him; Say yea: and King *Edward* said yea, and kissed the King of *France* on the mouth as Lord of the Fee. The like Homage also he did for the Earldome of *Ponthieu*. But this act of submission left a rancour in King *Edwards* heart, which afterwards brake so out, that it had been good for *France* it had been never exacted.

This done, King *Edward* returns home, and there finds a new businesse with *Scotland*, upon this occasion, *Edward Balioll*, son to *John Balioll* (sometimes King of *Scotland*) two and thirty years after his Fathers deposition, began now to shew himself, attempting the recovery of that Crown; and coming out of *France*, where he had all that while remained, and getting aid under hand in *England*, with them he suddenly assails those who had the government of *Scotland*, during the Nonage of the young King *David*, (being at that time with the King of *France*) and in a battell overcame them, with the slaughter of many Noble men, and thousands of the common people; and thereupon was immediately Crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scot*. But notwithstanding this great defeat, King *Balioll* was forced to retire him into *England* to get more aid

A of King Edward: who now shews himself in the action, joynes with *Baylioll* against his brother in Law, King *David*; goes in person with a strong Army to recover *Berwick*, which after three monthes siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Scow*, was taken in, and the Army of the *Scots* which came to the rescue thereof, at *Halkidown-Hill*, utterly defeated: where were slain severall Earls, ninety Knights and Bannerets, four hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common souldiers, as our Writers report; as theirs, but fourteen thousand: and with this effusion of blood *Baylioll* returned to his miserable kingdome, and to hold good correspondence with the King of *England* hereafter, doth him Homage for his Realm of *Scotland*, and the Islands adjacent. But though he had a kingdome, yet he had not quietnesse, for many of the *Scots* aided by the *French*, made war upon him divers years after; during all which time, King *David* with his wife remained in *France*. If any man marvelle why King *Edward* would aid *Baylioll* against King *David*, who had married his sister; he may consider that Alliances, how near soever, weigh but light in the Scales of State.

About this time the Isle of *Man* is conquered by *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury* for which service King *Edward* gave him the title of King of *Man*.

King *Edward* aids *Baylioll* against his brother in law King *David*. The *Scots* defeated at *Halkidown-Hill*.

William Montacute Earl of *Salisbury* hath the title given him to be King of *Man*.

Of his Acts after he came of age.

C And now *Robert* of *Artois* banished out of *France*, comes into *England*, whom King *Edward* makes Earle of *Richmond*, and of his Councell. This *Robert* perswades King *Edward* to make war upon *France*, to which Crown (he said) he had more right then he that held it: with whose perswasions, King *Edward* is at last resolved to undertake the enterprise: and to furnish himself of noble Chieftains, he at one time in a Parliament at *Westminster*, the eighth year of his reign, creates six Earls, *Henry* of *Lancaster* he made Earle of *Dorset*, *William Montacute* he made Earle of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Audelay* Earle of *Glocester*, *William Clinton* Earle of *Huntington*, and *Robert Clifford* or *Vissard* Earle of *Suffolk*; also twenty Knights, of whom *Thomas de la Moore*, who writ the life of the Kings Father, was one. Withall he sends the Bishop of *Lincoln*, to procure leagues of amity, with divers Princes abroad: where it is scarce worth remembring, what *Froissard* mentions here, that certain young Gentlemen covered one of their eyes with a piece

King *Edward* is perswaded by *Robert* of *Artois* to make war upon *France*.

D of silk, and vowed to see but with one eye, till it might be seen, what great deeds of Armes they performed; but for at this vow of theirs we hear nothing of their exploits. And as the King of *England* laboured to procure himself friends, so likewise the King of *France* got to take his part, the Bishop of *Leige* with the Dukes and Earls of *Gelders*, *Juliers*, *Cleves*, *Hernath* and *Brabant*, and with the Archbishop of *Colen*, and *Valeran* his brother: *John* King of *Bohemis*, Earle of *Luxemburg*, *Henry* Count *Palatine*, *Aubert* Bishop of *Metz*, *Otho* Duke of *Austria*, *Aine* Earle of *Geneva*, with many other Princes and Captains out of *Germany*, *Spain*, and other Countries. King *Edward* thus resolved in himself, and furnished with friends abroad, goes over into *Flanders* with his Queen and Children, makes his residence at *Antwerp*; where by perswasion of the *Flemings* he takes upon him the Stile, Title, and Armes of the King of *France*; for by this they accounted themselves disoblged of the Bond of twenty hundred thousand crowns, which they had entred into, never to bear Armes against the King of *France*; and hereupon the League was established between them and King *Edward*: and from this time forward, the Kings of *England* quartered the Armes of *France* with those of *England*, and took upon them the name of Kings of *France*.

E And now King *Edward* for a beginning to put his claim in execution, sets upon *Cambray*, and enters *France* by the way of *Vernandois* and *Thierach*; on the other side King *Philip* isleth on the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and sends thither the Count of *Eu*, Constable of *France*, with the Earls of *Fois* and *Armigniac*. At last both Armies came so near together, that a fight was appointed the Friday after; but upon better consideration, the *English* thought it no discretion to give battell to an Army so much greater their own, if they could avoid it; and the *French* thought it as little discretion for them to hazard the person of their prince within his own kingdome; and perhaps were not a little moved with the warning given them by *Robert* King of *Sicilie*, a great Astronomer, that he forelaw by the Stars, some great misfortune to threaten the *French*, if they should that day fight with the *English*, King *Edward* being present: and thus both Armies having their severall reasons to decline the battell, they parted without doing any thing; only an accident happened scarce worth remembring, yet must be remembred. A Hare starting out before the head of the *French* Army, caused a great shout, to be made; whereupon, they who saw not the Hare, but only heard the shout, supposing it to be the onset to the battell, disposed themselves to fight, and fourteen Gentlemen for encouragements sake, as the custome is, were knighted; called afterward in merriment, Knights of the Hare.

The Armies of the two Kings, being near together, yet parted without fighting, and why,

Knights of the Hare, why so called.

G But now King *Edward* must a little look home, and therefore leaving the Queen in *Brabant*, he passeth himself into *England* about *Christmas*, having been in *Brabant* about a year; and landing at the Tower about midnight, and finding it unguarded, was so much displeased, that he presently sends for the Maior of *London*, commanding him to bring before him the Chancellor and Treasurer, with Sir *John Sains Paul*, *Michael Wash*, *Phillip Thorpe*, *Henry Stratford*, Clergie man, (who it seems were officers for his receipts) and *John Seoner* Justice of the Bench; all which, except the Chancellor, were apprehended and committed to prison; as were afterward in like manner divers Officers of Justice, and Accomptants, upon inquiry of

William Montague Earl of Salisbury, and Robert Ufford Earl of Suffolk, taken prisoners by the French.

King Edward takes and sinks two hundred and thirty French Ships.

How the French Kings Jester gave notice of this overthrow to the King.

King Edwards Army of five and fifty thousand defeated. King Edward sends a challenge to the K. of France, and the King of Frances Answer.

A Truce is concluded between the two Kings.

King David of Scotland enters England with an Army.

of their unjust proceeding. During the Kings abode in England William Montacute Earl of Salisbury A and Robert Ufford Earl of Suffolk left in Flanders to oppose the French, having performed divers great exploits; were at last in an encounter about Lisle, so overlaid by multitude, as they were both taken; and sent prisoners to Paris. Besides, about this time two accidents happened that were thought would be great rubs in King Edwards proceeding; one, that his Wives Father, William Earl of Hainault, dying, and leaving his Son to succeed, this Son left his brother King Edward, and fell to take part with the King of France; the other, that the Duke of Normandy, thinking himself as strong as ever William Duke of Normandy was that conquered England, he saw no reason but he might conquer it as well as that William; and thereupon makes preparation by Sea and Land to attempt the enterprise: but these were but vapours that never came to be winds, at least brought no storms: for John Earl of Hainault had quickly enough of the King of France, and was soon after reconciled to his brother King Edward; and the Duke of Normandy went no further then preparations: for indeed King Edward prosecuted his courses against France with such heat, that all the neighboring Princes seeing a fire kindled so near their own borders, were glad to look to themselves at home. But now to impeach the King of England's return into France, King Philip had provided a mighty Navie in the Haven of Sluce, consisting of two hundred sail of Ships, (besides many Gallies) and two thousand armed men in the Port ready to encounter him upon his landing: whereof King Edward being advertised, prepares the like number of Ships, and sets out to Sea upon Midsummer Eve; is met the morrow after with a Navie likewise from the North-sea, conducted by Sir Robert Morley; and encounters his enemy who try to intercept him with such force and courage, and such advantage of Wind and Sun, that he most victoriously defeated their whole Navie, took and sunk all their ships, slew thirty thousand men, and landed with as great glory, as such a victory (the greatest that ever before was gotten by the English at Sea) could yield; though King Edward himself was there wounded with an Arrow in the thigh: Most of the French rather then to endure the Arrows of the English, or be taken, desperately leap into the Sea; whereupon the French Kings Jester set on to give notice to him of this overthrow, (which being so ill news, none else would willingly impart unto him) said, and oftentimes repeated it in the Kings hearing; Cowardly English men, Dastardly English men, faint-hearted English men! the King at length asked him why? for that (said he) they durst not leap out of their Ships into the Sea, as our brave French men did. By which speech the King apprehended a notion of this overthrow; which the French attributed to Nicolas Baudet, one of their chief Commanders, who had armed his Ships with men of base condition (content with small pay) and refused Gentlemen and sufficient soldiers, in regard they required greater wages: And indeed it often happens that the avarice of Commanders is the occasion of great defeats.

By this victory King Edward gained a free entrance into Flanders, and presently went, and besieged Tournay with an Army of five and fifty thousand, but was so valiantly encountered by the Duke of Burgundie and the Earl of Armigniac, that they routed his Army, and slew four thousand upon the place: which so enraged King Edward, that two daies after he sent a challenge to King Philip to meet him in a single combat, or with an hundred against as many; before the walls of Tournay. King Philip answers, that his challenge being made to Philip de Valois, with mention of King, he took it not to be to him, who was truly King of France; but he wished him to remember the Homage he had done him at Amiens, and the wrong he did to the Christian world, by his troublesome courses to hinder him from his voyage intended to the Holy Land. Besides this answer in writing, he sends to him by word of mouth; that by his challenge he hazarded nothing of his own, but exposed only the Dominion of another, which was against all reason: but if he would set his kingdom of England, though much meaner, against his of France, he would then except the challenge, and meet him in the field in single combat. But this King Edward would not hearken to, for as he was valiant to make the challenge, so he was circumspect to look to the conditions. But hereupon he continues his siege of Tournay; to the relief whereof King Philip sends all the forces he could possibly make by himself or his friends; and after the siege had continued three moneths, partly by mediation of Robert King of Sicilie, but chiefly by the Lady Jane of Valois, sister to King Philip, and mother of King Edwards wife, (who had vowed her self a Nun, but to doe this good office, travelled from one to another) a Truce was concluded for a year, and both their Armies are dissolved.

After this, King Edward returning into England, was advertised how the Scots after many other places gained, had besieged the Castle of Striveling; for relief whereof, the King makes all the hast he can; and yet before he could come, it was by force of battery, compelled to surrender self upon conditions. Then King Edward being at Berwick, passeth to New-Castle upon Tyne, where he staies a moneth waiting for his provision that was to come by Sea; but that being driven into other parts by tempest, he makes a Truce with the Scots for three or four moneths, and then returns home. In the time of this Truce, the Scots send to King David, to come and govern the kingdom in his own person; who thereupon taking his leave of the King of France, with whom he had remained seven years, he with his wife Joan, King Edwards sister, returns into Scotland; whereafter he had been most honourably received by the Prince of Arke, and the other Lords and Barons of the kingdom; as soon as the Truce was ended, with a strong Army enters Northumberland, passing on to New-Castle upon Tyne, where he plants his Camp. Of this Castle, John Neville was left governor by King Edward, who sending out certain companies

A panies, took the Earl *Murray* prisoner, and with the slaughter of divers of his men, and rich booties, returned back to his Castle; which so incensed King *David*, that he assaulted the Castle as a man enraged, but finding it too strong for his taking, he then passed into the Province of *Durham*, where he used all kindes of cruelty, first upon the Country, and then upon the City, killing men, women, and children, Clergy, and others; burning and destroying houses and Churches, and utterly defacing it. From thence he passeth on to the Castle of *Salisbury*, which Castle belonged to *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury* in right of his wife, but himself being then prisoner in *France*, onely his Countesse, and one *William Montacute* a Cousin of his, was in the Castle. This *William* perceiving the *Scottish* horse to be so over-charged with pillage, that they were scarce able to goe; issues out of the Castle with forty horse, sets upon them, kills two hundred, and takes sixscore, whom he brings with their rich pillage, into the Castle. King *David* soon after with his whole Army arrived, but hearing of King *Edwards* coming (who certified of these things, made all the haste he could) he retires himself from thence; and King *Edward* finding him gone before he came, yet would needs go in and visit the Countesse: of whom, as soon as he saw her, he was so enamoured, that he laid more battery to her chastity, then King *David* had done to her Castle; but finding it inexpugnable, after a day and a night he left it, and followed after the *Scots*, with whom for three dayes together he had many skirmishes till at last a Truce was concluded for two years; and amongst other conditions, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, prisoner with the King of *France*, was set at liberty in exchange for the Earl *Murray*, prisoner with the King of *England*.

Is repelled at the Castle of *Salisbury*.

King *Edward* do love to the Countesse of *Salisbury*.

William Earl of *Salisbury* set at liberty by exchange.

C About this time another difference fell out between the Kings of *France* and *England*. *John* Earl of *Montford* laid claim to the Duchy of *Britain*, but in the quarrell was taken prisoner by the King of *France*: his Lady sends to King *Edward* for succour; which King *Edward* grants upon condition that a marriage be made between his daughter *Mary* and the Earl of *Montford*'s son; which being agreed on (he sends over to her aide, first, *Walter de Manny* a valiant knight, and afterward *Robert d'Artois*; but while his Army was preparing, King *Edward* was informed by *Edward Bayliol*, the pretended King of *Scotland*, and Governour of *Berwick*, that the *Scots* had not kept the conditions of the Truce, whereupon King *Edward* draws a great Army to *Berwick*, with a purpose to doe great matters, but nothing was done, for a new Truce was again concluded for two years. By this time *Robert d'Artois* had made ready his Army, and taking with him

D the Countesse of *Montford*, the Earls of *Pembrooke*, *Salisbury*, and *Suffolk*, and many other Barons; after great tempests and encounters at sea, lands safely at last near to *Vannes*, which was held by the *French*, and laying siege to the City, with the assistance of *Walter de Manny*, who came unto him, after many assaults, at last he took it, to the great joy of the Countesse of *Montford*, though she held it not long; for certain resolute *French* knights assaulted it soon after, and recovered it from the *English*. In which action many Lords were slain or wounded, and particularly *Robert de Artois* himself; who passing over into *England*, for the better curing of his wounds, soon after dyed, and was buried in *Pauls Church* in *London*. And now King *Edward* himself with a strong Army passeth over into *Britain*, and plants his Camp before the City of *Vannes*, where was like to have been a cruell battell; but in the instant, there came from Pope

Robert Artois wounded, dieth.

E *Clement* the sixth, two Cardinals, the Bishops of *Preneste* and *Tusculum*; who upon certain conditions concluded a Peace; amongst other conditions, this was one; that the City of *Vannes* should be delivered to King *Philip*, and thereupon *John* Earl of *Montford* should be set at liberty, but yet with this charge, not to goe into *Britain*: which promise notwithstanding, he kept not but went presently and besieged a Town in *Britaine*, though he were forced to retire, and dyed shortly after. But the Truce cracked thus, as it were, by *Montford*, was afterward absolutely broken by King *Edward*, though he charged the breach of it upon King *Philip*, and King *Philip* upon him. But howsoever, broken it was; and *Henry* of *Lancaster* Earl of *Derby*, with divers other Earls and Barons, is sent into *France*, who won many Towns in *Gascoyne*, and in the Counties of *Perigort* and *Tholouse*, and then went to winter at *Burdeaux*. And afterward, in *May* following, pursuing his victories, he won many more Towns; and amongst others, the great Town of *Reims*. After this again, he took *Montpelier*, *Mauvrou*, *Villefranche*, and many other Towns; and at last the great City of *Angoulesme*, and then came to winter again at *Burdeaux*.

A peace concluded between the two Kings: but soon broken.

King *Edward* wins many Towns in *France*.

The King of *France* assembles an Army of a hundred thousand men; and with them recovers some Towns.

Of his Acts together with the Prince.

KING *Philip* informed of so many great losses, assembles a mighty Army, no lesse then a hundred thousand men, with which he recovers *Miremont*, and *Villefranche*, and then proceeded to besiege *Angoulesme*; whom the Earl *Derby* having not forces sufficient to encounter, King *Edward* (leaving for Wardens of *England* in his absence, the Lords *Percy* and *Neuill*) goeth himself in person with an Army (as *Froissard* saith) of fourscore thousand men at *Armes*, and ten thousand Archers, besides those out of *Wales*, and *Ireland*; taking with him his son, the Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Guyenne*, being then but of the age of fifteen years. It may be thought preposterous in King *Edward*, to put his son to be a Soldier before he was come to be a man; but it seems he had a longing to try his sons valour in the bud, and perhaps was loath to omit any thing that might give any countenance to this battell, in which the two kingdoms were laid as it were at stake; but howsoever, taking him along with him;

King *Edward* goes in person with an Army into *France*, taking the Prince of *Wales* with him, being but fifteen years of age.

King Edward
at his landing
takes a fall, but
takes it for a
good sign.

King Edwards
valiant resolu-
tion.

The battail be-
tween the two
Kings at Cressy.

King Edward
refuseth to send
aid to his son.

Thirty thou-
sand French
slain.

him, and almost all the Lords of his kingdome, he takes shipping, and lands at *Normandy*, A
where at the first setting his foot on ground, he took such a fall, that the bloud gushed out at
his nose; which the Barons took for an ill sign, but the King took it for a good: saying, it was
a sign that the Land desired to have him: and indeed he presently took the Towns of *Harfleur*,
Moulbourn, *Caranton*, and *Saint Lo*, and afterward the City of *Caen* it self; and from thence passed
to the County of *Eureux*, sacked and pillaged it, as also the City of *Gisors*, *Vernon*, *Meulan*,
and *Bouleboise* to the City of *Poissy*. King *Philip* all this while stayed about *Paris*, as looking for
King *Edward* to give him battell there; and for that purpose had planted his Camp near to *Saint*
German; but King *Edward* deceived him: for going from *Poissy*, he passed into *Picardie* and *Por-*
tbien, where he took and burned many Towns and Castles; and then passed the River of *Soam*,
though not without danger: for King *Philip* had sent thither *Gundemar de Fay* with a thousand B
horse, and six thousand foot, to stop his passage: King *Edward* notwithstanding resolves to passe;
or perish, and plungeth foremost into the River; crying out, They who love me, will follow me:
at which voyce, every man strove who who should goe foremost, and so the shore was presently
gained by the *English*. *Gundemar* astonished with his bold adventure, astonisheth his people with
his fearfull countenance: so that the *English* encountering the *French* all in disorder; put them to
flight. King *Philip* enraged with this dishonour, resolves to revenge it; and presently provokes
King *Edward* to a battell. King *Edward* had now encamped in a Village called *Cressy*, his Army
consisted of thirty thousand men, which he divided into three battalians: the first was led by
the young Prince of *Wales*, with whom were joyned the Earl of *Warwick*, *Geoffry of Harecourt*,
Thomas Holland, *Richard Stafford*, *John Chandoes*, *Robert Nevile*, and many other Knights and Gen- C
tlemen, to the number of eight hundred men at arms, two thousand Archers, and a thousand
Welsh. In the second were the Earls of *Norhampton* and of *Arundell*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Basset*, and
others, to the number of eight hundred men at Armes, and twelve hundred Archers. In the
third the King was himself, having about him seven hundred men at Armes, and three thousand
Archers. The battels thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, he rode from rank to rank
to view them; encouraging every man that day to have regard to his right and honour. The
French Kings Army was far greater, consisting of above sixty thousand combatants well armed;
whereof the chief were *Charles* Duke of *Alanson* the Kings brother, *John* of *Luxembourg* King of
Bohemia, *Charles* de *Blois* the Kings Nephew, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorraine*, the Earls of *Flanders*, *Nevers*,
Sancerre; of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, about three thousand. The Vautguard he com- D
mits to his brother the Count de *Alanson*, the Reer to the Earl of *Savoy*, the main battell he leads
himself; his heat out of confidence of victory was so great, that it scarce permitted time for a
little counsell what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* advised that the Army should
take some repast, and that the Infantry consisting of *Genoues* (which were above fifteen thousand
Crossebowes, and sure men) should make the first Front, and the Cavallery to follow; which
was agreed on. But the Count of *Alanson*, contrary to this order, took it ill that the *Genoues* were
in the first rank, and in fury caused them to change place, which bred that discontentment, that
it irritated them more against the Leader, then the enemy; besides, there fell at the instant, such
a showre of rain, as dissolved their strings, and made their Bowes of little use; and at the bre-
aking up of the showre, the Sun shone full in the face of the *French* (dazling their sight) and on E
the back of the *English*, as if all made for them. King *Edward* who had gotten to a Windmill, be-
holding as from a Sentinell, the countenance of the enemy, and discovering the disturbance made
by the change of place; instantly sends to charge that part, without giving them time to re-ac-
commodate themselves; whereupon the discontented *Genoues* recoil; which the Count de *Alanson*
perceiving, he comes on with the horse and in great rage cries out, On, on, Let us make way up-
on the bellies of these *Genoues*, who doe but hinder us: and instantly pricks on with a full career
through the midst of them, followed by the Earls of *Lorraine* and *Savoy*, and never staies till he
came up to the *English* battail, where the Prince was; the fight grew hot and doubtfull, in so
much as the Commanders about the Prince send to King *Edward* to come up with his power to
aide him. The King asks the messengers whether his son were slain or hurt: who answering, No, F
but that he was like to be over-laid: Well then (said the King) return, and tell them who sent
you, that so long as my son is alive, they send no more to me what ever happen; for I will that
the honour of this day be his. And so being left to try for themselves, they wrought it out with
the Sword; the rather because the *French* King having his horse slain under him, and in danger
to be troden to death, had he not been recovered by the Lord *Beaumont*; was to the great discour-
agement of his people, withdrawn out of the field: whereof notice being once taken by the *En-*
glish, the day was soon after theirs, and the greatest victory they ever had yet against the *French*,
and so bloody, as there is no mention made of any one prisoner taken in the battail, but all slain
out-right; only some few troops that held together, saved themselves by retiring to places near
adjoyning. The *French* King himself with a small company, got to *Bray* in the night, and appro-
aching the wals, and the guard asking him who goes there? he answered, the Fortune of *France* G
By his voyce he was known, and thereupon received into the Town, with the tears and lamenta-
tions of his people. The number of the slain are certified to be thirty thousand: the chief where-
of, were *Charles de Alanson*, *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, *Ralph* Earl of *Lorraine*, *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*,
Jaques Daulphin de *Viennois*, son to *Imbert*, (who after gave Daulphin to the Crown of *France*)
the Earls of *Sancerre*, *Harecourt*, and many other Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, to the number
of fifteen hundred. This memorable Victory happened upon the Saturday after *Bartolomew* day,
in

A in the year 1346. The next day, early in the morning, being Sunday, he sent out 300. Lances, and 2000. Archers, to discover what was become of the enemy, who found great Troops coming from *Abbeville*, *Saint Requier*, *Roan*, and *Beauvoies* (ignorant of what had happened) led by the Archbishop of *Roan*, and the Priour of *France*: whom they likewise defeated, and slew seven thousand.

But this was not all the Victories that fell to King *Edward* that year, there was another of no lesse importance gotten in *England*, by the Queen and his people at home against the *Scots*; who being set on by the *French*, to divert the war there, entred upon this Kingdome with three score thousand men, (as our writers report) assuring himself of successe, in regard (as he supposed) the main strength thereof was now gone into *France*; but he found it otherwise; For the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Umphreville*, the Earl of *Angus*, *Henry Percy*, *Ralph Nevile*, *William Dacourt*, with the Archbishop of *Tork*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergy, gathered to great Forces, and so well ordered them, by the animation of the Queen, (who was there in person) as fighting a great battail at *Nevils Crosse* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, they utterly defeated this great Army, took *David* their King prisoner, with the Earls of *Fife*, *Menteith*, *Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbishop of *Saint Andrewes*, and others; and put to the sword fifteen thousand *Scots*. This victory also fell upon a Saturday, six weeks after that of *Cressy*. He that took King *David* prisoner, was one *John Copland*, an Esquire of *Northumberland*, whom King *Edward* rewarded with five hundred pound land a year, and made him a Banneret. And as it all concurred to make this year Triumphant, the aids sent to the Countesse of *Montford* in *Britain*, led by *Thomas Dagworth* a valiant Knight, overthrew and took prisoner, *Charles de Blois*, Pretender to that Duchy, and with him *Monsieur la Vall*, the Lords *Rechford*, *Beaunoyre*, *Loyacque*; with many other Barons, Knights, and Esquires: Where were slain the Lord *De la Vall*, Father to him that was taken, Viscount *Rohan*, *Monsieur de Chateau Bryan*, *de Malestrois*, *de Quintin*, *de Direvel*, besides many other Knights and Esquires to the number of seven hundred. And now King *Edward* without meddling with the great Cities of *Amiens* and *Abbeville*, marched on directly, and sits down before *Callice*, a Town of more importance for *England*, and the Gate to all the rest: Wherein *John de Vienne* Marshall of *France*, and the Lord *de Andreghem*, (a great man in his time) commanded: The King being to make it a Winter siege, erected for him and his people, so many houses and lodges, that it was named *New-Callice*.

D All that Winter King *Edward* lay without any molestation by the *French* King, who was busied at home in his own State about raising of money; wherewith supplied at last, he raiseth an Army and approacheth *Callice*, but findes no way open to come to relieve it. The King of *England* was both Master of the Haven, and posselt all other wayes that were passable; and the *Flemings*, his friends had besieged *Aire*; to oppose whom, *John Duke of Normandy* is sent for out of *Guyenne*: who departing, leaves *Henry of Lancaster* Earl of *Derby*, Master of the Field, and he having an Army consisting of twelve hundred men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and three thousand other Foot, takes in most of the Towns of *Kaintoigne*, and *Poictou*, and in the end besieged and sacked *Poitiers*, and then returns to *Burdeaux*, with more pillage then his people could well bear: Thus the *English* prosper every where, and the *French* suffer. During this siege of *Callice*, (in which some think King *Edward* first used Guns) the *Flemings* send to King *Edward*, to make a marriage between his Daughter *Isabell* and their Lord the young Count *Lewis*; to which the King consented, but the Duke of *Brabant* gets the King of *France*, to make the match for a Daughter of his; The *Flemings* presse their Lord with the match of *England*; but he absolutely refuseth it, saying, he would never marry a Daughter of him, that had killed his Father, though he would give him half his Kingdome. This answer so incensed the *Flemings*, that they put their Lord in Prison, till with long durance he at last consented; and thereupon King *Edward* and his Queen, with their Daughter *Isabell*, come over to *Berghes*, and there the young Earl is affianced to her; but returning afterwards into *Flanders*, as soon as he found opportunity, he went to King *Philip*, and left his affianced Lady unmarried; and married afterwards a Daughter of the Duke of *Brabants*. But all this while the siege of *Callice* was continued; and King *Philip* not being able to come to relieve it, solicits King *Edward* to appoint some place of battail, and he would meet him. But King *Edward* returns answer, that if he would make his own way, to come thither to him, there he should finde him, but from thence he would not part; having lain there so long to his great labour and expence, and being now so near the point of gaining the place. Two Cardinals are sent from the Pope, to mediate a Peace, but could effect nothing, so as the *French* King was forced to break up his Army and retire to *Paris*, leaving *Callice* to the mercy of the Besieger: which when the Town understood, they sent to desire Parle, had it granted, and therein received this finall answer, that six of the chief Burgeses should be sent to the King bare-headed, and bare-footed, in their shirts, with halters about their necks, the keys of the Town and Castle in their hands, and submit themselves to the Kings will; the rest he was content to take to mercy. This seemed a hard condition, and much difficulty: who should be those six: but one rising up, and out of love to his Countrey offering himself to be one, the six were soon made up; for now by his example every one strove to be of the number: who presenting themselves before the King, he commanded them instantly to be put to death. Great supplication was made by his Lords for their lives, but the King would not be drawn to alter his sentence, till the Queen, great with childe, fell on her knees, and with tears obtained pardon for them; which done, she caused them to be clothed,

The Scots in King Edwards absence, with an Army of three score thousand invade England.

But are defeated, and David their King taken prisoner.

John Copland who took King David prisoner, is rewarded by King Edward with 500 l. land a year.

King Edward sits down before Callice.

When Guns first used.

Callice desires a Parle.

King Edward requires six of their chief Burgeses to bring the keys of the Town to him with halters about their necks, whom he judged to be put to death. But at the Queens intercession spares them.

Calice after eleven moneths siege, yielded up to King Edward.

King Edward is chosen King of the Romans; but refuseth it.

Aymery of Pavia Governour of Calice is bribed to betray it.

But gets the bribe and yet keeps the town.

King Edward twice beaten down on his knees by Monsieur de Riboumont; yet at last takes him prisoner.

He rewards Riboumont for his valour.

The French King's eldest son to be Dauphin of France, whence it began.

The Prince of Wales is sent into Gascoyne.

and besides a good repast, gives to every one of them six Nobles a piece. But though the King in this sentence shewed severity, yet in an Act before he had shewed mercy; For when Victuals began to fail in the Town, and all unusefull persons, as old men, women, and children, were put out of the Gates; he forced them not back again as he might have done, thereby the sooner to consume their store; but suffered them to passe through his Army, gave them to eat, and two pence a piece to all of them. And thus was that strong Town of Calice gotten, the third day of August, in the year 1347. after eleven moneths siege, and continued afterward in possession of the English two hundred and ten years. All the Inhabitants are turned out, but only one Priett, and two old men, to inform of the Orders of the Town: and a Colony of English, amongst which seven and thirty good Families out of London, is sent to inhabit it; The King and Queen enter the Town triumphantly, and make their abode there, till the Queen was brought a bed of her Daughter Margaret. The King made Governour of the Town Aymery of Pavia a Lombard, whom he had brought up from his Infancy, and then with his Queen returns into England; at which time the Princes Electours send to signifie, that they had chosen him King of the Romans, but the King refuseth to accept it, as being an honour out of his way, and scarce compatible with his State at home.

After this Truces were made by mediation, from one time to another, for the space of two years, in which time, Geoffrey de Charmy Captain of Saint Omer, agreed with Aymery of Pavia, whom King Edward had left Governour of Calice, to render it up for twenty thousand Crowns: which King Edward hearing of, sent to Aymery, and charged him with this perfidiousness; whereupon Aymery comes to the King, and humbly desiring pardon, promiseth to handle the matter so as shall be to the Kings advantage, and thereupon is sent back to Calice. The King, the night before the time of agreement arrives with three hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Archers: Monsieur de Charmy sets out likewise the same night from Saint Omer with his forces, and sent a hundred men before with the Crowns to Aymery: the men are let in at a Postern Gate, the Crowns received; and assured to be all weight: which done, the Gates of the Town are opened, and out marches the King before day, to encounter Monsieur de Charmy; who perceiving himself betrayed, defended himself the best he could, and put King Edward to a hard bickering, who for that he would not be known there in person, put himself and the Prince under the Colours of the Lord Walter Manny, and was twice beaten down on his knees by Monsieur de Riboumont, a hardy Knight, (with whom he fought hand to hand) and yet recovered, and in the end took Riboumont prisoner. Charmy was likewise taken, and all his Forces defeated. King Edward the night after (which was the first of the new year) feasted with the Prisoners, and gave Riboumont in honour of his valour, a rich Chaplet of Pearl, which himself wore on his head (for a new years gift) forgave him his rancome, and set him at liberty. But the English not long after, in the like practise, had better successe, and got the Castle of Guynes, (a piece of great importance near Calice) for a sum of money, given to one Beaumoy a French-man. Of which Castle when the French King demanded restitution in regard of the Truce, King Edward returns answer, that for things bought and sold between their people, there was no exception, and so held it.

About this time Philip King of France dyed, leaving his Son John to succeed him; in the beginning of whose Reign, Humbert Prince of Dauphin, dying without Issue, made him his Heir, and thereupon Charles King Johns Son was created the first Dauphin of France: from whence it grew to be a custom, that the King of France his Heir should alwayes be called Dauphin of France. About this time also the Duke of Lancaster was to perform a combat, upon a challenge with a Prince of Bohemia, but when they were entred the Lists, and had taken their Oaths, King John interposed and made them friends. And now when after many means of mediation, no peace could be concluded between the two Kings; the Prince of Wales being now grown a man, is appointed by Parliament to go into Gascoyne with a thousand men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a great number of Welshmen, and in June following he sets forth with three hundred Sail, attended with the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford, the Lord Chandos, the Lord James Audley, Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Francis Hull, with many others. About Michaelmas following, the King himself passeth over to Calice with another Army, taking with him two of his Sons, Lionell of Antwerp, now Earl of Ulster in right of his Wife, and John of Ganns Earl of Richmond. There met him at Calice of Mercenaries out of Germany, Flanders and Brabant, a thousand men at Arms, so that his Army consisted of three thousand men at Arms, and two thousand Archers on horseback, besides Archers on foot. The City of London sent three hundred men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, all in one livery, at their own charge; but all this great Army effected nothing at that time, by reason the King of France would not be drawn to any Encounter, and had so disurnished the Countrey of all provisions, that the King of England was forced to return. King Edward solicited by the King of Navarre to aid him against the King of France, sends over the Duke of Lancaster with four thousand men at Arms, who wins many Towns; and the Prince enters Guienne, passeth over Languedoc to Tholouse, Narbonne, Bourges without any Encounter, sacks, spoils, and destroys where he goes, and laden with booties returns to Bordeaux. The French King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers all the power he possibly could, and first makes against his enemies in Normandy, recovers many of his lost Towns, and was likely to have there prevailed, but that he was drawn of force to oppose this fresh Invader, the Prince of Wales, who was come up into Tourayne, against whom he brings his whole Army,

- A Army, consisting of above three score thousand; whereupon the Prince, whose Forces were not likely to be able to encounter him (being six for one) was advised to retire again to *Burdeaux*. But the *French King* to prevent this course follows; and within two Leagues of *Poitiers*, hath him at a great advantage: at which instant two Cardinals came from the Pope to mediate a Peace. But the *French King* supposing he had his enemy now in his mercy, would accept of no other conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him four Hostages, and as vanquished, render himself and his Army to his discretion. The Prince was content to restore unto him what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice of his honour, wherein he said he stood accountable to his Father, and to his Countrey. But the *French King* would abate nothing of his demands, as making himself sure of victory: and thereupon was instantly ready to set upon the Prince: who
- B seeing himself reduced to this straight, takes what advantage he could of the ground, and providently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs, and Bushes, on that part he was like to be assailed, to impeter and intangle the *French* horse, which he saw were to come furiously upon him. The success answered his expectation; for the Cavallery of his enemies upon their first assault were so wrapt and encombred amongst the Vines, that his Archers galled and annoyed them at their pleasure. For the *French King* to give the honour of the day to his Cavallery, imployed them only without his Infanterie; so as they being disordered and put to rout, his whole Army came utterly to be defeated. In this battel were taken prisoners King *John* himself, with his youngest Son *Philip*, by *Dennis de Morbeeque*, a Knight of *Artois*; *Jaques de Bourbon*, Conte de *Ponthieu*; the Archbishop of *Sens*, *John de Artois*; Conte de *Eu*; *Charles de Artois*; his brother Count de *Longueville*; *John de Melun*; Count de *Tankerville*; the Counts of *Vendosme*, *Vandemont*, *Estampes*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin* and *La Roche*, also *John de Ceintre*, accounted (as *Froissard* saith) the best Knight of *France*, with many other Lords, besides two thousand Knights and Gentlemen; insomuch as the Conquerours holding it not safe to retain so many, let many of them go. The *French* who can give best account of their own losses, report there died in this battel, a thousand seven hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two Bannerets: the most eminent *Peter de Bourbon*, the Duke of *Athens* Constable of *France*; *Jehan de Clermont* Marshall, *Geoffry de Charmy*, high Chamberlain; the Bishop of *Chalons*, the Lord of *Landas*, of *Pons*, and of *Chambly*. There escaped from this battel three of the *French Kings* Sons, (for he brought them all thither) *Charles* Prince *Dauphin*; *Louis* after Duke of *Anjou*; and *John* Duke of *Barry*; all great actors in the time following. The speciall
- D great men of the *English* in this fight, were the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Stafford*; the Lords *Cobham*, *Spensers*, *Barkley*, *Basset*: of *Gascogne*, *Le Capital de Beuff*; the Lords, *Pumy*, *Chamoult*, and others. The Lord *James Audelay* won honour both by his valour, and his bounty; for having vowed to be foremost in this fight, he performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince having rewarded him with the gift of five hundred Marks Fee-simple in *England*, he presently gave it to four of his Esquires; whereupon the Prince demanding whether he accepted not his gift? he answered, that these men had deserved the same as well as himself, and had more need of it: with which reply the Prince was so well pleased, that he gave him five hundred Marks more in the same kind. A rare example, where desert in the Subject, and reward in the Prince, strive which should be the greater.
- E But here great strife arose between many, who should be the man that took King *John* prisoner; but the Prince commanded them to forbear their claims, till they came into *England*; where the matter being heard, it was adjudged by King *Johns* own testimony, that one Sir *Dennys Morbeck* of *Saint Omers* had taken him prisoner: for which service the Prince rewarded him with a thousand Marks.

John King of France, with an Army of sixty thousand opposed the Prince of *Wales*, at *Poitiers*.

The Princes policy.

King *John* himself with many great Lords taken prisoner.

The Lord *James Audelay* his valour; and his bounty.

A Thanksgiving all *England* over eight dayes together.

King *John* is brought over and lodged at the *Savoy*.

David King of Scots, after eleven years imprisonment is set at liberty.

The *Dauphin* and Councell of *France* not yielding to King *Edwards* demands, he passeth with an Army over into *France*.

- And now, though King *John* had the misfortune to fall into the hands of his enemy, yet he had the happinesse to fall into the hands of a Noble enemy; for Prince *Edward* used him with such respect and observance, that he could not find much difference between his captivity and liberty. After the battell which was fought the nineteenth day of *September*, in the year 1357, Prince *Edward* leads King *John* and the captive Lords to *Burdeaux*, where he retains them till the Spring following; but sends present news of this victory to his Father: who thereupon causeth a generall thanksgiving all *England* over eight dayes together: and in *May* following King *John* rather coming over with the Prince, then brought over by him, is lodged at the *Savoy*, a Palace belonging to *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, and the fairest at that time about *London*. And King *Edward*, as though he thought it honour enough to have one King his prisoner at once, at the suit of his Sister Queen *Joan*, he sets her Husband *David King of Scots* at liberty, after he had been prisoner in *England* eleven years, but not without paying a Ransome, which was a hundred thousand Marks to be paid in ten years.
- F

- After this, by mediation of Cardinals sent by the Pope, a Truce for two years is concluded between the two Kingdoms of *France* and *England*, and in the time of this Truce, Articles of Peace between the two Kings are propounded: King *Edward* requires the Dutchie of *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, the Counties of *Poitou*, *Touraine*, *Maine*, and *Anjou*, with all their appurtenances as large as King *Richard* the first held them, and many other Provinces besides, and to hold them all without Homage or any other service; to which Articles King *John* (weary of imprisonment) assents and seals, but the *Dauphin* and Councell of *France* utterly reject it: whereupon King *Edward* in great displeasure resolves to make an end of this work with the sword, and to take possession of the Kingdom of *France*; and leaving his younger Son *Thomas* Governour of his Kingdom at home, with a Fleet of eleven hundred sail, and taking all the great Lords of the Realm with him, he
- G

passeth over to Callice, dividing his Army into three battles, whereof one he commits to the Prince of Wales, another to the Duke of Lancaster, and the third he leads himself: and first marching through Picardy, where he takes in many Towns, he plants his siege afterward before Rheims; but having spent there six or seven weeks without effecting any thing, he passeth thence, and taketh in the Cities of Sens and Nevers; the Duchy of Burgoyne redeems it self from spoil with paying two hundred thousand Florent of gold: then he marcheth up to Paris, and plants his Camp within two small Leagues of the Town, where he honoured 400. Esquires and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood: but when Sir Walter de Manny had made a Bravado before the Gates of the City, and the King saw that the Dauphin would by no provocations be drawn out to battell; he raiseth his siege, and returns into Britain to refresh his Army, from thence he marcheth towards Chartres with a purpose to besiege that City, and though great offers were made him by the French, and Commissioners from the Pope solicited him with all earnestnesse to accept them, yet neither they, nor the Duke of Lancasters perswasions could prevail with him, till a terrible storm of hail with thunder and lightning fell upon his Army, which so terrified him, being a warning as it were from Heaven, that he presently vowed to make Peace with the French King upon any reasonable conditions, as shortly after he did at a Treaty of Britigny near to Chartres, upon these Articles: that the Feifs of Thonars and Belleville, the Duchy of Guyenne, comprising Gascoyne, Poictou, Saintoigne, Limousin, Perigort, Quercie, Rhodes, Angoulesme, and Rochell, together with the Counties of Guynes and Callice, and some other places with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories should be to the King of England, who besides was to have three millions of Crowns of gold; whereof six hundred thousand in hand, four hundred thousand the year following, and the rest in two years after: and for this the King of England, and his Son the Prince of Wales, for them and their Successours for ever, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crown of France, the Duchy of Normandy, the Countreys of Touraine, Anjou, Mayne, the Homage and Sovereignty of Britain, and the Earldome of Flanders; and within three weeks King John to be rendred at Callice at the charge of the King of England, except the expences of his house. For assurance of which accord, should be given into his hand five and twenty of the greatest Dukes and Lords of France for Hostages. The Scots not to be aided by the French King, nor the Flemings by the English. This accord and finall Peace signed by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest Sons, Edward and Charles, and sworn unto by the Nobility of both Kingdoms. The Hostages are delivered to King Edwards, who brought them into England; and thereupon King John is honourably conducted to Callice, after he had remained prisoner in England near about five years: but being come to Callice, he was detained there above three moneths, till the money which he was to pay in hand, could be provided; and for providing the rest he was put to hard shifts, being faine to give the Jews leave to dwell in France for twenty years, paying twelve Florins a man at the entry, and six every year after. At this time the Prince by dispensation marries the Countesse of Kent, daughter to Edmund, brother to Edward the second; and his Father investing him with the Duchy of Aquitain, he was now Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitain, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester and Kent: and not long after, with the Prince's his wife, he passeth over into France, and keeps his Court at Bourdeaux.

This was now the year 1362, and the fiftieth year of King Edwards age, wherein for a Jubilee, he shews himself extraordinarily gracious to his people, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, revoking exiles; with many other expressions of his love and bounty. The year following was famous for three Kings coming into England: John King of France, Peter King of Cyprus, and David King of Scots. The King of Cyprus came to solicit King Edward to joyn with other Princes in the Holy War, but receives only royall entertainment and excuses. The King of Scots came for business and visitation, but why the King of France came is not so certain, whether it were about taking order for his Hostages, or to satisfie King Edward for breach of some Articles, or else for love to the Countess of Salisbury; or perhaps of a desire to let England see his Majesty, being at liberty, which had been darkened before by the cloud of captivity; but whatsoever the cause of his coming was, the cause of his staying (at least, of longer staying then he meant) was a mortall sicknesse, whereof (having lien all the Winter at the Savoy) in March or April following he died; and his body conveyed over into France, was buried at Saint Denis with his Ancestours.

The Prince of Wales was now grown famous all the Christian world over, and the man to whom all wronged Princes seem to appeal, and to flie for succour: for which end there came at this time to his Court, James King of Majorque, and happened to come at a time when the Prince's lay in; and thereupon he and Richard King of Navarre were taken to be Godfathers to his Son Richard. For the like assistance also, there came at the same time to him, Peter King of Castile, driven out of his Kingdom by the French, in favour to Peter King of Aragon: and Prince Edward, partly out of charity to succour a distressed Prince, and partly out of policy, to keep his Souldiers in exercise; undertakes the enterprize, and was so prosperous in it, that with one battel (having but 30000 against a 100000) he put King Peter in possession of his Kingdom, though he was ill rewarded for his labour; for the ungratefull King would not so much as pay his Souldiers: and it is memorable which Fraissard writes; that of the enemies were slain and drowned above 2000, and of the Princes party not above 40. But yet an unfortunate journey for the Prince, for though he came back with victory, yet he brought back with him such an indisposition of body, that he

He marcheth up to Paris.

King Edward would hearken to no conditions of Peace, till terrified by thunder and lightning. Articles of Peace between the two Kings of England and France.

King John after five years imprisonment is released.

Edward Prince of Wales marries the Countesse of Kent, and keeps his Court at Bourdeaux.

King John comes into England.

And here falls sick, and dieth.

Prince Edward makes a journey into Spain, to aid Peter King of Castile, and recovers his Kingdom for him. But is ill rewarded.

A was never throughly well after; not perhaps by poyson, nor given him by his Brother the Duke of Lanc after, though both were suspected; but there were causes of distemp'ring him enough besides, the Country, the season, the action it self; and it may be more marvelled that his Souldiers came home so well, then that he came so ill; but howsoever, being now returned, there was presently to his indisposition of body, added discontentment of minde: for not having means to pay his Souldiers, which forced him to wink at that which he could not chuse but see, and seeing, grieve at, how they preyed upon the Countrey, and thereupon how the Countrey murmured against him: and now to top this murmuring, his Chancellour, the Bishop of *Rhodes*, devised a new Imposition, of leavying a Frank for every Chimney, and this to continue for five years to pay the Princes debtes: but this Imposition made the murmuring the more; for though some part of his Dominions, as the *Poitovins*, *Xaintons*, and *Lymousins* in a sort consented to it, yet the Count of *Armigniac*, the Count of *Comminges*, the Viscount of *Carmayn*, and many others so much distasted it, that they complained thereof to the King of *France*, as to their Supreme Lord; who upon examination finding their complaint to be iust, he thereupon by advice of his Councell, summons Prince *Edward* to appear in person, to answer the complaint: whereunto Prince *Edward* made answer, that if he must needs appear, he would bring threescore thousand men in Arms to appear with him; and had certainly brought his Army that Summer against *Paris*, if he had not fallen into symptoms of a Dropie which (*Walsingham* saith) was wrought by enchantment. But upon this answer of the Prince, King *Charles* sends defiance to King *Edward*, who thereupon prepares Arms both by Sea and Land to oppose him. The *French* enters upon the Territories of the Prince, and defeats divers of his Troops; in revenge whereof *John Chandos* the Princes Lieutenant assaults *Terriers* in the Province of *Tholouse*, and takes it. The Count of *Perigourd* assaults *Royanville*, in *Quercy*, and put all the *English* to the sword: in revenge whereof *James Audley* Seneschall of *Poitou*, assaults the City of *Brosse*, and takes it. In the mean time *Robert Knolls* by some called *Robin*, and by others, *Arnould*, or *Reynould Knoll*, had drawn *Perducas de Albert* to the party of the *English*; and thereupon went and encamped before the Fort of *Darcnell* in *Quercy*, which *John Chandos* understanding, went also and joyned with him in the siege; but finding they could do no good there, they removed and besieged the City of *Damme*: and when they could do no good there neither, they marched forward, took the Fort of *Froyns*, *Rochevau-dour*, and *Villefranche*; and that done, returned to the Prince at *Angoulesme*. At the same time, the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembrooke*, having spent nine weeks at the siege of *Bordeille*, at last took it; but other Captains of the *English* did yet more, for they scaled *Belleperche* in the Province of *Bourbons* where the Mother of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Queen of *France* was, and take her prisoner.

The Prince never throughly well after this journey.

Prince Edward summoned by the King of France, what answer he makes.

The two Kings enter into Arms: and interchangeably take Towns.

Queen Philippa dyeth.

About this time, *Philippa* Queen of *England*, King *Edward*'s Wife dyed, and was buried at *Westminster*; but this hindered not the proceeding of the *English* in *France*; the Earl of *Pembrooke* enters *Anjou*, where he takes many Towns: the Duke of *Lancaster* doth the like about *Calice*, and marching forward, plants his Camp before *Harfleur*, with a purpose to burn the King of *France* his Navy, but being watched by the Count *Saint Poll*, was forced to forbear that design; and so passing other wayes, and spoiling all the places where he passed, he returned to *Calice*. Winter now was drawing on, and *John Chandos* desiring to recover the Abby of *Saint Siluin* in *Poitou*, which not long before had been betrayed to the *French*; was in the enterprise discovered, and being assaulted by greater Forces, was slain in the place, to the great grief of the Prince of *Wales*, and of the *English* Lords: but dying without Issue, his Estate, which amounted to four hundred thousand Franks, came to the Prince. At this time the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry*, with two great Armies enter upon the Territories of the Prince of *Wales*; whereof the Prince advertised, assembles Forces to oppose them: but when the newes was brought him of the taking of *Limoges*, he was so much troubled at it, by reason the Bishop of that place was his Gossip, and one in whom he specially had affiance; that he resolved to recover it at any price, and not to spare a man that had any hand in rendring it up: and thereupon taking it by force, he commanded to sack and pillage it, and would not be stayed by the cries of the people, casting themselves down at his feet; till passing through the Town, he perceived three *French* Captains, who themselves alone had withstood the assault of his victorious Army, and moved with the consideration of their valour, he then abated his anger; and for their sakes, granted mercy to all the Inhabitants. So much is vertue even in an enemy, respected by generous mindes. In the mean time *David* King of *Scots* died without Issue; and *Robert Stewart* his Nephew, succeeded him in the Kingdom, and was Crowned at *Scone*. At this time *Robert Knolls* with a great Army is sent into *France*, where making many attempts, with valour enough, but with little successe; he was coming home, though with no gain, yet with no losse: till *Bertrand de Gueschlyn* assaulting him, slew the most part of his men; and so this great Army on a sudden came to nothing. It seems *Knolls* his action was the lesse successfull, by reason of some young Lords, that went with him, scorning to be under his command, as being but a new man, and risen from a low estate, were refractory to his directions: And indeed what can a Generall do, if he have not as well reputation of person, as of place?

Valour respected in an Enemy.

Robert Stewart crowned King of Scotland.

And now the Prince of *Wales*, his eldest Son *Edward* dying at *Burdeaux*, the Prince with his Wife, and his other Son *Richard*, came over into *England*; at which time the valiant Knight *Sir Walter de Manny* died at *London*, and was buried in the Monastery of the *Chartreux* which he had *Manny* dyeth. builded; leaving one only Daughter, married to *John* Earl of *Pembrooke*. This Earle of *Pembrooke* was soon after sent Governour into *Aquitain*, but set upon by the way by *Spaniards* in

favore

The Earl of
Pembroke be-
ing taken Pri-
soner; the
Princes Domi-
nions in
France fall
soon away.

The Duke of
Lancaster is
sent over with
an Army of
thirty thou-
sand; but scarce
six thousand
returned
home.
Edward
Prince of
Wales dieth.
A Parliament
called, to
which of Cler-
gy-men were
summoned
only four Bi-
shops and five
Abbots.

favour of the French, was by them taken prisoner, and carried with others into Spain: who being chained together, as the manner is, one Evans a Welsh Fugitive, who gave himself out for the right Heir of Wales, came upon him foolishly playing upon him with scornfull language, as though to insult over another mans misery, could serve for a cordiall to mitigate his own. And now upon the taking of this Earle, the Princes Dominions in France, are either taken away, or fall away faster then they were gotten; Guiscllyn enters Poitou, takes Montmorillon, Chauvigny, Lus-
sack, and Moncontour: straight after follows the countrey of Aulnis, of Xantoigne, and the rest of Poitou; then Saint Maxent, Neels, Aulnai, then Benaon, Marant, Surgers, Fontency, and at last they came to Thouars, where the most part of the Lords of Poitou, that held with the Prince were assembled; at which time King Edward, with the Prince, the Duke of Lancaster, and all the great Lords of England, set forward to their succour, but being driven back by tempest, never came to give them assistance, so as Thouars yielded upon compulsion. Yet did this preparation of the King stand him in nine thousand Marks; that it may be truly said, it cost him more now to lose Towns, then it had cost him before to win them, so great oddes there is between the Spring and Fall of Fortune. After this, the Duke of Lancaster is sent over with another great Army, who passed up into many parts of the Countrey, but King Charles resolved to hazard no battell; saying, They were but clouds, and would soon passe away; yet so watched him, that what with light skirmishes, and what with scarcity of victuals, his Forces were so dimini shed, that of thirty thousand which went out of Callice, there scarce returned six thousand home: which made King Edward say of this King Charles, that he did him more mischief fitting still, then his Predecessours had done with all their stirring. And now by this time all Poitou is lost, and all Aquitaine also; but only Burdeaux and Bais: when the Archbishop of Roan and others are sent from Pope Gregory the eleventh, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings; but each of them standing upon high terms of conditions, nothing could be effected, but Truce upon Truce for two or three years together. In which time Edward Prince of Wales died, and with him we may say, the Fortune of England; being a Prince so full of vertues, that he left no place for any vice; and if he had lived in the Heroick times, might well have been numbred amongst the nine Worthies. His body was buried at Canterbury, where his Monument standeth. King Edward in his seven and fortieth year called a Parliament at Westminster, which lasted but eight dayes; and to which were summoned by Writ, of Clergy men only four Bishops, and five Abbots.

Of King Edwards Acts after the death of the Prince.

Subsidies are
demanded
of the King;
And redresse
of grievances
are demanded
for the Sub-
jects.
Hereupon the
Duke of Lan-
caster and A-
lice Pierce are
banished the
Court, but
soon revoked.
Defrauding of
Souldiers pu-
nished with
death.

Wickham Bi-
shop of Win-
chester forbid-
den to come to
the Parliament
called the
good Parlia-
ment.
Alice Pierce
her insolent
carriage.
Richard of
Burdeaux is
created Prince
of Wales, and
published heir
apparent of the
Crown.
Fourteen hun-
dred Towns
offered for
Callice.

IN the time of the Princes sicknesse, King Edward calls a Parliament at Westminster; in which when demands were made for supply of the King, demands were presently made for redresse of grievances for the Subjects. It was required that the Duke of Lancaster, the Lord Latimer then Lord Chamberlain, Dame Alice Pierce the Kings Concubine, and one Sir Richard Sturmy might be removed from Court. And this was so vehemently urged by their Speaker, Sir Peter de la Moors, that the King rather then not to be supplied, gave way unto it; and thereupon all these persons are presently put from Court: but the Prince soon after dying, they are all recalled to Court again, and restored to their former places.

About this time exemplary justice was done upon Sir John Midsterworth Knight, who was drawn, hanged and quartered at Tiburn for Treason, by him committed, in defrauding Souldiers of their wages.

About this time the Duke of Lancaster, being at Burdeaux, and hearing of the death of Peter King of Castile; whom Prince Edward had vested in his Kingdome; and that he left only two daughters, the Heirs of his Kingdome, who were then at the City of Gascoine, for their safety: he sent and caused them to be brought to Burdeaux, and there himself married the elder sister Constance: in whose right he afterward took upon him the title of King of Castile and Leon: and not long after his younger brother, Edmund Earl of Cambridge, married the younger sister Isabel.

It was now the fiftieth year of Edwards Reign, and he for another Jubilee, grants another generall pardon to his Subjects, onely William Wickham Bishop of Winchester is excepted, being lately by procurement of the Duke of Lancaster, fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. This Parliament was called the good Parliament, though it wrought ill effects; for Sir Peter de la Moore at the suit of Alice Pierce is committed to perpetual Imprisonment at Forthingham, though within two years after, by importunate suit of friends, he regained his liberty. This Alice Pierce presuming upon the Kings favour, grew so insolent, that she entremedled with Courts of Justice, and other Offices; where she her self would sit, to countenance her Causes. And now the Duke of Lancaster is come to have the Regency, and to manage all the affairs of the Kingdome; but King Edward to prevent the mischiefs, which by disordering the succession might grow in the Kingdom, providently settled the same in Parliament upon Richard of Burdeaux; creating him first Earl of Chester and Cornwall, and then Prince of Wales, and caused all the Lords of the Realm to take an Oath, to accept him for their King, as his lawfull Heir, when himself should be dead. In this mean time a Treary was had about a marriage between this Prince Richard, and Mary a daughter of Charles King of France: and an offer was made to King Edward, to leave him fourteen hundred Towns, and three thousand Fortresses in Aquitaine, upon condition he would render Callice, and all that he held in Picardy; but before any thing could be concluded, King Edward died.

Of his Taxations.

IN the eighth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at *London*, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporality, a twentieth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a Tenth of the Clergy. In his tenth year, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted a tenth penny of Cities and Boroughs; a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy. Also all such Treasure as was committed to Churches through *England* for the Holy War, is taken out for the Kings use, towards his Wars with *France*. The next year after, all the goods of three orders of Monks, *Lombards, Cisterciacs,* and *Cisterciacs*, are likewise seized into the Kings hands; and the like subsidy as before granted at *Nottingham*. In his twelfth year, (and as some write, in absence of the King) in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted by the Laity, one half of their Wool, but of the Clergy the whole. The next year after a fifteenth was likewise paid in Wool by the Commonalty. In his fourteenth year, in a Parliament at *London*, is granted him for custome of every sack of Wool, forty shillings, for every three hundred Wool Fels forty shillings, for every Last of Leather forty shillings; and of other Merchandises according to the rate: the same to endure from that *Easter* to the *Whitsuntide* twelve Month after. Besides there was granted of Citizens and Burgeses, a ninth part of goods; of forain Merchants and others, a fifteenth of Husbandmen, the ninth sheaf, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lamb for two years; also another tenth of the Clergy: and for his present supply he had Loans of divers persons; and the City of *London* lent twenty thousand Marks. For the Grant of which mighty Subsidy, the King (besides his pardon to divers kinds of offenders) remits all americiaments for transgressions in his Forrests, Reliefs and Scutage to the first time of his going into *Flanders*, besides all aids for the marriage of his sons and daughters during his Reign; pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrearages, both of his Fermors and others, till the tenth year of his Reign; and likewise confirms the great Charter of *Magna Charta*. In his eighteenth year in a Parliament at *London*, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity; Besides a Commission is sent into every Shire to enquire of mens abilities, and all of five pounds to ten of Lay Fee, were appointed to find an Archer on horseback; of twenty five, a Demylance; and so ratably above. There had formerly been made a certain coin of Gold called the *Floren*, of base alloy for the Kings benefit, towards his wars in *France*, but this was now called in, and Nobles of finer metall coined, to the great contentment of the people. In his nine and twentieth year, he hath by Parliament granted unto him fifty shillings upon every Sack of wool, for six years next ensuing; by which Imposition, it was thought, the King might dispend a thousand Marks Sterling a day, the vent of Wool was so great in that time, but that which exceeded all his Taxations, was the Ransome he had in his four and thirtieth year, of the King of *France*, three millions of crowns of gold. In his twelfth year, he had taken from the Priors Aliens, their houses, Lands, and Tenements, for the maintenance of his *French* Wars, which he kept twenty years in his hands, and then restored them again. In his six and thirtieth year was granted twenty six shillings eight pence, for transportation of every sack of Wool for three years. In the five and fortieth year of his Reign, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, the Clergy granted him fifty thousand pounds to be paid the same year, and the Laity as much; which was levied by setting a certain rate of five pounds fifteen shillings upon every Parish, which were found in the thirty seven Shires to be eight thousand and six hundred, and so came in the whole to fifty thousand, one hundred eighty one pounds and eight pence: but 181. li. was abated to the Shires of *Suffolk* and *Devonshire*, in regard of their poverty. In his eight and fortieth year, in a Parliament, is granted him a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity. In his fiftieth year a Subsidy of a new nature was demanded by the young Prince *Richard*, whom (being but eleven years of age) the Duke of *Lancaster* had brought into the Parliament of purpose to make the demand; to have two tenths to be paid in one year, or twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandises sold, for one year; and one pound of silver for ever Knights Fee, and of every Firehouse, one penny; but in stead of this Subsidy, after much altercation, there was granted another of as new a nature as this, that every person, man and woman within the Kingdome, above the age of fourteen years, should pay four pence, (those who lived of Alms only excepted) the Clergy to pay twelve pence of every Parson beneficed, and of all other Religious persons four pence; a mighty aid, and such as was never granted to any King of *England* before.

Men rated to find Souldiers;

Three millions of Crowns of gold paid to King Edward, by the King of France.

Eight thousand six hundred Parishes in England.

A Subsidy demanded of a new nature.

Every person above 14 years old pay four pence.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE instituted the Order of the Garter, upon what cause is not certain; the common opinion is, that a Garter of his own Queen, or (as some say) of the Lady *Joan* Countesse of *Salisbury*, slipping off in a Dance, King *Edward* stooped, and took it up; whereat some of his Lords that were present, smiling, as at an amorous action, he seriously said, it should not be long ere Sovereign honour should be done to that Garter; whereupon he afterward added the *French* Motto, *Honi soit qui maly pense*; therein checking his Lords sinister suspicion. Some conjecture that he instituted the Order of the Garter, for that in a battel wherein he was victorious, he had given the word Garter, for the word of sign: and some again are of opinion, that the institution

The order of the Garter instituted, and whereupon.

The great Officers of the Kingdom chosen by Parliament.

All Pleas in Law was first ordained to be made in English.

Purveyours to take up nothing but for ready money.

Householders appointed what meat they should eat.

Whores to wear their garments reversed.

Dukes first created.

New Coyns ordained.

No wooll to be transported.

Peter-pence forbidden to be paid to Rome.

of this order is more ancient, and begun by King *Richard* the first, but that this King *Edward* A adorned it, and brought it into splendour. The number of the Knights of this Order is twenty six, whereof the King himself is alwayes one, and President; and their Feast yearly celebrated at *Windsor* on Saint *Georges* day, the Tutelar Saint of that Order. The Laws of the Order are many, whereof there is a book of purpose. In the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, he was earnestly petitioned by a Parliament then holden, that the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Forests might be duly observed; and that the great Officers of the Kingdome should (as in former times) be elected by Parliament: to which Petition, though the King at first stood stiffe upon his own election and Prerogative; yet at last (in regard to have his present turn served, (as himself after confessed) he yielded that such Officers should receive an Oath in Parliament, to do justice to all men in their Offices, and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seal, both for that and many other Grants of his to his Subjects; which notwithstanding were for the most part shortly after revoked. B

This King also causerh all Pleas, which were before in *French*, to be made in *English*, that the Subject might understand the course of the Law. Also in his time an Act was passed for Purveyours, that nothing should be taken up but for ready money upon strict punishment. In the next Parliament holden the seven and thirtieth year of his Reign, certain sumptuary Lawes were ordained, both for apparel and diet; appointing every degree of men, the stufte and habits they should wear, prohibiting the wearing of gold and silver, silks and rich furs to all, but eminent persons. The labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meal a day, and what meats he should eat. Also in his time at the instance of the *Londoners*, an Act was made that no common C Whore should wear any Hood, except striped with divers colours; nor Furses, but Garments reversed the wrong side outward. This King also was the first that created Dukes; of whom *Henry* of *Bullingbrook*, Earl of *Lancaster*, created Duke of *Lancaster*, in the seven and twentieth year of his reign, was the first. But afterward he erected *Cornwall* also into a Dutchy, and conferred it upon the Prince: after which time, the Kings eldest Son used alwayes to be Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*. This King also altered moneys, and abated them in weight, and yet made them to passe according to the former value. Before his time there were no other pieces but Nobles and half Nobles, with the small pieces of silver called Sterlings; but now Groats of four pence, and half Groats of two pence, equivalent to the Sterling money, are coyned; which inhaunced the prizes of things, that rise or fall, according to the plenty or D scarcity of coyn; which made Servants and Labourers to raise their wages accordingly. Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament now held at *Westminster*, to reduce the same to the former rate. Also an Act was made in this Kings time, that all Wears, Mills, and other stoppages of Rivers, hindering the passage of Boats, Lighters, and other Vessels, should be removed; which though it were most commodious to the Kingdome, yet it took little effect, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords and great men, who regarded more their own private, then the publike benefit. In a Parliament holden the tenth year of his Reign, it was enacted, that no Wooll growing within the Realm should be transported, but that it should be made in Cloth in England. *Peter-pence* are forbidden by the King to be paid any more to *Rome*, but yet in many Shires of England are gathered to this day; saith *Fabian*. The custome of washing poor mens feet on *Munday-Thursdays*, thought to have been first brought in by this King. This King also confirmed the Franchises of the City of *London*: and ordained, that the Maior for the time being, should sit in all places of judgement, within the liberty of the same, as chief Justice, the Kings person only except: and that every Alderman that had been Maior, should be Justice of Peace in all *London* and *Middlesex*; and every Alderman that had not been Maior, should be Justice of Peace within his own Ward. Also he granted to the Citizens of *London*, that they should not be constrained to go out of the City to fight or defend the Land for any need. Also that after that day the Franchises of the City should not be seised into the Kings hands, but only for Treason and Rebellion done by the whole City. Also that *Southwark* should be under the rule of the City: and the Maior to choose a Bayliffe there, as he liked: He also granted to the Citizens of *London*, that the Officers of the Maiors and Sheriffes, should from that day forward use F Maces of silver parcell gilt.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

A difference between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the King.

King *Edward* upon some displeasure had imprisoned divers Clergy-men; whereupon *John* *Stratford* Archbishop of *Canterbury* writes him a Letter, charging him with violation of the Rights of the Church, and with the breach of *Magna Charta*; and after much good counsell given him, threatens, that if he amend not these disorders, he must and will exercise his Ecclesiasticall authority, and proceed to Excommunication of his Officers, though not of himself, Queen, or children. The King answers, and sends his Letter to the Bishop of *London*; charging the Archbishop to be the cause of all this disturbance, having been the man that first set him upon the war with *France*; assuring him he should want no money, and now had been the hinderance, that moneys given him by Parliament were not duly levied: and after many remonstrances to such purpose, concludes, that if he desisted not from his rebellious obstinacy, he would use his Temporall authority, and proceed against him as against a Rebelle. But this difference between them

A them was not long after, upon the Archbishops submission, reconciled. And indeed the great account which this King made of Clergy-men, may appear by his employing almost none but Cle gy-men in all his Offices of account; *Simon Langham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was Chancellour of *England*; *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, Keeper of the Privy Seal; *David Willer* Parson of *Somerham*, Master of the Rolls; ten Beneficed Priests, Civilians, Masters of the Chancery; *William Mulse* Dean of *Saint Martins le Grand*, chief Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the Kings Treasure and Jewels; *William Askby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancellour of the Exchequer; *William Dighton* Prebendary of *Saint Martins*, Clerk of the Privy Seal; *Richard Chesterfield* Prebend of *Saint Stephens*, Treasurer of the Kings House; *Henry Snatch* Parson of *Oundell*, Master of the Kings Wardrobe; *John Newnham* Parson of *Fenny-stanton*, one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer; *John Rousby* Parson of *Harnwick*, Surveyor and Comptrollor of the Kings works; *Thomas Brittingham* Parson of *Asby*, Treasurer to the King, for the parts of *Guisnes*, and the Marches of *Calices*; *John Troys* a Priest, Treasurer of *Ireland*.

All the great Offices of the Kingdome in the hands of Clergy men.

In the seventeenth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, complaint is made of the great inconvenience that came by the Popes Collation of Benefices in *England*, conferring them upon strangers who understood not the Language; and therefore not fit to be Pastours over a flock they could not feed: and hereupon Sir *John Shordich* is sent to Pope *Clement* the sixth, to require him to forbear such Collations, and to signifie his consent therein: but this Message was so unwelcome to the Pope, that the Messenger came back unheard, at least unanswered; and the King taking his silence for consent; or perhaps not much caring whether he consented or no; proceeded to a prohibition of all such Collations within his Realm, on pain of imprisonment, or death, to whomsoever should in time to come, present or admit any such person, who by the Pope were so preferred to the prejudice of the Kings Prerogative. These were Disturbances in matter of Discipline; but towards the end of his reign there fell a disturbance in matter of Doctrine, for a certain Divine named *John Wickliffe*, inveighed in his Sermons, and other acts in the Schools, against the abuses of Churchmen, Monks, and other Religious Orders; and had by his Doctrine won many Disciples unto him, (who after were called *Lollards*) professing poverty, going bare-foot, and poorly clad in Ruffer; amongst other his Doctrines, he taught that neither King nor other secular Lord, could give any thing in perpetuity unto Church-men; and that temporall Lords, if they needed, might lawfully take the goods of religious persons to relieve them in their necessities, by the example of *William Rufus*, and others.

The Pope restrained from conferring of Benefices in *England*.

John Wickliffe bringeth in new Doctrine.

This man, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Sir *Henry Percy* Marshall, much favour and cherish, extolling him for his learning and integrity of life; which made him so farre to presume, that daily in one Church or other he published his Opinions; whereupon at length he is cited to answer before the Archbishop, the Bishop of *London*, and others in *Pauls*. At the day appointed, the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Lord Marshall go to conduct him; when they were come to our Ladies Chappell, the Duke and Barons with the Bishops sitting down, *John Wickliffe* was by the Lord Marshall willed to sit down, in regard (he said) the man had much to answer, and needed a convenient seat. The Bishop of *London* told him; It was against all Law and reason, that he who

Whom the Duke of *Lancaster* favours,

E was there cited before his Ordinary should sit. Hereupon contumelious words arose between the Lord Marshall and the Bishop; the Duke takes the Marshalls part, and sharply reprehended the Bishop; the Bishop returns the like to the Duke; who in a great rage swore he would pull down the pride of him, and of all the Bishops of *England*; and whispering in his ear, told him he had rather pull him out of the Church by the hair of the head, then to suffer such indignities; which words the *Londoners* over-hearing, swore with a loud voice they would rather lose their lives then suffer their Bishop to be thus injuriously used. Their fury was the more against the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was President) it was required in the Kings name, that from thenceforth there should be no more a Maior of *London*, but a Captain appointed for the Government of the City, and that the Lord Marshall of *England*

Whereupon a great contention between the Duke and the Bishop of *London*.

The *Londoners* take the Bishops part, and set upon the Savoy, the Duke of *Lancaster*'s house.

F should arrest offenders within the Liberties, as in other places. The morrow after the Citizens assembling to consult of this businesse, it happened the Lord *Fitz-waters* and *Guido Bryan*, came into the City; which the people seeing, furiously ran upon them, and were like to beat them down for comming at that time. The Lord *Fitz-water* protested, he came to no other end, but to offer his service to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take injuries offered to them, as to himself; and therefore willed them to look to their defence. Whereupon they presently take Arms, assail the Marshalls Inn, break open the Gares, brought forth a prisoner in his Gives, and set him at liberty, but found not the Lord Marshall, who with the Duke, was that day to dine with one *John de Ypres*. Then this furious multitude ran to assail the *Savoy*; which a Knight of the Dukes seeing, hasts to the place where his Lord dined, and

G acquaints him with this uproar in the City. The Duke upon hearing it leaps from the Table so hastily, that he hurt both his shins on the founn; and with Sir *Henry Percy* alone takes boat, and goes to *Kennington* near *Lambeth*, where the Princeesse with the young Prince lay: to whom he complains of this Riot, and the violence offered him. In the mean time the multitude coming to the *Savoy*, a Priest inquisitive to know the businesse, was answered, they went to take the Duke, and the Lord Marshall, and compell them to deliver Sir *Peter de la Mare*, unjustly kept in prison. The Priest replied, that Sir *Peter* was a Traytor to the King, and worthy to be hanged. At which words they all cryed out, This is *Percy*. This is the Traytor of *England*, his

Wickliffe is
banished.

his speech bewrayes him, though his apparell be disguised, and presently they ran upon him, and wounded him to death. The Bishop of London hearing of this outrage, leaves his dinner, hastes to the *Savoy*, admonisheth them of the holy time being Lent; assuring them all should be fairly ended for the good of the City: with whose perswasions they were somewhat pacified; but yet they took the Dukes Armes, and hung them up reversed, in sign of Treason, in all the principall streets of the City. Upon the Princesses advice, the chief Citizens send to the sick King, to excuse this tumult; saying, it was not in their power to suppress it, the Commonalty being in commotion, upon an information that their Liberties should be taken from them by Parliament. The King told them, it never was in his thought to infringe their liberties, but he rather desired to enlarge them. But this affront of the Citizens would not down with the Duke, till he had pulled down some of the principall of them; for he caused the Maior and Aldermen to be displaced, and other put in their roomes: a revenge he had better been without, for he never had the love of the City after: and to want their love is a kinde of banishment. *Wickliffe* himself, censured by the Bishops to abjure his Opinions, chose rather to leave his Countrey then his Doctrine, and going over into *Bohemia*, was there much honoured while he lived, and hath been more since he dyed; at least, a great part of his Doctrine continues in veneration amongst that people to this day.

Workes of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

Kings Hall in
Cambridge
built.

Queens Col-
ledge in Oxford,
by whom found-
ed.

Pembroke Hall
in Cambridge
by whom
founded.

Exeter Col-
ledge, and Hart
Hall in Oxford,
by whom
founded.

Trinity Hall in
Cambridge, by
whom found-
ed.

Canterbury
College in
Oxford, by
whom found-
ed.

The Charter-
house by
Smithfield, by
whom found-
ed.

HIS works of Piety were great and many, as the founding of East Minster, an Abbey (of the Cîteaux Order) near the Tower. An Abbey for Nunnes at *Durford* in *Kent*. The Kings Hall in *Cambridge* for poor Scholars. An Hospitall for the poor at *Callice*. He conferred upon the University of *Oxford*, where he had himself been trained up, under the learned *Walter Burley*, the chief rule of the City, subordinating the Maior and Citizens to the Chancellour of the University. He built Saint Stephens Chappell at *Westminster*, with the endowment of 300. pound per annum. He augmented the Chappell at *Windsore*, and made provisions there for Church-men, and four and twenty poor Knights. These were his publick works; But besides these, his private buildings were, the Castle of *Windsore*, which he re-edified and enlarged. the Castle at *Quinborough*. Fortifications at *Callice* and other places. His Queen *Philippa* founded Queens Colledge in *Oxford*: and *Mary* Countesse of *Pembroke*, the Colledge called *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*. In this Kings time Sir *John Poulstney*, Maior of *London*, built the Colledge in *London* called Saint Lawrence Poulstney, and little *Albhallows*, a parish Church in *Thames* street, and also the Carmelite Fryers Church in *Coventry*. *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* and *Leycester*, founded the Hospitall by the Castle of *Leycester*, wherein a hundred poor impotent people were provided for with all things necessary. *William Elsing* Mercer of *London*, made a new Hospitall of an old house of Nuns by *Grippegate*, and placing Chanons regular there, he became the first Prior thereof. *Walter Stapleton* Bishop of *Exeter*, founded *Exeter* Colledge, and *Hart Hall* in *Oxford*. *William Cateman* Bishop of *Norwich*, builded *Trinity Hall* in *Cambridge*. *Simon Islip* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford*. *William Edendon* Treasurer of *England*, founded the Monastery of *Edendon*; the religious brethren whereof were called *Bonhommes*. Sir *Walter de Manny*, born in *Cambray*, purchased a piece of ground called *Spittle Croft*, containing thirteen Acres, without the bars of *West Smithfield*, and caused the same to be enclosed, where he built a Chappell, and after founded the same to be a house of Charter-house Monks. *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, re-edified the *Augustine* Fryers Church in *London*, and was buried in the Quire there. In the two and thirtieth year of this Kings Reign, *John Stody* Maior of *London*, gave unto the Vintners of *London* all the Quadrant where the Vintners Hall now standeth, with the Tenements round about, from the lane to this day called *Stodys* lane; where are founded thirteen houles for thirteen poore people, which are there kept of charity. Also in this Kings time Sir *John Cobham*, founded the Colledge of *Cobham* in *Kent*. *John Losken* four times Maior of *London*, builded at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, where he was born, a Chappell called *Magdalens*, to the which he joynd an Hospitall; wherein was a Master, two Priests, and certain poor men: and for that the Parish Church of Saint *Michael* by *Crooked-lane*, where he dwelled, was a very homely thing, and the ground thereabout a filthy plot, by reason of the Butchers in *Escheap*, who made the same their lay-stall; he on the same ground builded the fair new parish Church of Saint *Michael* now standing, and was buried there in the middle of the Quire, under a fair Tombe of stone. He also founded a Colledge to the same Church, near thereunto adjoining, *John Barnes* Maior of *London*, gave a Chest with three locks, and a thousand Markes to be lent to young men upon security, so that it passed not one hundred Marks; and for the occupying thereof, if he were learned, to say at his pleasure; *De Profundis* for the soul of *John Barnes*; if he were not learned, to say *Pater Noster*: but howsoever the money is lent, the Chest at this day standeth in the Chamber of *London*, without money or pledges. *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, the youngest son of King *Edward*, founded a Colledge at *Playse* in *Essex*, where in his life he had provided a sumptuous Tombe, where he was first laid, but translated afterward to *Westminster*.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN the two and twentieth year of his reign, a contagious pestilence arose in the East and South parts of the world, and spread it self over all Chritendome; and coming at last into *England*, it so wasted the people, that scarce the tenth person of all sorts were left alive. There dyed in *London*, (some say in *Norwich*) between the first of *January* and the first of *July*, 57374. persons. In *Tarmonth*, in one year, 7052. men and women: before which time, the Parionage there was worth 700. Marks a year, and afterwards was scarce worth forty pounds a year. This plague began in *London* about *Alhallontide*, in the year 1348. and continued till the year 1357. Where it was observed, that those who were born after the beginning of this mortality, had but twenty eight teeth, where before they had two and thirty. In the twelveth year of his reign, a sudden Inundation of water, at *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, bare down a piece of the Town wall, and six pearches in length, near to a place called *Walkenew*; where a hundred and twenty men and Women were drowned. In the five and thirtieth year of his reign, another pestilence happened in *England*; which was called the second pestilence, in which dyed *Henry* Duke of *LANCASTER*, also *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, and *Walter* *Fitz-warren*, two famous men; and five Bishops, of *Worcester*, of *London*, of *Ely*, of *Lincolne*, and of *Chichester*. In this Kings time, a frost lasted from the midit of *September*, to the moneth of *Aprill*. In the fourth year of his reign, a solemn Jutting or Turnament was holden at *London* in *Cheapside*, betwixt the great Crosse and the great Conduit, nigh *Soper-lane*, which lasted three dayes; where the Queen *Philippa*, with many Ladies, fell from a Stage, set up for them to behold the Jutting; and though they were not hurt at all, yet the King threatned to punish the Carpenters for their negligence, till the Queen intreated pardon for them upon her knees: as indeed she was alwayes ready to do all good offices of mercy to al people. In the eleventh year of his reign was so great plenty, that a quarter of wheat was sold at *London* for two shillings, a fat Oxe for a Noble, a fat Sheep for six pence, and six Pigeons for a penny, a fat Goose for two pence, a Pig for penny, and other things after that rate. But in his twenty seventh year there was a great scarcity, by reason there fell no rain, or very little, from the end of *March* to the end of *July*; and was therefore called the dry summer.

A very great Pestilence, and continued nine years.

After which the number of mens teeth lessened.

Many great men dyed of the plague.

A frost that lasted seven months.

Price of Victuals in a plenty.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Philippa* the daughter of *William* Earl of *Hainault* at *Tork*; a match made up in haste by Queen *Isabel* his mother, for her own ends, although a better could never have been made upon deliberation for King *Edwards* ends: for though her Parentage were not great, and her portion lesse; yet she made amends for both, in vertue, for never King had a better Wife. By her King *Edward* had seven sons and five daughters: his eldest son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and commonly called the Black Prince, (but why so called uncertain; for to say, of his dreadfull acts, as *Speed* saith, hath little probability: and indeed *Froissard*, who hath written the reign of King *Edward* the third, more particularly then any other, and lived in his time, never calls Prince *Edward* the black Prince, nor any where makes mention, that he was so called) was born at *Woodstock*, in the third year of his Fathers reign; he married *Joan*, the daughter of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, brother by the Fathers side to King *Edward* the second. She had been twice married before; first to the valiant Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom she was divorced: next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*; after whose decease, this Prince passionately loving her, married her; by her he had issue two sons, *Edward* the eldest, born at *Angoulême*, who dyed at seven years of age; and *Richard* born at *Burdeaux*, who after his Father, was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Grandfather King of *England*. This Prince had also naturall issue, Sir *John Sounder*, and Roger *Clarendon* Knights; the latter being attainted in the reign of King *Henry* the fourth, is thought to have been Ancestour to the house of *Smiths* in *Essex*. He dyed at *Canterbury* in the six and fortieth year of his age, and of his Fathers reign, the nine and fortieth, and was buried at *Christs Church* there. His second son *William* was born at *Hatfield*, in *Hertsfordshire*, who deceased in his childehood, and was buried at *Tork*. His third son *Lyonell* was born at *Antwerpe*, in the twelfth year of his Fathers reign; he married first *Elizabeth*, the daughter and Heir of *William Burgh*, Earl of *Ulster* in *Ireland*; in whose right he was first created Earl of *Ulster*: and because he had with her the honour of *Clare*, in the County of *Towmond*, he was in a Parliament, created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the countrey about the town and honour of *Clare*; from which Dutchy, the name of *Clarentieux* (being the title of the King of *Armes*, for the South parts of *England*) is derived. This Duke had issue by her one only daughter, named *Philippa*, afterward wife of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, mother of Earl *Roger*, Father of *Anne* Countesse of *Cambridge*, the mother of *Richard* Duke of *York*, Father of King *Edward* the fourth. The second Mariage of this Duke was at *Millain* in *Lombardy*, with the Lady *Violanta*, daughter of *Galapacio* the second Duke thereof; but through intemperance he lived not long after. King *Edwards* fourth son named *John*, was born at *Gaunt*, in the fourteenth year of his Fathers reign; he had three wives, the first was *Blanch*, daughter and coheir, and in the end the sole Heir of *Henry* Duke of *LANCASTER*, son of *Edmund*, surnamed *Crouch-back*; by whom

The family of Smiths in Essex from whom descended.

Duke of Clarence, from whence it hath the title.

The King of Armes why called Clarentieux.

whom he had issue, *Henry of Bullingbrooke* Earl of *Derby*, after Duke *Hereford*, and lastly King *A of England*, named *Henry the fourth*, who first placed the Crown in the house of *Lancaster*. By her also *John of Gaunt* had two daughters; *Philip* wife of *John the first*, King of *Portugall*, and *Elizabeth* married first to *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, and after him, to Sir *John Cornwall*, Baron of *Fanhope*. *John of Gaunt's* second wife was *Constance*, the eldest daughter of *Peter King of Castile* and *Leon*, in whole right, for the time he intituled himself King of both those Realmes: by her he had issue one only daughter named *Katharine*, married to *Henry the third*, son of King *John*, in possession before, and in her right after King of both the said Realmes. *John of Gaunt's* third wife was *Katharine*, the Widow of Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a Knight of *Lincolshire*, eldest daughter and coheir of *Pain Roet*, a *Gascoyne*, called *Guien* King of Armes for that countrey; his younger daughter being married to Sir *Geoffrey Chawcer*, our Laureat Poet. By her he had B issue born before Matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament in the twentieth year of King *Richard the second*; *John* Earl of *Somerset*, *Thomas* Duke of *Excester*, *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Cardinal*, and *Joan* (who was first married to *Robert Ferrers* Baron of *Wemme*, and *Ouseley*, in the counties of *Salop* and *Warwick*) and secondly, to *Ralph Nevill*, the first Earl of *Westmerland*. She and all her brethren were surnamed *Beaufort*, of a Castle which the Duke had in *France*, where they were all borne; and in regard thereof, bare the Portcullis of a Castle for the cognisance of their Family. This Duke in the thirteenth year of his Nephew King *Richard* was created Duke of *Aquitain*, but in the sixteenth year he was called home, and this title recalled; and the third year after, in the sixtieth of his age, he dyed at *Ely house* in *Holbourn*, and lyeth honourably Entombed in the Quire of *Saint Paul*. King *Edward's* fifth son *Edmund*, surnamed of *Langley*, was first in the year 1362, created Earl of *Cambridge*, and afterward in the year 1386, made Duke of *York*; he married *Isabell* daughter and coheir to *Peter*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*: his son *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, took to wife *Anne Mortimer*, Heir of the fore-said *Lionell*, elder brother to *Edmund of Langley*. King *Edward's* sixth son *William*, surnamed of *Windfor*, where he was born, died young, and is buried at *Westminster*. King *Edward's* youngest son *Thomas*, surnamed of *Woodstock*, where he was born, was first Earl of *Buckingham*, and after made Duke of *Glocester* by his Nephew King *Richard the second*. He was a man of valour and wisdom, but the King surmizing him to be too a severe observer of his doings, consulted with *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, how to make him away: whom *Mowbray* unawares surprising, conveyed secretly to *Callice*, where he was strangled the twentieth year of King *Richard's* reign. D He had issue one son, *Humphrey* Earl of *Buckingham*, who dyed at *Chester* of the Pestilence, in the year 1400, and two daughters; *Anne* married first to *Edmund* Earl of *Stafford*, by whom she had *Humphrey* Duke of *Buckingham*; secondly to *William Bourchier* Earl of *Ewe*, by whom she had *Henry* Earl of *Essex*; and *Joan* married to *Gylbert*, Lord *Talbot*, and had issue by him a daughter, who died young. Of King *Edward's* daughters, the eldest named *Isabell*, was married at *Windfor* to *Ingelram* of *Guyfens*, Lord of *Coney*, Earl of *Soysons*, and after Archduke of *Austria*; created also by King *Edward* Earl of *Bedford*: by whom she was mother of two daughters; *Mary* married to *Henry* Duke of *Barre*, and *Philip* married to *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland*, and Marquess of *Dublyn*. This *Robert* in the height of his fortunes forsook his Lady *Philip*, and married one *Lancerona* a *Joyners* daughter: (as was said) which came with King *Richard the second's* wife out of *Bohemia*; and being for abusing the Kings ear, driven out of the land by the Lords, he died at *Louvain* in extreame poverty in the year 1393. *Isabell* his wives mother, was buried in the Church of *Friers Minories* near *Algate* in *London*. King *Edward's* second daughter *Joan* was married by Proxie to *Alphonfus*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*; but passing into *Spain*, died by the way, and King *Alphonfus* mer her in stead of consummating his Espousall, to solemnise her Funerall. His third daughter *Blanch* died young. His fourth named *Mary* was married to *John Montfort* Duke of *Brittain*. His youngest named *Margaret*, born in *Callice*, was the first wife of *John de Hastings*, Earl of *Pembrooke*, but died without issue.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of stature indifferent tall, of sparkling eyes, of a comely and manly countenance, in his latter time something bald; and concerning his conditions, no man was more gentle, where there was submission; where opposition, no man more stern. He was a Prince no less of his passions, then of his people; for he was never so loving, as to be fond; nor ever so angry, as to be inexorable: but this must be understood of the time while he was a man, for in his old age, when he came to be a child again, he was Prince of neither. He was no lesse fortunate then valiant, and his fortunatenesse was the greater by a kind of *Antiperistasis*, as coming betweene two unfortunate Princes; Successour to one, and Predecessour to another. He was of so warlike a disposition, that his very sports were warlike; for no delights were so frequent with him as *Justs* and *Turnaments*. To shew his devotion, one example may be sufficient, for when neither Cardinals nor Counsellours could move him to make peace with *France*, a tempest from Heaven did it; to which may be added, that he never wan great battell, of which he wan many, but he presently gave the glory of it to God by publick Thanksgiving. He outlived the best wife, & the best son that ever King had; & to say the truth, he outlived the best of himself, for his latter years were not answerable to his former.

Of his Death and Buriall.

King Edward besides his being old, and worn with the labours of war, had other causes that hattered his end: his grief for the losse of so worthy a son, dead but ten moneths before; his grief for the losse of all benefit of his conquests in France, of all which he had little now left, but only Callice, and oppressed thus in body and minde, he was drawing his last breath, when his Concubine Alice Pierce packing away what she could catch, even to the rings of his fingers, left him, and by her example, other of his attendants, seising on what they could come by, shift away; and all his Counsellours and others forsook him, when he most needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty; which a poor Priest in the house seeing, he approaches to the Kings bedside, and finding him yet breathing, calls upon him to remember his Saviour, and to aske mercy for his offences, which none about him before would do: but now moved by the voyce of this Priest, he shewes all signs of contrition, and at his last breath he expresseth the name of Jesus. Thus died this victorious King at his Manor at Sheene, (now Richmond) the 21. day of June, in the year 1377. in the 64. year of his age, having reigned fifty yeares, four moneths and odde dayes. His body was conveyed from Sheene by his four sons and other Lords, and solemnly interred within Westminster Church, where he hath his Monument, and where it is said the sword he used in batrel, is yet to be seen, being eight pound in weight, and seven foot in length.

Lying in his death-bed forsaken of all.

Of men of note in his time.

Martiall men were never more plentifull then in this Kings reign: whether it were that the stars have an influence to produce such men at one time more then another: or whether it were that Regis ad exemplum, the Kings example made his subjects like himself: or lastly, that his continual exercise of arms put them as it were into a mould of fortitude. The first of this kind is worthily Edward the black Prince, and so worthily the first, that *Longe erit a primo quisque secundus erit*. Next him Henry Earl of Lancaster, the Princes right hand, in all his great achievements: then William the valiant Earl of Salisbury, then John Ewe, Ancestor to the L. Ewes that now liveth; then follow the Lord John Chandos, Sir James Audley, Sir Walter de Manny, Sir Robert Knols, then Sir John Hawkwood born in Essex; who though not much honoured at home, having been a Taylour, yet in forain parts, and specially in Italy so famous, that his Statue was erected in publick, for a Monument to testifie his valour to posterity. And here must not be forgotten, Robert Venile knight, a Norfolk man; who when the Scots and English were ready to give batrel, ascertain stout Champion of great stature, commonly called Tournbull, coming out of the Scots Army, and challenging any English man to meet him in a single combat; this Robert Venile accepteth the challenge; and marching towards the Champion, and meeting by the way a certain black Mastiffe Dog which waited on the Champion, he suddenly with his sword cut him off at the loyns, and afterwards did more to the Champion himself, cutting his head from off his shouldiers. And as there was this great plenty of Martiall men, so there was no lesse plenty of learned men; John Bacontorpe born in Norfolk, a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers excellent Treatises in Divinity; Nicolas Trivet born also in Norfolk, a black Frier, who wrote two Histories, and a book of Annals: Richard Stradley, born in the Marches of Wales, a Monk and a Divine, who wrote divers excellent Treatises of the Scriptures: William Herbert a Welsh man, and a Frier Minor, who wrote many good Treatises in Divinity: Tho. Wallies a Dominican Fryer, and a writer of many excellent books: John Everfden a Monk of Bury in Suffolk, an Historiographer: Walter Burley a Doctor of Divinity, brought up in Martin Colledge in Oxford, who wrote divers excellent Treatises in Natural & Moral Philosophy, which remain in estimation to this day; and who for the great fame of his learning, had the honour to be one of the great Instructors of Edward the black Prince: Roger of Chester, a Monk of that City, and an Historiographer: John Burgh a Monk, who wrote a History, and also divers homilies: Richard Aungervill Bishop of Durham, and Lord Chancelour of England, born in Suffolk: Walter Hemmingsdon an Historiographer: Richard Chichester a Monk of Westminster, who wrote an excellent Chronicle from the year 449. to the year 1348. Richard Rolle alias Hampole, who writ many excellent Treatises in Divinity: Robert Holcor, a black Frier, born in Northampton, a learned Schooleman, and wrote many books in Arguments of Divinity: Thomas Bradwardin, born near Chichester in Sussex, Archbishop of Canterbury, and who wrote against the Pelagians, and for his depth of learning, had the Title of Doctor Profundus: Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland, a learned writer: William Gryfant, named Anglicus, a notable Physician, whose son came to be Pope, and was called Urban the fifth: John Killingworth an excellent Philosopher, Astronomer, and Physician: Ranulph Higdon a Monk of Chester, an Historiographer: Bartholomew Glanville, descended of those Glanvilles that were sometimes Earls of Suffolk: Simon Islip Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and founder of Canterbury Colledge in Oxford, who wrote many Treatises: Matthew Westmonasteriensis, who wrote the book called Flores Historiarum: William Fees an Hermite, who wroteundry Treatises, exhorting England to repentance: Henry Knighton, who wrote a History intituled *De gestis Anglorum*; and lastly two other, worthy perhaps to have been placed first; John Mandevill the great travellour, a Doctor of Physick,

Sir John Hawkwood a Taylour, so famous in Italy, that his Statue is there erected. Robert Venile his Valour.

Walter Burley one of the black Princes Schoolmasters.

Robert Holcor, a learned Schoolman.

Thomas Bradwardin called Doctor Profundus.

Matthew of Westminster lived in this time.

John Mandevill the great travellour.

Sir Geoffry
Chancer lived
at this time

and a knight, who dyed at *Liege*, in the year 1372. and Sir *Geoffry Chancer*, the *Homer* of our Nation; and who found as sweet a *Muse* in the Groves of *Woodstock*, as the *Ancients* did upon the banks of *Helicon*.

Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,
Fiamond Chickwell, was Maior.
Henry Darcy, *John Hawton*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
John Grantham, was Maior.
Simon Francis, *Henry Cobmartin*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Richard Swanland, was Maior.
Richard Lazer, *William Gysfords*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir John Pountney, was Maior.
Robert of Elie, *Thomas Whorwode*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
John Pountney, continued Maior.
John Mocking, *Andrew Aubery*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Preston, was Maior.
Nicholas Pike, *John Husband*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir John Pountney, was Maior.
John Hammond, *William Hanford*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Reginald at the Couduit was Maior.
John Kingstone, *Walter Turk*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Reginald at Couduit continued Maior.
Walter Mordon, *Richard Vpton*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir John Pountney, was Maior.
John Clark, *VV. Curtes*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry Darcy was Maior.
VValter Neale, *Nicholas Crane*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry Darcy continued Maior.
VVilliam de Pomfret, *Hugh Marbler*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Andrew Aubery, was Maior.
VVilliam Thorney, *Roger Frosham*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Andrew Aubery, continued Maior.
Adam Lucas, *Bartholomew Moris*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
John of Oxensford, was Maior.
Richard de Barking, *John de Rokestry*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Simon Francis, was Maior.
John Loufskin, *Richard Killingbery*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
John Hamond, was Maior.
John Steward, *John Ayleham*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
John Hamond, continued Maior.
Geoffry VVitchingham, *Thomas Leg*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Richard Lazer, was Maior.
Edmund Hemenhall, *John of Gloucester*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Geoffry VVitchingham, was Maior.
John Croydis, *VVilliam Clopton*, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,
Thomas Leggy, was Maior.
Adam Brampson, *Richard Fai*, or *Bai*, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,
John Loufskin, was Maior.
Henry Picard, *Simon Doleby*, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year,
VValter Turk, was Maior.
Adam of Bury, *Ralph of Lynne*, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth year,
Richard Killingbury, was Maior.
John Notte, *William of VVorchester*, Sheriffs.

In his five and twentieth year,
Andrew Aubery, was Maior.
John VVroth, *Gilbert of Steningsborpe*, Sheriffs.

In his six and twentieth year,
Adam Francis, was Maior.
John Peace, *John Sotley*, Sheriffs.

In his seven and twentieth year,
Adam Francis continued Maior.
VVilliam VVolde, *John Little*, Sheriffs.

In his eight and twentieth year,
Thomas Leggy, was Maior.
VVilliam Nottingham, *Roger Smelt*, Sheriffs.

In his nine and twentieth year,
Simon Francis, was Maior.
Thomas Foster, *Thomas Brandon*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Henry Picard, was Maior.
Richard Nottingham, *Thomas Dolfel*, Sheriffs.

In his one and thirtieth year,
Sir John Stody was Maior.
Stephen Candish, Bartholomew Eroftling, Sheriffs.

In his two and thirtieth year,
John Loufkin was Maior.
John Barnes, John Buris, Sheriffs.

In his three and thirtieth year,
Simon Doulfeby was Maior.
Simon of Benington, John of Chichester, Sheriffs.

In his four and thirtieth year,
John Wroth was Maior.
John Dennis, Walter Berny, Sheriffs.

In his five and thirtieth year,
John Peche was Maior.
William Holbech, James Tame, Sheriffs.

In his six and thirtieth year,
Stephen Candish was Maior.
John of S. Albans, James Andrew, Sheriffs.

In his seven and thirtieth year,
John Nor was Maior.
Richard of Croyden, John Hiltosi, Sheriffs.

In his eight and thirtieth year,
Adam of Bury was Maior.
John de Mersford, Simon de Mordon, Sheriffs.

In his nine and thirtieth year,
John Loufkin was Maior.
John Bukilworth, John Ireland, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,
John Loufkin continued Maior.
John Wards, Thomas of Lee, Sheriffs.

In his one and fortieth year,
James Andrew was Maior.
John Turngold, William Dickymans, Sheriffs.

In his two and fortieth year,
Simon Mordon was Maior.
Robert Girdeler, Adam Wimondham, Sheriffs.

In his three and fortieth year,
John Chichester was Maior.
John Piel, Hugh Holdich, Sheriffs.

In his four and fortieth year,
John Barnes was Maior.
William Walworth, Robert Gayton, Sheriffs.

In his five and fortieth year,
John Barnes continued Maior.
Adam Staple, Robert Hasfield, Sheriffs.

In his six and fortieth year,
John Piel was Maior.
John Philpot, Nicholas Brembar, Sheriffs.

In his seven and fortieth year,
Adam of Bury was Maior.
John Aubery, John Fisbed, Sheriffs.

In his eight and fortieth year,
William Walworth was Maior.
Richard Lions, William Woodhouse, Sheriffs.

In his nine and fortieth year,
John Ward was Maior.
John Hadley, William Newport, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,
Adam Staple was Maior.
John Northampton, Robert Lannet, Sheriffs.



THE
REIGN
OF
KING RICHARD
THE SECOND.

An. Dom.
1377.
King Richard
the second
crowned.



Claimes of
Office at his
Coronation,

The manner
of his Corona-
tion,

RICHARD, called of *Burdeaux*, because born there, the only Son of *Edward* the black Prince, was by his Grandfather in his life time declared to be his Heir and lawfull successour; and accordingly after his death was crowned King of *England*; at *Westminster*, the sixteenth day of *July*, in the year 1377. by *Simon Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*: And for the more solemnity of his Coronation, he then made nine Knights, and created four Earls: *Thomas of Woodstock* King *Edward* the thirds youngest son, was created Earl of *Buckingham* and *Northampton*; *Thomas Mowbray*, younger brother of *John L. Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*; *Gifford Angoulesme* a *Gasc*coin, was made Earle of *Huntington*; and *Henry Percy* son of *Henry Lord Percy*, was created Earl of *Northumberland*. At the time of the Coronation, the Duke of *Lancaster*, by the name of *John King of Castile and Leon*, and Duke of *Lancaster*, put in his claim as Earl of *Leicester* to have the place of Earl Marshall of *England*; as Duke of *Lancaster*, to carry the sword called *Curtana*; as Earl of *Lincoln*, to be Carver that day; all which to be executed by himself, or by his sufficient Deputy; which with the Fees thereunto belonging, were confirmed unto him. As likewise, divers others made their claims: *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, to have the Office of Chamberlain, and to powre our water for the King to wash: *John Wiltshire* Citizen of *London* by reason of a moiety of the Manour of *Heydon*, holden in Sergeanty, claimed to hold a Towell for the King to wipe with when he went to meat: *Thomas Beauchampe* Earl of *Warwick*, to beare the third Sword before the King; and also to exercise the office of Pantler: *Sir John Argentine*, by reason of his Manour of *Wimondsey* in the County of *Hartford*, to serve the King at his cup: *William L. Furnivall*, for his manour of *Fernham*, to support the Kings right arm when he held the Royall Scepter; *Anne* late wife of *John de Hastings* Earl of *Pembrooke*, for his Manour of *Ashele* in *Norfolk*, to have the Office of Naperer; which she was admitted to do by her Deputy *Sir Thomas Blunt*: *Richard* Earl of *Arundell*, for his Manor of *B.* in *Kent*, was admitted to be chief Butler: The *L. Maior* of *London*, to attend in his own person, as chief Cup-waiter: *Sir John Pincok*, for his Manour of *Scribblot*, and *Sir Baldwin Frevile*, for his Castle of *Tamworth*, in the county of *Warwick*, contended for the Office of being the Kings Champion, but adjudged to *Dismock*: *William de Latimer*, and *John* the sonne and heir of *John Mowbray* of *Axholm*, jointly petitioned to have the Office of Almoner; but adjudged to *Latimer*: *Richard Lion*, as Tenant of the Manour of *L.* held by the service of making wafers for the King at his Coronation, was thereunto admitted: The Barons of the Cinque-Ports were admitted to beare the Kings Canopy, upon four staves of silver, over the Kings head; and also to sit at meat in the Hall, at the highest Table on the Kings right hand: *John Fitts-John*, by reason of his Manour of *S.* in *Norfolk*, was admitted to be chief Larderer: *Richard Herring*, for the Manour of *C.* in the County of *Surrey*, claimed to be Usher of the Kings Chamber; but because that claim did no way concern the Coronation, he was left to pursue his Right some other time. The Coronation it self was performed with great solemnity: After a Sermon, the King took his Oath; and then the Archbishop blessed the King; which done, he tore off his garments, and stripped him into his shift; then he anointed

A noointed his hands, head, breast, shoulders, and the joynts of his arms, with the sacred Oyl; and after certain Prayers, he then clad him, first with the Coat of S. Edward and after with his Mantle: after which, the Archbishop delivered him the Sword, saying, *Accipe Gladium*; with which two Earls girded him: Then he gave him Bracelets, saying, *Accipe Armillas*. After this, he put upon him an upper vesture called a Pall, saying, *Accipe Pallium*: In the mean time, while the Archbishop blessed the Crown, he to whose office it pertained, put spurs on his heels after; the Crown was blessed, the Archb. set it on his Head, saying, *Coronet te Deus*: then he delivered him a Ring, saying, *Accipe Annulum*: Immediately herewith came the L. Furnivall, by vertue of his Office, offering him a red Glove, which the Archb. blessed, & putting it on his hand, delivered him a Scepter, saying, *Accipe Sceptrum*; and after that, in his other hand, delivered him a Rod, on the top whereof stood a Dove, saying, *Accipe Virgam Virtutis*; & then blessed the King, saying, *Benedicat te Deus*: which done, the King kissed the Bishops and Abbots, by whom he was afterward led to his seat: and so ended the solemnity.

The tender years of the King, being but eleven years of age, required a Protector: but being perhaps thought dangerous to commit that Authority to only one, who might rather seek to get it for himself, then to keep it for another, it was thought fit to commit it to many; and thereupon John Duke of Lancaster, Edmund Earl of Cambridge, the Kings Uncles, with some other Lords and Bishops, were joyned in Commission to manage the State; and Guisard de Angoulesme appointed to be his Schoole-master. And now the Kings Minority made forain Princes conceive, that this would be a time of advantage for any that had quarrell to England: which the French and Scots took presently hold of; For, the French came now, and burnt the Town of Rye;

Three In Commission of the Protectorship.

C and soon after, entering the Isle of Wight, burnt divers Towns there; and though they were repelled from the Castle by the valiant Sir Hugh Tyrrell Captain there, yet they constrained the men of the Isle to give them a thousand Marks, to spare the residue of their houses and goods: and departing thence, they set on land where they saw advantage, burning sundry Towns near to the shore; as Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plimouth: and then sayling towards Dover, they burnt Hastings, assaulted Winchelsey: but being valiantly defended by the Abbot of Bartell, were forced to retire: After this, they landed not far from the Abbey of Lewis, at a place called Rottington, where the Prior of Lewis, with Sir Thomas Cheyney, and Sir John Fallesey, encountering them, were overthrown, and taken Prisoners. And no lesse then the French, were the Scots also now busie; for coming one morning by stealth, they won the

The French enter England and take and burn divers Towns.

D Castle of Berwick; but shortly after, upon knowledge thereof had, they were driven out again by the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham; and all the Scots they found in it, except Alexander Ramsay their Captain, put to the sword. About Michaelmas, a Parliament was held at Westminster, wherein Alice Pierce, the late Kings Concubine, was banished the Realm, and all her goods confiscate; and two Tenths of the Clergie, and two Fifteenths of the Temporalty were granted; but so, as that two Citizens of London, William Watworth, and John Philpot, should receive and keep it, to see it bestowed for defence of the Realm. In this time, Sir Hugh Calverley, Deputy of Callice, burnt six and twenty French ships in the Haven of Bolloigne: and at the same time a great Navie is set out, under the guiding of the Earl of Buckingham, the Duke of Britain, the Lord Latimers, Sir Robert Knolls and others, with a purpose to intercept the Spanish Fleet;

The Scots also invade the borders, but with little success.

Alice Pierce banished the Realm.

A subsidie granted, but with condition.

E but through tempest was twice driven back: when in the mean time, one Mercer a Scottish Pirate, came to Scarborough, took there divers ships, and committed many outrages: and no order being taken to repell him, a Citizen of London named John Philpot, at his own charges set forth a Fleet, and in his own person encountering them, took the said Mercer, and all his ships: and returning home, in stead of being rewarded for his service, he was called in question for presuming to raise a Navie, without advice of the Kings Councell: but he gave such reasons for that he had done, that not only he came off then with credit, but lives in reputation for it to this day. Indeed reasons of State, though they may be secretly censured, yet they must not openly be controlled for this were to bring authority into contempt, and in stead of errors to bring in confusion; but yet when wrongs be offered that are publick; every particular person seems to have an interest in taking revenge; and though it may be no manners nor to stay the States leisure, yet it can be no offence to do their work for them.

John Philpot, a Citizen of London, his worthy act, but ill rewarded.

Many actions passed at this time with the French and Scots, some prosperous, and some adverse: The Scots burn Roxborough; this was adverse: but the Earl of Northumberland entering Scotland with ten thousand men, spoileth the Lands of the Earl of March, the chief Incendiary; this was prosperous: but when the Northern men would needs make a Road into Scotland, and were encountered by the Scots, and put to flight, this was adverse. Anon after Midsummer, the Duke of Lancaster, with the Earls of Buckingham, Warwick, Stafford, and others of the Nobility, with a strong power took the Sea, and landing in Britain, besieged the Town of S. Malo, but finding strong opposition, is forced to raise his siege, and return home: this was adverse. And now again, the Scots by night entred secretly into the Castle of Berwick, and slew Sir Robert Baynton, that was Constable there: this also was adverse: But when the Earl of Northumberland, being advertised thereof, came with a power, assaulted the Castle, and after two dayes defence recovered it again; this was prosperous. William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, the Kings Lieutenent in Callice, forrageth the Countrey round about, and furnissheth Callice with booties of French cattell: Sir Hugh Calverley and Sir Thomas Percy made Admirals, put to Sea, and take divers ships laden with merchandize, and one ship of war: Sir John Hurleston, Captain of Chierbourg in France, issuing forth, assaults a Fortresse of the French, which was the store-house of their provision, & with much valour takes it: these were prosperous: but when Sir John Clerk, lying in garison in a Castle in Britain,

Actions with the French and Scots, some prosperous, some adverse.

G where

Sir John Arundell and a thousand others drowned.

His sumptuousness of apparel.

The Earl of Warwick appointed Protector.

A combat between Katrington and Annesley.

The French burn divers Towns in England.

An insurrection in Kent, and the cause.

They agree to receive no King that should be called John, and why.

They set upon the Savoy the Duke of Lancasters house.

Two and thirty of them burnt drinking in the Cellar.

They came to the Tower, and abused the Kings Mother.

They beheaded the Chancellor and the Treasurer.

where lay many English Ships in the Haven, had these Ships set upon by the French, where though he shewed incredible valour in the action, yet the Ships were taken, and himself slain: this was adverse. Also in the third year of this Kings Reign, Sir John Arundell, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir William Elmham, Sir Thomas Banister, and many other Knights went to Sea, with a purpose to passe over into Britain; but were so bearen back with Tempest, that divers of their Ships were cast away; and Sir John Arundell, Sir Thomas Banister, Sir Nicholas Trumplington, Sir Thomas Dale, and above a thousand others were all drowned; only Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir William Elmham, and certain others escaped. It may not be impertinent to note here the sumptuousness of those times; for this Sir John Arundell was then said in his Furniture to have two and fifty new suits of apparell of cloth of Gold and Tissue, all lost at Sea. B

This year also, there being found inconvenience in having many Governours of the King and Kingdome, it was by Parliament decreed, That the Lord Thomas Beauchamps, Earl of Warwick, should himself alone hold the place of Protector. About this time Sir John Annesley Knight accused Thomas Katrington Esquire, for betraying the Fortresse of S. Saviour to the French: which Katrington denying, at the suit of Annesley a solemn combat is permitted to be between them; at which combat the King and all the great Lords were present: the Esquire Katrington was a man of a mighty stature, the Knight Annesley a little man; yet through the justness of his cause, after a long fight, the Knight prevailed, and Katrington the day after the combat dyed. Fabian saith, he was drawn to Tiburn, and there hanged for his false accusation. In the beginning of the fourth year of this King, Thomas of Woodstock Earl of Buckingham, the Kings Uncle, with divers Earls and Lords, and an Army of seven or eight thousand, was sent into France, to aid the Duke of Britain; but the King of France at that time dying, the Duke of Britain grew to have peace with the new King; whereupon the Earl of Buckingham came home again, without doing much, but making of Knights, and foraging the Countrey. In this time the French and Spanish Gallies did much mischief on the Coast of England: they burnt Rye, Hastings, and Portsmouth; and at last entering the River of Thames, they came up to Gravesend, where they burnt most part of the Town, and taking many Prisoners and Booties returned into France.

At this time also, there fell out an accident of great disturbance to the Realm; for the Commons rose in divers parts, beginning at Deptford in Kent: and the cause of their rising grew (as was thought) through the rude behaviour of a Collector of the Poll-money, who coming into the house of one John Tyler, and demanding Poll-money of his wife for a daughter of hers, and she saying that her daughter was not of age to pay, the rude fellow said he would presently see whether that were so, or no, and thereupon forcibly turned up her cloaths; whereat the mother making an outcry: her husband being at work hard by, and hearing the noise, came in with his lathing-staffe in his hand, with which he gave the Collector such a blow on the head, that his brains flew out, and he presently dyed. Upon this, at the complaint of Tyler amongst his neighbours, and withall, a factious Clergy-man, one John Ball, taking occasion hereat to rip up the ground of this Misgovernment, and telling the people that this difference of mens Estates, where some are Potentates, and some are Bondmen, was against Christian liberty, taking for his Theam, *When Adam delv'd and Eve span, who was then a Gentleman?* he so incensed them, that the Commons in divers parts drew together; and whether beginning in Kent, or otherwise in Essex, they drew at last into their faction the Commons of Sussex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, and other Shires; and arresting all such as passed, made them swear to be true to King Richard, and to the Commons, and never to receive any King that should be called John; which they did for the envy they bore to John Duke of Lancaster. Thus their number still encreased, that by that time they were come as far as Blackheath, they were esteemed to be a hundred thousand. The first thing they did when they came to London, was to send for one Richard Lyons, a grave Citizen, who had been Tylers Master, and his head they struck off, and carryed upon a pole in Triumph before them: The next day they came to the Savoy, the Duke of Lancasters house, which they set on fire, burning all his rich Furniture, breaking in pieces all his Plate and Jewels, and throwing them into the Thames, saying they were men of Justice, and would not like Robbers enrich themselves with any mans goods: and when one of their fellows was espyed to thrust a fair silver piece into his bosome, they took him, and cast both him and the piece into the fire: Two and thirty of them were got into the Dukes Wine-cellar, where they stayed drinking so long, till the rafters of the house, on fire, fell upon them, and so covered them, that not able to get out, they were heard cry seven dayes after, and then perished. From the Savoy they went to the Temple, where they burnt the Lawyers lodgings, with their books and writings, and all they could lay hand on: Also the House of S. Johns by Smithfield they set on fire, so that it burned for the space of seven dayes together. After this they came to the Tower, where the King was then lodged, and though he had at that time six hundred Armed men, and as many Archers about him, yet he durst not but suffer them to enter; where they abused the Kings Mother, offering to kisse her, in such rude manner that she fell into a swoond: and finding in the place Simon Thybold Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor; and Sir Robert Hales also Lord Treasurer; they led them to the Tower-hill, and there in most cruel manner struck off their heads, as also of divers others: Neither spared they sacred places; for breaking into the Church of the Augustine Friars, they drew forth thirteen Flemings, and beheaded them in the open streets; as also seventeen other, out of other Churches. Yet after all these outrages, the King proclaimed Pardon to all such as would lay down Arms, and go quietly home; which the Essex men did, but the Kentish men continued still with their Captain Wat

Tyler:

- A *Tyler*: to whom when the King sent Sir *John Newton* to understand what his meaning was; *Wat Tyler*, offended because he came on horse-back, told him it became him to light from his horse in his presence; and therewith drew out his dagger to strike him: the King perceiving his Knight to be in danger, bade him alight from his horse: but when this would not pacifie him, the Maior of London, *William Walworth*, by the Kings appointment rode to him and arrested him, and gave him such a blow on the head, that he stoned him; and then other of the Kings servants drew their swords, and thrust him through in divers parts of his body, so as he dyed there in the place. When the Commons saw this, they cried out, Our Captain is slain, let us revenge it. Here the King, though very young, not above fifteen years of age, yet had the courage to ride unto them, telling them, that now their Leader was dead, he would be their Leader himself; and
- B if they would follow him into the fields, they should have whatsoever they desired. In the mean time the Lord Maior *Walworth* had gone into the City, and raised a thousand armed men, and meeting Sir *Robert Knolls* by chance, got him to be their leader; who coming into the fields where the Rebels were, so daunted them, that throwing down their weapons, they cryed for mercy: that it was a wonderfull thing to see how suddenly Fear overtook Presumption; for scarce their words of insolency were out of their mouths, when they fell to words of most servile submission: And as strange an alteration in those about the King, to see how suddenly Boldnesse surprized Fear; for scarce they left trembling at the sight of the Rebels, when suddenly upon sight of this aid their fingers itched to be setting upon them, but that the King would not suffer it, because some amongst them were there by compulsion, and to set upon them thus mingled,
- C night as well be the death of the innocent, as of the guilty. But to pacifie them the more, the King caused his Charter of Manumission to be sent unto them; which yet stayed them not from committing outrages at *S. Albans*, and cancelling the ancient Charters of the Abbots and Monks there. Besides, the sedition was more generall, then that the appeasing it in one place could be finall; for at the same time there were gathered together in *Suffolk* to the number of fifty thousand, by the setting on of one *John Wraw* a lewd Priest: and these fell to destroying the houses of Lawyers specially; and Sir *John Cavendish* Lord Chief Justice of *England* they beheaded, and set his head upon the Pillory in *S. Edmundsbury*. The like commotion of the Commons was at the same time also in *Cambridge-shire*, in the Isle of *Ely*, and in *Norfolk*, under the guiding of one *John Littlester* a Dyer: and to countenance their proceeding the more, they had a purpose
- D to have brought *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* into their fellowship; but he, advertised of their intention, suddenly rose from supper, and got him away: but many other Lords and Knights they compelled to be sworn to them, and to ride with them; as the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Morley*, Sir *John Brewis*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, and Sir *Robert Salle*, who not enduring their insolencies, had his brains dashed out by a Countrey Clown that was his bondman: The rest terrified by this example, were glad to carry themselves submissively to their Chieftain *John Littlester*, who named himself King of the Commons, and counted it a preferment for any to serve him at his Table, in taking the assay of his meats and drinks with kneeling humbly before him, as he sat at meat. And now these fellows, upon a consultation, send two choice men, namely, the Lord *Morley* and Sir *John Brewis*, with three of their chief Commons, to the King, for their Charter of Manu-
- E mission and Enfranchising: who being on their way at *Ichingham* not far from *Newmarket*, they met with *Henry Spenser* Bishop of *Norwich*; and he examining them if there were any of the Rebels in their company, and hearing that three of the chief were there present, he presently caused their heads to be struck off; and then pursuing on towards *Northwalham* in *Norfolk*, where the Commons stayed for answer from the King; by that time he came thither, where he had at first but eight Launces, and a small number of Archers in his company, his number was so increased, that it came to be a compleat Army, with which he set upon the Rebels, discomfited them, and took *John Littlester* and their other Chieftains, whom he caused all to be executed; and by this means the Countrey was quieted. After this the Maior of London sate in Judgement upon Offenders; where many were found culpable, and lost their heads; amongst other, *Jack Straw*,
- F *John Kirkeby*, *Alane Tredder*, and *John Sterling*, who gloryed that he was the man had slain the Archbishop. Also Sir *Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice, was appointed to sit in Judgement against the Offenders; before whom above fifteen hundred were found guilty, and in sundry places put to death: amongst others, *John Ball* Priest, their Incendiary; of whom it is not impertinent to relate a Letter he wrote to the Rebel-rabble of *Essex*; by which we may see how fit an Orator he was for such an Auditory, and what strength of perswasion there was in Non-sense.
- John Sheep St. *Mary* Priest of *Tork*, and now of *Colchester*, greeteth well *John Namelesse*, and *John the Miller*, and *John Carter*; and biddeth them that they beware of guile in Borough, and stand together in Gods name: and biddeth *Piers Plowman* go to his work, and chastise well *Hob* the Robber, and take with you *John Trewman* and all his fellows, and no more.
- G *John the Miller* ye ground small, small, small; the Kings Son of Heaven shall pay for all. Beware or ye be woe: Know your friend from your foe: Have enough, and say Ho: and doe well and better: Flee sinne, and seek peace, and hold you therein: and so biddeth *John Trewman* and all his fellows.

Wat Tyler in insolent carriage before the King.

William Walworth Lord Maior kills him.

Sir *Robert Knolls* daunteth the rebels.

An insurrection at the same time in *Suffolk*.

They beheaded the Chief Justice.

An insurrection at the same time in *Cambridge-shire* and *Norfolk*.

The insolency of *John Littlester* their Captain.

But is set upon by the Bishop of *Norwich*, taken and beheaded.

Fifteen hundred of them put to death.

John Ball letter of Non-sense.

The confession of *Jack Straw* at his execution.

Neither is it impertinent to declare the Confession of *Jack Straw* at his execution: "When we were assembled (said he) upon *Black-hath*, and had sent to the King to come to us, our purpose was to have slain all Knights and Gentlemen that should be about him: and as for the King, we would have kept him amongst us, to the end the people might more boldly have repaired

William Walworth the Mayor how rewarded.

The manner of Knighting at this time.

A dagger added to the Arms of the City.

A difference between the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Northumberland.

King Richard marries the Lady Anne sister to the Emperor Winceslaus.

William Ufford Earl of Suffolk dieth suddenly.

The King keeps the great Seal in his own hands.

The Kings host soon delayed.

A Truce is concluded between France and England.

"repaired to us, and when we had gotten power enough, we would have slain all Noblemen, and specially the Knights of the Rhodes, and lastly we would have killed the King, and all men of possessions, with Bishops, Monks, Parsons of Churches; only Friars Mendicants we would have spared, for administration of the Sacraments: Then we would have devised Laws according to which the people should have lived; for we would have created Kings, as *Wat Tyler* in *Kent*, and other in other Countreys: and the same evening that *Wat Tyler* was killed, we were determined to set fire in four corners of the City, and to have divided the spoil amongst us: and this was our purpose, as God may help me now at my last end.] For his service done in this seditious businelle, the King knighted the Mayor *William Walworth*, and gave him a hundred pounds a year in Fee; also he knighted five Aldermen his brethren, girding them about the waste with the girdle of Knighthood, which was the manner of Graduating in those dayes; but as *Stow* saith, the manner of Knighting was rather thus; to cause him to put a Basenet on his head, and then the King with a Sword in both his hands, to strike him strongly on the neck. And to do the City it self honour, the King at this time granted there should be a Dagger added to the Arms of the City; for till this time the City bore only the Crosse without the Dagger.

And now all parts being quiet, the King by Proclamation revoked and made void his former Charters of Infranchising the Bondmen of the Realm; and that they should stand in the same condition they were before. In the time of this sedition, the Duke of *Lancaster* had been sent into *Scotland*, to keep the *Scots* quiet, who so carried the matter, that before the *Scots* heard of the sedition, a Truce was concluded for two or three years. But the Duke coming back to *Berwick*, was denied by the Captain Sir *Matthew Redman*, to enter the Town, because of a Commandement given him by the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Warden of the Marches, not to suffer any person to enter the same; which the King indeed had appointed to be done, forgetting the Duke of *Lancaster* that was then in *Scotland*: but howsoever, this bred such a spleen in the Duke against the Earl, that at his coming home he laid many things to the Earls charge, and the Earl as stoutly answered his objections: and so far it proceeded, that both of them came to the Parliament which was then beginning, with great numbers of armed men, and themselves in Armour, to the great terrour of the people: but the King wisely taking the matter into his own hands, made them friends. At which time, the Lady *Anne*, Sister to the Emperour *Winceslaus*, and affianced Wife to the King, was come to *Calice*; whereupon the Parliament was prorogued: the Lady was brought to *London*, joyned in marriage to the King, and Crowned Queen at *Westminster* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with great solemnity. After the marriage, the Parliament began again; in which *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* being chosen by the Knights of the Shires to deliver in behalf of the Common-wealth certain matters concerning the same, the very day and hour in which he should have done the businelle, as he went up the stairs towards the upper House, he suddenly fell down and dyed, having been merry and well before, to all mens judgements. About this time the Lord *Scroope* was deposed from the Chancellourship, for refusing to seal some Grants which the King had made: and the King receiving the Great Seal at his hands, kept it a certain time, and sealed with it such Grants and Writings as he pleased; till at length it was delivered to *Robert Braibroke* Bishop of *London*, who was made Lord Chancellour.

Henry Spenser Bishop of *Norwich*, had lately with the Kings leave raised an Army, and was gone into *France*, in behalf of Pope *Urban*, against the Anti-Pope *Clement*; and entering first into *Flanders*, he took and sacked many Towns; at last besieged *Tyres*; till by an Army of *French* (greater then was thought could have been raised in *France*) he was forced to raise his siege; and then passing divers places, he came to *Graveling*; from whence he writ to King *Richard*, that if ever he meant to try battell with the *French*, now was the time. The King was at that time at *Dayntry* in *Northamptonshire*; and being at supper, when the word was brought him, he instantly rose from the Table, got to horseback, and rode in Post with such speed that he came to *St. Albans* about midnight; where making no stay, but while he borrowed the Abbots Gelding, he hasted forth till he came to *Westminster*, as though he had meant never to rest till he had given battell to the *French-men*: but after he had taken counsell of his Pillow, his minde was altered, and he thought it better to imploy some other, then to go himself: so the Duke of *Lancaster* is thought the fittest man; but he protracted the time so long in making preparation, that before he could be gone, the Bishop was come away. And this indeed is the condition of many, to spend so much time in preparing, that they utterly lose all opportunity of acting; like to men that are putting on their cloaths so long, till it be time to put them off again. Shortly after a Truce was concluded between *France* and *England*, to endure till the Feast of Saint *Michael*, which should be in the year 1384.

Of Acts done after he came of Age.

THE *Scots* in this mean time had made Roads into *England*, and taken and burnt divers Towns upon the Borders; whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster*, with his Brother the Earl of *Buckingham*, is sent with a mighty Army to repress them; but having entered *Scotland*, and not able to draw the *Scots* to a battell, they only burnt certain Towns, and then returned.

Abuot

A About this time an *Irish* Fryer of the order of the Carmelites, charged the Duke of *Lancaster* with heinous crimes; as that he intended to destroy the King, and usurp the Crown; shewing the time, the place, and other circumstances of the whole plot. But the Duke called to his answer, so cleared himself, at least gave such colours of clearing, that the accuser was committed to the custody of *John Holland* the Kings half-brother, till a day appointed for further triall: The night before which day, the said Lord *Holland* and Sir *Henry Green* are said to have come to this Fryer, and putting a cord about his neck, tyed the other end about his privy members, and after hanging him up from the ground, laid a stone upon his belly, with the weight whereof his very back-bone burst asunder; thereby putting him to a most tormenting death: An act not more inhumane then unadvised; for though it took away the Accuser, yet it made the accusation more suspicious.

A Fryer accusing the Duke of Lancaster with treason, is secretly put to a miserable death.

B At this time, though a Truce had been made with the *Scots*, yet they would not be quiet; but entered and won the Castle of *Berwick*, whereof the Earl of *Northumberland* was Captain, but had committed the keeping of it to another; for which being blamed, he went not against them with an Army, but took an easier course, for with the sum of two thousand Marks he bought them out, and had the Castle surrendered into his hands again. The King upon some new displeasure, being now incensed against the Duke of *Lancaster*, had a purpose to have him arrested and arraigned of certain points of Treason, before Sir *Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice, though he ought to be tried by his Peers: but the Duke having intimation hereof, got him to his Castle of *Pomfret*, and stood upon his guard; till the Kings Mother, (notwithstanding her indisposition of body, by reason of her corpulency) riding to and fro betwixt them, pacified the King, and made them friends.

The Scots win Berwick, but are bought out with money.

In the ninth year of King *Richards* Reign, the French King sent the Admirall of *France* into *Scotland*, with a thousand men of Arms, besides Crossle Bowes and others, to aid the *Scots* against the *English*; with which aid the *Scots* encouraged, enter the *English* borders: whereof King *Richard* advertised, himself with a mighty Army enters *Scotland*, and coming to *Edenborough*, and finding all the people fled, he set fire on the houses, burnt the Church of *S. Giles*, only *Holy-Rood-house* was spared at the Duke of *Lancasters* suit, in remembrance of the friendship he had formerly received in that house. The *Scots* by no means could be drawn to any battell; but to divert the Kings Army, they entered *Cumberland*, and besieged *Carlisle*, where by the valour of **D** Sir *Lewis Clifford* and Sir *Thomas Musgrave* they were repelled; and hearing of the Kings Army coming towards them, and fearing to be inclosed, they drew back into *Scotland*, and the King returned into *England*. But in this mean while, the *English* of *Callice* took many prizes of French Ships at Sea, and many booties also by land, at one time four thousand Sheep, and three hundred head of great Cattell.

King Richard with a mighty Army enters Scotland, burns some Towns and returns.

This year the King called a Parliament at *Westminster*, where he created two Dukes, one Marquesse and five Earls: *Edmund* of *Langley* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Kings Uncle was created Duke of *York*: *Thomas* of *Woodstock* Earl of *Buckingham*, his other Uncle, Duke of *Glocester*: *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, was made Marquesse of *Dublin*: *Henry* of *Bullingbrook* Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, was created Earl of *Darby*: *Edward Plantagenet* Son to the Duke of *York*, was made Earl of *Rut-*
E *land*: *Michael de la Poole* Chancellour of *England*, was created Earl of *Suffolk*: and *Thomas Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham*, was made Earl Marshall. Also by authority of this Parliament *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Edmund Mortimer*, and of the Lady *Philip* eldest Daughter and Heir to *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence* third Son to King *Edward* the third, was established Heir apparent to the Crown of the Realm, and shortly after so proclaimed: but going into *Ireland* to his Lordship of *Ulster*, was there by the wilde *Irish* slain. This *Roger* Earl of *March* had Issue, *Edmund*, *Roger*, *Anne*, *Alice*, and *Eleanor*, which *Eleanor* was made a Nun: The two Sons died without Issue: *Anne* his eldest Daughter was married to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Son to *Edmund* of *Langley*; which *Richard* had Issue by the said *Anne*, a Son called *Richard*, that was after Duke of *York*, and Father to King *Edward* the fourth; also a Daughter named **F** *Isabell*, married to the Lord *Bourchier*. Also this year *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke* Earl of *Darby*, married the Daughter and Heir of *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, in whose right he was afterwards made Duke of *Hereford*.

Dukes and Earls created.

Roger Mortimer proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown.

His Issue.

This year also King *Richard* holding his *Christmasse* at *Eltham*, *Leo* King of *Armenia* came thither to him, who in fear to have his Kingdome conquered by the *Turks*, was come into *Christendome* to seek for aid: but his chief Errand into *England* was, to have procured a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*; but their spleens were so great against one another, that it was not in the power of his Physick to cure them.

At this time, the Duke of *Lancaster*, taking with him his wife the Lady *Constance*, and a Daughter he had by her named *Katherine*, and two other Daughters which he had by his former
G Wife, sailed into *Spain*: he was attended in his journey with the Lord *Lucie*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Basset*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-waters*, *Poyning*, *Bradston*; and many other Lords and Knights, so the number of fifteen hundred men of Arms, whereof a thousand at the least was Knights and Esquires. The King at his taking leave gave him a Crown of Gold, and commanded he should be called King of *Spain*: and the Queen likewise gave another Crown of Gold to the Dutchesse. He landed first at *Brest*, and freed that Castle from the *French*; from thence he sailed, and arrived at the *Groyne* in *Spain*, where he remained a moneth, and then went to *Compostella*, where he stayed a while: In which time his Constable Sir *John Holland* won divers Towns. At *Monsons* the
King

The Duke of Lancaster goes with a great train into Spain, whom King Richard commands to be called King of Spain.

The King of
Portingale
marries a
daughter of the
Duke of *Lan-*
caster.

Many Lords a-
bout the Duke
die of sickness.

The King of
Spain's eldest
son marries the
Duke of *Lan-*
casters daugh-
ter.

A Navy of
1287 Ships
prepared by the
French to in-
vade *England*.

But by *William*
Beauchampe
Captain of
Callice, some of
them taken and
the rest dis-
tressed.

Robert Vere
Earl of *Oxford*
is created
Duke of *Ire-*
land;

And *Michael*
de la Poole a
Merchants son
is made Earl
of *Suffolk* and
Lord Chancel-
lour.

The King takes
the Govern-
ment upon
himself.

The Chancel-
lour is censu-
red by the Par-
liament.

A plot to mur-
ther the Duke
of *Glocester*, and
others that op-
posed the
King.

But stopped by
Richard Exton
Maior.

King of *Portingale* and the Duke of *Lancaster* met; where a marriage was concluded between the said King of *Portingale* and the Lady *Philip* Daughter to the Duke; which marriage shortly after was consummated, and the Lady sent into *Portingale* honourably accompanied. The Duke continued at *Compostella* all the winter: At *March* the King of *Portingale* and he entred the Confines of *Castile* where they took many Towns; and passing over the River of *Dure*, entred into the Countrey *De Campo*: But the *Spaniards* not willing to come to a battell, but meaning to weary them out with delays; the *English* not used to such hot air, fell daily into many diseases: which the Duke seeing, accorded to a Truce. There died in this action, the Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Richard Burley*, a Knight of the Garter, the Lord *Poynings*, and Sir *Henry Percy* Countingerman to the Earl of *Northumberland*, also the Lord *Talbot*, and in all, twelve great Lords, fourscore Knights, two hundred Esquires, and of the meaner sort above five hundred. When the Army was broken up, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Dutchesse his Wife went into *Portingale*; and after some stay there, they sailed to *Bayon*, in the Marches of *Gascoigne*, where he reued a long time after; In which mean while there were offers made for a marriage to be had between the Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the *French* King, and the Lady *Katherine* Daughter to the Duke of *Lancaster*: which the King of *Spain* understanding, he began to doubt, lest if that marriage went forward, it might turn to his disadvantage; and thereupon by earnest suit, at length concluded a peace with the Duke of *Lancaster*, on this wise, That his eldest Son *Henry* should marry the Lady *Katherine*, the Duke of *Lancasters* Daughter, and be intituled Prince of *Aufurgus*; and in consideration of this marriage, and that all claims should cease, which the Duke in right of his Wife might challenge or pretend, It was agreed, that the said Duke should receive yearly the sum of ten thousand Marks, during the lives of him and his Dutchesse; and to have in hand the sum of two hundred thousand Nobles.

At this time, the *French* had a purpose to invade *England*, with no lesse a hope then to make a Conquest: and to that end, they prepared a mighty Navy; so as in the moneth of *September*, there were numbred about *Sluis*, *Dam*, and *Blankerke*, 1287 Ships, besides those which were rigged in *Britain* by the Constable, who had caused an Inclosure of a Field to be made of Timber, that when they were landed in *England*, they might therewith inclose their Field, and so lodge at more surety: but it so fortuned that the Lord *William Beauchampe* Captain of *Callice*, took two of their Ships, whereof one was laden with a piece of the said Inclosure; and after that, another Ship laden with Guns, Gunpowder, and other Instruments of warre; and after that again, two Ships more, laden with parcels of the said Inclosure, which King *Richard* caused to be reared and set up about *Winchelsey* Town: at last the foresaid Army came into *Flanders*, and arrived at *Sluis*, where, after some stay, they were so distressed for victuals, that in the eyd of *November*, they were glad to be gone, and return into *France*.

At this time, in a Parliament, *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford* and Marquesse of *Dublin*, was created Duke of *Ireland*; and *Michael de la Poole* a Merchants Son, had lately before been created Earl of *Suffolk*, and made Chancellor of *England*. And now begins King *Richard* to enter, I may say, upon the confines of his Destiny: His gracing of undeserving men, and disgracing of men deserving, if they were not the causes, they were at least the occasions of his own disgracing, and destruction in the end. He was now come to be of full age to do all himself; which was indeed to be of full age to undoe himself: for the faults of his younger years might have the excuse to be but Errors; but the faults of the age he was now at, were peremptory against him, and admitted no defence. And to hasten the pace of his destiny the faster, the ill counsell which before was but whispered in his ear, was now scarce forbore to be given him aloud: It is told him, that he is under tuition no longer, and therefore not to be controll'd, as in former times he had been: That to be crost of his will by his subjects, was to be their subject; It is no Sovereignty, if it be not absolute. At the instigation of which Counsell, the King in a Parliament now assembled, fell to expostulate with his Lords, asking them what years they thought him to be of? who answering, that he was somewhat more then one and twenty; Well, then (said he) I am out of your Wardship, and therefore look to enjoy my Kingdome as freely, as your selves at the like years enjoy your Patrimonies. But his flattering Favourites should have remembered, that though the King may not be controlled, where he can command, yet he may be opposed, where he can but demand; as now indeed he was: For when he came to demand a Subsidy towards his wars, he was answered, That he needed no Subsidy from his subjects, if he would but call in the debts which the Chancellor owed him: and if he were so tender of him, that he could not finde in his heart to do it himself, they would do that work for him: and thereupon charged him with such crimes, that all his goods were confiscate, and himself adjudged to die, if the King so pleased: though some write, his sentence was only to pay a Fine of twenty thousand Marks; and a thousand pounds yearly beside. Upon this provocation, the opposite side seek present revenge: It is devised, that the Duke of *Glocester*, as principall, and other Lords that crossed the Kings courses, should be invited to a supper in *London*, and there be murdered. In the execution of which plot the former Lord Maior, Sir *Nicholas Brember*, had a speciall hand: but the present Maior *Richard Exton*, moved to it by the King, would by no means consent; and thereupon the plot proceeded not. But for all these harsh strains, and many such other that passed this Parliament, a Subsidy was at length granted to the King, of half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth; but with condition, that it should not be issued, but by order from the Lords, and the Earl of *Arundell* was appointed to receive it. But before this time, both Houses had directly agreed, that

unless

A unless the Chancellor were removed, they would meddle no further in the Parliament. The King advertised hereof, sent to the Commons, that they should send unto *Elham* (where he then lay) forty of their House to declare their mindes unto him: but upon conference of both Houses, it was agreed, that the Duke of *Glocester*, and *Thomas Arundell* Bishop of *Ely*, should in the name of the Parliament goe unto him: who coming to the King, declared, That by an old Statute, the King once a year might lawfully summon his Court of Parliament, for reformation of all corruptions and enormities within the Realm: and further declared, That by an old ordinance also it was Enacted, That if the King should absent himself forty dayes not being sick, the Houses might lawfully break up, and return home. At this the King is said to say, Well, we perceive our people go about to rise against us, and therefore we think we cannot do better then to ask aid of

The Parliament requires to have the Chancellor removed.

If the King absent himself from the Parliament forty dayes, it may lawfully break up.

The Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chancellor are discharged of their Offices.

Thirteen Lords appointed to govern the Realm.

As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, all they had done, was presently again undone.

The English Admirall takes 100 ships all laden with *Rochell* Wines.

The Duke of Ireland puts away his lawfull wife, near akin to the Duke of *Glocester*: and marries a *Bohemian* maid. Which the Duke of *Glocester* offended at; it is plotted to dispatch him out of the way.

Questions propounded by the King, to the Judges, against the Lords: who all answer as the King would have them.

B our Coun the King of *France*, and rather submit us to him then to our own Subjects. To which the Lords answered, they wondred at this opinion of his Majesty, seeing the *French* King was the ancient Enemy of the Kingdome; and he might remember what mischiefs were brought upon the Realm in King *Johns* time, by such a course. By these and the like perswasions, the King was induced to come to the Parliament: and soon after *John Fortsham* Bishop of *Durham* is discharged of his Office of Lord Treasurer; and in his place was appointed *John Gilbert* Bishop of *Hereford*, a Frier of the order of Preachers: Also *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk* is discharged of his Office of Chancellor; and *Thomas Arundell* Bishop of *Ely*, by consent of Parliament, placed in his room. Also by Order of Parliament, thirteen Lords were chosen to have oversight, under the King, of the whole Government of the Realm: of which thirteen there were three of the

C New Officers named; as the Bishop of *Ely* Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of *Hereford* Lord Treasurer, and *Nicholas* Abbot of *Waltham* Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: The other ten were, *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander* Archbishop of *York*, *Edmund* of *Langley* Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Duke of *Glocester*, *William* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Exeter*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundell*, *Richard* Lord *Scroope*, and *John* Lord *Deverex*. But this participation of the Government being found inconvenient, held not long. Also in this Parliament, it was granted, that *Robert de Vere*, lately before created Duke of *Ireland*, should have and receive to his own use 30000 Marks which the *French* men were to give for the Heirs of the Lord *Charles de Blois*: but it was granted upon this condition, That before the next *Easter* he should passe over into *Ireland*, to recover such lands as the King had there given him: so desirous the Lords and Commons

D were to have him removed from the Kings presence. But though the King gave way to this torrent of the Parliament for the present, yet as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he dissolved also all that had been done, either against the Lord Chancellor, or against the Duke of *Ireland*, or against *Alexander Nevil* Archbishop of *York*, and received them into more favour then ever he had done before.

In his tenth year, about the beginning of *March*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel* appointed Admiral, and *Thomas Monbray* Earl of *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, went to Sea, with a warlike power of men and Arms, to watch for the Fleet of *Flanders*, that was ready to come from *Rochel* with wines; and meeting with them, they set upon them: and took of them to the number of a hundred Vessels, all fraught with wines; so as wine grew so plentifull,

E that it was sold for thirteen shillings four pence the Tun; and the best and choicest for twenty shillings. Besides this, they landed in *Flanders*, where they relieved and fortified *Brest*, and demolished two Forts which the Enemy had built against it. But this happy service of the Earl of *Arundell*, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Simon Burley*, and Sir *Richard Sturrey*, who continued till about the King, seemed rather to envy, then to commend; insomuch that when the Earl of *Nottingham*, that had ever been the playfellow, and of equall age to him, came to the Court, he was neither received by the Duke of *Ireland* with any good welcome, nor by the King with any good countenance: and therefore indeed, not by the King with any good countenance, because not by the Duke of *Ireland* with any good welcome.

About this time the Duke of *Ireland* sought to be divorced from his lawfull Wife, Daughter to the Lady *Isabel*, one of King *Edward* the third's Daughters; and took to Wife one *Lancerona* a Vintners Daughter of *Bohemia*, one of the Queens maids: at which indignity, the Duke of *Glocester*, that was Uncle to the Lady thus forsaken, took great displeasure; which the Duke of *Ireland* understanding, studied how by some means he might dispatch the Duke of *Glocester* out of the way. *Easter* was now past, the time appointed for the Duke of *Ireland* going over into *Ireland*; when the King, with a shew to bring him to the waters side, went with him into *Wales*; and in his company *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Tresilian*, Lord Chief Justice, and divers others; who there consulted how they might dispatch the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Darby*, *Nottingham*, with divers others of that Faction: but when the King had remained in those parts a good while, he returned, and brought back the Duke of *Ireland* with him; and so his voyage into *Ireland* was clean forgotten. About the same time, *Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice came to *Coventry*, where he indicted two thousand persons. The King and the Queen came to *Groby*; and thither came by his commandement the Justices of the Realm, *Robert Belknap* Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorpe*, and *William Borough*, Knights: to whom it was propounded, to answer to these Questions following:

First, Whether the new Statute and Commission made in the last Parliament, were against the Kings Prerogative, or no? To which they all answered, It was,

Secondly,

Secondly, How they ought to be punished, that procured the said Statute and Commission to be made? They answered with one assent, that they deserved death, except the King would pardon them.

Thirdly, How they ought to be punished who moved the King to consent to the making of the said Statute and Commission? They answered, they ought to lose their lives, unless the King would pardon them.

Fourthly, How they ought to be punished, that compelled the King to the making of that Statute? They answered, they ought to suffer as Traitors.

Fifthly, Whether the King might cause the Parliament to proceed upon Articles by him limited, before they proceed to any other? They answered, That in this the King should over-rule; and if any presumed to do contrary, he was to be punished as a Traitor.

Sixthly, Whether the King might not at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart? They all answered, He might.

Seventhly, Whether the Lords and Commons might, without the Kings will, impeach Officers and Justices, upon their Offences, in Parliament, or no? It was answered, They might not; and he that attempted contrary, was to suffer as a Traitor.

Eighthly, How he is to be punished, who moved in the Parliament, that the Statute wherein Edward the Second was indicted in Parliament, might be sent for; by inspection of which Statute, the present Statute was devised? It was answered, That as well he that moved it, as he that brought the Statute into the House, were to be punished as Traitors.

Ninthly, Whether the Judgement given in Parliament against Michael de la Poole were erroneous and revocable? They answered, It was erroneous and revocable: and that if the Judgement were now to be given, the Justices would not give the same.

In witnesse of the Premises, the Justices aforesaid, to these Presents have set their Seals; in the presence of Alexander Archbishop of Yorke, Robert Archbishop of Dublin, John Bishop of Durham, Thomas Bishop of Chester, John Bishop of Bangor, Robert Duke of Ireland, Michael Earl of Suffolke, John Ripon Clerk, and John Blake.

At this time the Londoners incurred much oblique; For, having before been pardoned by the King of some crimes laid to their charge, they were now ready to comply with the King in his desires; and thereupon being impannelled, they indicted some Lords of many crimes informed against them. But not only the Justices aforesaid, but all other Justices and Sheriffs of the Realm were called at this time to Nottingham: the chief cause was, to understand what power of men they could assure the King of, to serve him against the Lords: and further, that where he meant shortly to call a Parliament, they should so use the matter, that no Knight or Burgesse should be chosen, but such as the King and his Councell should name. To which the Sheriffs made answer, that it lay not in their power to assemble any forces against the Lords, who were so well beloved: And as for choosing Knights and Burgesses, the Commons would undoubtedly look to enjoy their ancient liberties, and could not be hindered. But yet the King and the Duke of Ireland sent into all parts of the Realm, to raise men in this quarrell against the Lords: Whereof the Duke of Gloucester being advertised, he came secretly to conference with the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Darby; who upon consultation determined to talk with the King, with their Forces about them, and the King, on the other part, took advice how he might apprehend them apart; and thereupon, sent the Earl of Northumberland and others to the Castle of Rygate, to take the Earl of Arundell, who lay there at that time: but howsoever it fortune, they failed of their purpose. After this, he sent others to apprehend him: but he being warned by a Messenger from the Duke of Gloucester, conveyed himself away by night; and by morning was come to Haringey Park, where he found the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Warwick with a great power of men about them. The King hearing of this Assembly at Haringey Park, called his Councell, to hear their opinion what was fit to be done: Some were of opinion, that the King should assemble his friends, and joyning them with the Londoners, give them battell; the chiefest of this mind was the Archbishop of York: Others thought best, the King should seek to appease the Lords with fair promises, till a fitter opportunity to suppress them. But the King not yet resolved what course to take, caused only order to be taken, that no Citizen of London should sell to the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Arundell, or to any other of the Lords, any Armour or furniture of war, under a great pain. But for all this, the Lords proceeded in their course, and sent the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord John Lovell, the Lord Cobham, and the Lord John Devereux, requiring to have delivered to them such as were about the King, that were Traitors and Seducers both of him and the Realm: and further to declare, that their assembling was for the honour and wealth both of him and the Kingdome. The Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolke, and two or three other about the King, perswaded him to offer Callice to the King of France, to have his assistance against the Lords. Withall, the King sent to the Maior of London, requiring to know how many able men the City could make? To which the Maior answered, that he thought it could make fifty thousand men at an hours warning. Well then (said the King) go and prove what will be done. But when the Maior went about it, he was answered, They would never fight against the Kings friends, and defenders of the Realm. At the same time the Earl of Northumberland said to the King: Sir, there is no doubt but these Lords have alway been, and still are your true and

No men to be gotten to serve against the Lords.

The King would have no Burgesses chosen to the Parliament, but such as he should name, but this could not be.

The King seeks to apprehend the Duke of Gloucester, and others.

The Lords require to have some about the King, delivered to them.

What power the City could make upon a sudden.

A and faithfull subjects, though now dūtēper'd by certain persons about you, that seek to oppresse them: therefore my advice is, that you tend to them, to come before your presence in some public place; and I verily believe, they will shew such reasons of their doings, that you will hold them excused. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely* Lord Chancellor, and other of the Bishops there present, approved all of the Earls' advice; whereupon the King sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely* to the Lords, requiring them to come to him to *Westminster*, on Sunday next following: which, upon Oath given by the Archbishop and the Chancellor, that no fraud nor evil practice should be used against them, they were content to doe. But when the Lords were ready to come at the day appointed, they heard of an Ambush laid to entrap them at the *Mews*, and thereupon stayed, so as they came not at the time appointed: Whereupon, the King asking why they came not according to their promise? It was answered because he kept not his promise; there being an Ambush of a Thousand armed men laid to surprize them at the *Mews*. The King hearing this was astonished, and swore he knew of no such thing, and commanded presently the place should be searched: but it was true; an ambush was laid, but not at the *Mews*, but in a place about *Westminster*, where Sir *Thomas Tryvet* and Sir *Nicolas Brember* had assembled them. This one action might have made the King sensible of his favourites abusing his authority, but that where affection makes the contrivance, all things are taken in a good sense. Or was it perhaps they had a Warrant dormant, to prosecute the Kings ends without the Kings knowledge? Yet the Lords after this, receiving a safe conduct from the King, came to *Westminster*; of whose coming when the King heard, he apparelled himself in his royall Robes, and with his Scepter in his hand, came into the great Hall, before whom, the Lords upon their knees presented themselves, the King bidding them welcome, and taking each of them by the hand. Then the Lord Chancellor making a speech; wherein he blamed them for raising of Arms, and requiring to know the cause; they answered, They had done it for the good of the King and kingdom, and to take away the Traitors about the King. Upon this the King himselfe spake, asking them whether they thought to compel him by strong hand: Have not I (saith he) sufficient men to beat you down? truly in this behalf I make no more account of you then of the basest skulion in my kitchin. Yet after these great words, he lift up the Duke of *Glocester*, who all this while was kneeling, and commanded the rest also to rise, and then led them curteously to his chamber, where they ate and drank together: And finally it was concluded they should all meet again as well these Lords, as those they accused, at the next Parliament; which the King promised to call speedily, and each party to receive there according to Justice, and in the mean time all parties to be in the Kings protection. But when the Favorite Lords heard this, they told the King plainly, they neither durst nor would put themselves to the hazard of such a meeting, and therefore the Duke of *Ireland* and the rest of that faction left the Court to be out of the way: But the King not enduring their absence, appointed *Thomas Mollenex* Constable of the Castle of *Chester*, to raise an Army, and to safe conduct the Duke of *Ireland* to him; But they being come as far as *Radcoat*-bridge, were encountred by the Earl of *Darby*, and the Duke of *Ireland*, not daring to join battel with him, fled, and being to passe a River, cast away his gantlets and sword (to be the more nimble) and giving his horse the spur, leapt into the river, and so escaped, that when these things were afterward found, it was verily thought that he had been drowned, till news came he was got into *Holland*, where being no very welcome guest, he went from thence into the Bishoprick of *Vtrecht*, and after two of three yeares scambling about in manner of a Fugitive, at *Lovain* in *Brabant* he ended his life. A man of many good parts, and worthy enough of his Princes favour, if with that favour he had not grown proud, and in that pride, injurious and insulting over others no lesse deserving then himselfe. He was valiant enough against any man but the Earl of *Darby*, and of him indeed both the Genius of the Duke of *Ireland*, and of King *Richard* himselfe seemed to stand in fear; for neither of them durst meet him in the field, though encouraged to it by those about them.

F About this time the Duke of *Suffolk* doubting some plots laid to surprize him, fled over to *Callice* in disguise, shaving his beard, and counterfeiting himself a Poulterer, to sell certain fowl which he had gotten; but being come to *Callice*, was by the Lord *William Beauchampe*, Deputy of the Town, sent back into *England*, whom the King notwithstanding permitted to goe at large, to make it be thought he was more afraid then hurt, more suspicious then he needed. By this time the Lords had gotten matter enough against the King, at least to justifie their Armes, and thereupon with an Army of Forty thousand men, they came to *London*, where after some debate, they were received; and then the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Darby* and *Nottingham* went to the King in the Tower; to whom, after humble salutations, they shewed the Letter which he had written to the Duke of *Ireland*, to levy an Army for their destruction: likewise the Letters which the French King had written to him, containing a safe conduct for him to come into *France*, there to doe acts to his own dishonour and the kingdoms.

G This done, upon the Kings promise that he would come the next day to *Westminster* to treat further of these matters, the Lords departed, only the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Darby*, at the Kings instance, stayed all night; but before the King went to bed his minde was clean altered for keeping his promise to meet the Lords the next day at *Westminster*: which the Lords understanding, they sent peremptorily to him, that if he came not according to his promise, they would choose another King, that should hearken to the faithfull counsell of his Lords. This touched the King so to the quick, that the next morning he went and met the Lords; who there declared to him,

The King requires the Lords to come unto him; but they hearing of an ambush laid for them, forbore.

But upon safe conduct from the King, they came, and the King receiveth them in show kindly.

It is concluded that at the next Parliament all parties should be heard.

The Duke of *Ireland* flies into *Holland*, and after two or three yeares dyed at *Lovain*.

The Earl of *Darby* a terrout both to the Duke of *Ireland*, and to the King himselfe.

The Lords with an Army of Forty thousand, came to the King at *London*; and shew their grievance.

They threaten to choose a new King.

Hereupon the King removes or puts in prison all those whom the Lords required

The Parliament that wrought wonders.

Where all the Judges but one are arrested and sent to the Tower.

Robert Tresilian Chief Justice, hanged at Tyburn by the Duke of Gloucester.

Divers others executed.

All the Judges banished the Realm.

The King bound by Oath, to stand to such order as the Lords should take.

A Truce for three years between England, France, and Scotland.

William Wickham Bishop of Winchester made Lord Chancellor.

A strange accident in the family of the Hastings, Earls of Pembroke, and the originall of their Family.

how much it concerned the good of the Kingdome, that those Traitors so often spoken of, A should be removed from the Court: To which the King though much against his will, yet at last condescended. And thereupon presently *Alexander Nevill* Archbishop of *Yorke*, and *Thomas Rusboke* Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Conestour* to the King, were expelled the Court, who not willing to come to after-reckonings, fled no man knew whither. They expelled also *John Fordham*, Bishop of *Durham*, Lord Treasurer; the Lord *Zouch* of *Haringworth*, the Lord *Burvell*, the Lord *Beaumont*, *Albery de Veere*, *Baldwin de Beresford*, *Richard Adderbury*, *John Worth*, *Thomas Clifford*, and *John Lovel*, Knights: but contrained to put in sureties to appear at the next Parliament. Also certain Ladies were expelled the Court; as the Lady *Poyning*, the Lady *Monting*, and others, bound to appear at the next Parliament. There were also arrested, and committed to severall Prisons, Sir *Simon Burley*, *William Elmham*, *John Beauchamp* Steward of the Kings House, Sir *John Salisbury*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *James Berneys*, Sir *Nicholas Dagworth*, and Sir *Nicholas Brember*, Knights. Also *Richard Clifford*, *John Lincoln*, *Richard Misford*, the Kings Chaplains; *Nicholas Sclake* Dean of the Kings Chappell, and *John Blake* a Lawyer.

Shortly after, the Parliament began, (called afterward, The Parliament that wrought wonders:) On the first day whereof, were arrested as they sate in their places, all the Justices (but only Sir *William Shipwith*;) as Sir *Roger Fulthorpe*, Sir *Robert Belknappe*, Sir *John Cary*, Sir *John Hol*, Sir *William Brook*, and *John Alaston* the Kings Serjeant at Law; and were all sent to the Tower for doing contrary to an Agreement made the last Parliament. Also in the beginning of this Parliament, *Robert Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevill* Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Robert Tresilian* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, were openly called to answer *Thomas of Woodstock* Duke of *Glocester*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundell*, *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Nottingham*, upon certain Articles of high Treason: and because none of them appeared, it was ordained by whole consent of Parliament, that they should be banished for ever, and all their lands and goods seized into the Kings hands (their intailed lands only excepted.) Shortly after, the Lord Chief Justice *Robert Tresilian*, was found in an Apothecaries house in *Westminster*; where being taken, he was brought to the Duke of *Glocester*, who caused him the same day to be had to the Tower, and from thence drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged. On the morrow after, Sir *Nicholas Brember* was brought to his Answer; who being found guilty, was beheaded with an Axe which himself had caused to be made for beheading of others. After this Sir *John Salisbury*, and Sir *James Berneys*, lusty young men, were drawn and hanged; as also *John Beauchamp* Lord Steward of the Kings House, *John Blake* Esquire; and lastly, Sir *Simon Burley*, Son to the great Sir *John Burley* Knight of the Garter, was beheaded on *Tower-hill*; whose death the King took more heavily and more hainously then all the rest. Also all the Justices were condemned to die, but by the Queens intercession, they were only banished the Realm, and all their lands and goods confiscate, only a small portion of money was assigned them for their sustentation. Finally, in this Parliament an Oath was required and obtained of the King, that he should stand unto, and abide such Rule and Order as the Lords should take: and this Oath was required also of all the Inhabitants of the Realm.

In the latter end of the Kings eleventh year, the Earl of *Arundell* was sent to Sea, with a great Navy of Ships and men of War; with whom went the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Devonshire*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Camois*, Sir *William Elmham*, and divers other Knights, to aid the Duke of *Britain* against the King of *France*: but before they came the Duke of *Britain* was reconciled to the King of *France*; and so needing not their aid, all this great Fleet returned with doing nothing. And it was indeed a year of doing nothing, unlesse we reckon some petty Inroads of the *Scots*: and that Sir *Thomas Tryvet* dyed with a fall off his horse: and that Sir *John Holland*, the Kings Brother by the Mother, was made Earl of *Huntington*: and that there was contention in *Oxford*, between the Northern and the Southern Scholars; which was pacified by the Duke of *Glocester*.

In his twelfth year, Commissioners were appointed to meet at *Balingham*, betwixt *Callice* and *Bulloign*, to treat of a Peace between the Realms of *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*: and after long debating, a Truce was at last concluded, to begin at Midsummer next, and to last three years. But now the King, to shew his plenary authority of being at full age, removed the Archbishop of *Yorke* from being Lord Chancellor, and put in his place *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*: also he removed the Bishop of *Hereford* from being Treasurer, and put another in his place: The Earl of *Arundell* likewise unto whom the Government of the Parliament was committed, and the Admiralty of the Sea; was removed, and the Earl of *Huntington* put in his room.

About this time, the Lord *John Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*, as he was practising to learn to Just, was stricken about the privy parts, by a Knight called Sir *John St. John*; of which hurt he soon after dyed: In whose Family, it is memorable, that for many generations together, no son ever saw his father, (the father being alwayes dead before the son was born.) The Originall of this Family was from *Hastings* the Dane, who in the reign of King *Alured*, long before the Conquest, about the year 890. came with *Rollo* into *England*. But howsoever, in this *John Hastings* ended the then honourable Titles of the *Hastings*; for this man dying without Issue, his Inheritances were dispersed to divers persons: The honour of *Pembroke* came to *Francis at Courts*, by the Kings gift: the Baronies of *Hastings* and *Welford* came to *Reynold Gray* of *Ruthia*: the Barony of *Aburgavey* was granted to *William Beauchamp* of *Bedford*.

A About this time, *John Duke of Lancaster* was created Duke of *Aquitain*, receiving at the Kings hands the Rod and the Cap, as investitures of that Duchy. Also the Duke of *York's* Son and heir was created Earl of *Richmond*.

In his thirteenth year, a Royall Juits was Proclaimed to be holden within *Smithfield* in *London*, to begin on Sunday next after the Feast of *S. Michael*: which being published, not only in *England*, but in *Scotland*, in *Almaigne*, in *Flanders*, in *Brabant*, and in *France*, many strangers came thither; amongst others *Valeran* Earl of *S. Polls*, that had married King *Richards* Sister; and *William* the young Earl of *Ostervant*, Son to *Albert de Bayere* Earl of *Holland* and *Heinault*. At the day appointed there issued forth of the Tower, about three a clock in the afternoon, sixty Coursers appaelled for the Juits; and upon every one an Equire of honour, riding a soft pace: After them, came forth four and thirty Ladies of honour, (*Froissard* saith, threescore) mounted on Palfries, and every Lady led a Knight with a Chain of Gold: These Knights being on the Kings part, had their Armour and apparel garnished with white Hearts, and Crowns of gold about their necks; and so they came riding through the streets of *London*, unto *Smithfield*: the Juits lasted divers dayes; *Fabian* saith, four and twenty: all which time the King and Queen lay at the Bishops Palace by *Pauls* Church, and kept open house for all comers.

A royall Juits held in *Smithfield*, and the solemnity of it.

In his fifteenth year, the Duke of *Lancaster* went into *France*, having in his train a thousand horse; and met the King of *France* at *Amiens*, to treat of a peace between the two Kingdoms: but after long debate, a Truce only was concluded for a year.

About this time also, the King required the *Londoners* to lend him a thousand pounds: which they refused to do; and not only so, but they abused an *Italian* Merchant, for offering to lend it. This moved the King to some indignation: to which was added the complaint of a Riot committed by the Citizens, against the servants of the Bishop of *Salisbury* Lord Treasurer; for that, where one of the Bishops servants, named *Walter Roman*, had taken a horse-loaf out of a Bakers Basket, as he passed in the streets, and ran with it into his Lords house; the Citizens thereupon assailed the house, and would not be quiered, till the Maior and Aldermen were faine to come, and with much ado appealed the n. Upon complaint hereof, urged against the Citizens, by the Bishop of *Salisbury* Lord Treasurer, and *Thomas Arundell* Archbishop of *Torke* Lord Chancellour, the Maior and Aldermen, and divers other substantiall Citizens are arrested: the Maior is committed to the Castle of *Windsor*, and the other to other Castles; the liberties of the City are seized into the Kings hands, and the authority of the Maior utterly ceased; the King appointing a Warden to govern the City, first *Sir Edmund Derling*, and afterward *Sir Baldwin Radington*; till at length, by speciall suit of the Duke of *Glocester*, the King was contented to come to *London*, to so great joy of the Citizens, that they received him with four hundred on horse-back, clad all in one Livery, and presented the King and Queen with many rich gifts: yet all gave not satisfaction, to have their liberties restored; till they afterwards paid ten thousand pounds. This it is to provoke a Lyon: It may be fortune enough to us, if by any means we can but keep him quiet; for if once we provoke him to lay his paw upon us, it will be hard getting from him, and not be torn in pieces.

The King displeased with the City of *London*; and why: and how pacified.

The liberties of the City are seized, and a Warden is appointed to govern it.

In his sixteenth year, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester* are once again sent into *France*, to treat of a peace: but when they could not agree with the *French* Commissioners upon Articles propounded, there was only a Truce concluded for four years; though perhaps a further agreement had then been made, but that the King of *France* fell newly again into his old fit of Frensie, which called away the *French* Commissioners from further Treaty.

In his eighteenth year, a Proclamation was set forth, That all *Irish* men should avoid this Realm, and return home: The occasion was, because so many *Irish* were come over, that *Ireland* in a manner was left unpeopled: insomuch, that where King *Edward* the third had received from thence yearly the sum of thirty thousand pounds, the King now laid forth as much to repell Rebels. Whereupon at *Michaelmas* King *Richard* went himself into *Ireland*, attended with the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *March*, *Nottin*, *am*, and *Kutland*, the Lord *Thomas Percy* Lord Steward, and divers others of the *English* Nobility; to whom came in the Great *Oneale* King of *Meth*, *Bryan*, and *Thomond* King of *Thomonds*, *Arthur Macmur* King of *Leymster*, and *Conbur* King of *Cheveney* and *Darpe*: and the King *Richard* stayed all that Winter, and after *Christmas* called a Parliament; at which time also the Duke of *York* Lord Warden of *England*, in the Kings name called a Parliament at *Westminster*: to the which was sent forth of *Ireland* the Duke of *Glocester*, that he might declare to the Commons the Kings great occasions for supply of money: whose words so far prevailed, that a whole tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity.

All *Irish* men commanded to avoid the Realm, and why.

King *Richard* goes into *Ireland*.

In his twentieth year was the famous Enterview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*: where was set up for King *Richard* a rich Pavilion, a little beyond *Guyfnes*, within the *English* pale; and another the like for the *French* King, on this side *Arle*: The distance betwixt the two Tents was befer on either side with Knights armed with their swords in their hands, four hundred *French* on one side, and four hundred *English* on the other: The two Kings before their meeting took a solemn oath for assurance of their faithful and true meaning, to observe the sacred lawes of amity one toward another, in this enterview. After the two Kings were come together, it was accorded, that in the same place where they met, there should be builded at both their costs a Chappel for a perpetuall memory, which should be called, The Chappel of our Lady of Peace. On *Simon* and *Judas* day, the Kings talked together of Articles concerning the Peace; and having concluded them, they received either of them an Oath, upon the holy Evangelists, to observe and keep them. This done, the *French* King brought his Daughter *Isabel*, and delivered her to King *Richard*,

A famous Enterview between the two Kings of *England* & *France*, and the manner of it.

King Richard marries Isabel the King of Frances daughter, being but eight years of age.

The Duke of Lancasters issue by Katharine Swinford, legitimated by Parliament.

The Duke of Gloucester with unadvised words, moves the King to anger.

The Duke of Gloucester and other Lords conspire to seize upon King Richard, but are discovered.

The King by a wile, seizeth upon the Duke of Gloucester, and sends him presently to Calice, where soon after he lost his life.

Divers other Lords committed to the Tower.

who shortly after at Calice married her, and upon the 17 of January following, she was Crowned Queen at Westminster. A match of great honour, but of little conveniency, and lesse profit; for the Lady being but eight years of age, there could be no hope of Issue a long time, which was King Richards greatest want; and as little supply of his wants otherwise, her Portion perhaps scarce paying the charges of his journey to fetch her, which cost him three hundred thousand Marks.

The Duke of Lancaster, in the thirteenth year of King Richards reign, had been created Duke of Aquitain: but when the Gascoigners would not receive him, shewing reasons why that Duke. dome ought not to be separated from the Crown of England, his Grant was revoked, and so it remained still in Demefn of the Crown.

At this time, in a Parliament, the Duke of Lancaster caused to be legitimated, the Issue he had by B Katharine Swinford, before he married her; of whom Thomas Beaufort was created Earl of Somerset.

This year also, the King receiving the money back, which had been lent to the Duke of Britain, upon Brest, delivered up the Town unto him; and thereupon, the English souldiers that were there in Garrison, were all discharged and sent home; who, at a Feast which the King kept at Westminster, coming in companies together into the Hall; as soon as the King had dined, and was entering into his Chamber, the Duke of Gloucester asked him, if he did mark those men that stood in such troops in the Hall: Yes marry (said the King) who were they? They were (said the Duke) those Souldiers, who by your rending up of Brest have been sent home, and now must either starve or steal; and therewithall, very unadvisedly in words, taxed the King with unadvisednesse of his deed: To whom the King in great anger replied, Why Uncle, do you think me either a Merchant, or a Fool, to sell my land? By S. John Baptiste, no: But could I refuse to render the Town, when render was made of the money lent upon it? Indeed nothing could more discover the Duke of Gloucesters, either weaknesse if he knew not that Brest was but only a Morgage; or injustice, if knowing it, he would have had the King, though the money were rendered, to have kept it still: but such is the course of many, to take part with the Politicks against the Ethicks; work their ends by doing unjustly, when doing justly ought to be their chiefest end. However it was, the multiplying of words about this matter kindled in the King such a displeasure against the Duke, that it could never afterwards be quenched, but by his blood. And first he complained to his other two uncles, the Dukes of Lancaster and Torke, of his undutifull behaviour towards him; who told the King, their Brother perhaps might let fall some unadvised words, but they D knew his heart to be true and faithfull. Yet doubting how far the King might presse upon them to answer for their brothers faithfulness, they retired from Court: which gave the Dukes enemies time to incense the King farther against him.

It happened that the Duke of Gloucester had with him one day at his house, the Abbot of S. Albans, that was his Godfather, and the Prior of Westminster: and after dinner falling in talk with them, amongst other communications the Duke required the Prior to tell truth, whether he had any Vision the night before? To which the Prior was loth at first to make a direct Answer; but at last, being earnestly requested, as well by the Abbot as the Duke, he confessed that he had a Vision indeed, which was, that the Realm of England should be destroyed through the misgovernance of King Richard. By the Virgin Mary (said the Abbot) I had the very same Vision. Whereupon the Duke presently disclosed to them all the secrets of his minde, and by their devices contrived an Assembly of divers great Lords of the Realm, to meet at Arundell Castle that day fortnight; at which time he appointed to be there himself, with the Earls of Darby, Arundell, Marshall, and Warwick; also the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Abbot of S. Albans, the Prior of Westminster, with divers others: And accordingly all these met at Arundell Castle, at the day appointed: where receiving first the Sacrament, by the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be assistant each to other, in all such matters as they should determine; they resolved to seize upon King Richard, and upon the Dukes of Lancaster and Torke, and commit them to prison; and all the other Lords of the Kings Councell, they determined should be drawn and hanged. But the Earl Marshall, that was Deputy of Calice, and had married the Earl of Arundells daughter, discovered all their counsell to the King; who thereupon, by a plot devised by his Councell, F took his Brother the Earl of Huntington with him, and rising from supper, rode that night to the Duke of Gloucesters house at Plashey in Essex. When the King came thither, the Duke was a-bed; but informed of it, cast his Cloak about his shoulders, and came down, bidding the Kings grace, with all reverence, welcome. The King courteously requested him to go and make himself ready, for that he must needs ride with him a little way, to conferre of some business. The Duke presently made him ready and came down; and as soon as the King and his Company was gone a little way from the house, and the Duke with him, the Earl Marshall arrested the Duke, as he had been appointed to do by the King, who immediately was sent to Calice, where after some time he was dispatched of his life, either strangled, or else smothered with Pillows, as some write. At the very same time was the Earl of Arundell apprehended by the Earls of Rutland and Kent: G the Earl of Warwick also, when the King had invited him to dinner, and shewed him very good countenance, was taken and arrested in the place: as likewise at the same time were apprehended, and committed to the Tower, the Lord John Cobham, and Sir John Cheyny. Shortly after, the King procured them to be indicted at Nottingham, suborning such as should appeal them in Parliament; namely, Edward Earl of Rutland, Thomas Mowbray Earl Marshall, Thomas Holland Earl of Kent, John Holland Earl of Huntington, Thomas Beaufort Earl of Somerset, John Montacute Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Lord Spenser, and the Lord William Scroope Lord Chamberlain: and in the mean

A mean time, the King sent for a power of *Cheshire* men, to keep Watch and Ward about his person.

On the 17 of *September*, a Parliament began at *Westminster*; wherein the King complained as well of many things done by the Lords in his Minority, as also of the hard dealing which they had used towards the Queen, who was three hours at one time on her knees, before the Earl of *Arundell*, for one of her Esquires, named *John Calverley*, who nevertheless had his head smitten from his shoulders; and all the answer she could get, was this: *Madam, pray for your self and your Husband, and let this suit alone.* Those that set forth the Kings grievances in this Parliament, were *John Busbie, William Bagot, and Thomas Green.* The cause of assembling the Parliament was shewed, that the King had called it for reformation of divers transgressions against the peace of this Land, by the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Arundell, Warwick*, and others. Then Sir *John Busbie*, Speaker of the Parliament, made request on behalf of the Commonalty, that they might be punished according to their deservings; and specially the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who then sat next the King, whom he accused of high Treason. When the Archbishop began to answer, Sir *John Busbie* besought the King that he might not be admitted to answer, lest by his great wit and cunning he might lead men away to beleve him. And here Sir *John Busbie* in all his talk did not attribute to the King titles of honour due and accustomed, but such as were fitter for the Majesty of God than for any earthly Prince. And when the Archbishop was constrained to keep silence, Sir *John Busbie* proceeded; requiring on the behalf of the Commons, that the Charters of Pardon, granted to the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Arundell* and *Warwick*, should be revoked.

Sir John Busbie Speaker of the Parliament, attributes divine titles to the King.

The Lords spirituall and temporall, give their opinions one way, and the Judges and Lawyers another.

The Archbishop of Canterbury is banished.

The Earl of Arundell is beheaded.

A miracle reported of him after his death, but found a fable.

Chester made a Principality.

Dukes and Earls created.

What Articles are first to be handled in Parliament.

The whole authority of Parliament confirmed upon certain persons.

A generall Pardon, but only to fifty, and why.

C The King for his part protested that they were drawn from him by compulsion, and therefore besought them to deliver their opinions, what they thought thereof: whereupon, the Bishops first gave their sentence, that the said Pardons were revokable, and might be called in; but pretending a scrupulosity, as if they might not with safe consciences be present where Judgement of blood should pass, they appointed a Lay-man to be their Prolocutor for that turn. The temporal Lords likewise gave their sentence, that the Pardons were revokable: only the Judges and Lawyers were not of this opinion. But howsoever the Archbishop of *Canterbury* is hereupon condemned to perpetual Exile, and appointed to avoid the Realm within six weeks. Also the Earl of *Arundell* is by the Duke of *Lancaster* who sat that day as High Steward, condemned of Treason, and on the *Tower-hill* beheaded. There went to see the execution, divers Lords; amongst whom was the

D Earl of *Nottingham*, that had married his Daughter, and the Earl of *Kent*, that was his Daughters Son: to whom, at the place of his execution he said, Truly it would have becomed you rather to be absent, then here at this businesse; but the time will come ere long, that as many shall marvel at your misfortune, as they do now at mine. After his death, a Fame went, that his head was grown to his body again: whereupon, the tenth day after his buriall, his body by the Kings appointment was taken up, and then found to be a Fable. After this, the Lord *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was brought forth, and charged with the like Treasons; but by the intercession of the Duke of *Lancaster* and other Lords, after confession of his fault, was only confin'd into the Isle of *Man*. Likewise the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheyny* were only banished, or (as *Fabian* saith) condemned to perpetual Prison. The Parliament after this was held at *Shrewsbury*; where,

E for the love the King bore to the Gentlemen and Commons of the Shire of *Chester*, he caused it to be Ordained, that from thenceforth it should be called and known by the name of the Principality of *Chester*; and herewith intituled himself Prince of *Chester*. At this Parliament also, called the Great Parliament, he created five Dukes, and a Dutchesse; one Marquesse, and four Earls. The Earl of *Darby* was created Duke of *Hereford*; the Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Norfolk*; the Earl of *Rutland* Duke of *Albermarle*; the Earl of *Kent*, Duke of *Surrey*; the Earl of *Huntington*, Duke of *Excester*; and the Lady *Margaret Marshall* Countesse of *Norfolke*, was created Dutchesse of *Norfolke*: The Earl of *Somerset* was created Marquess *Dorset*; the Lord *Spenser* was made Earl of *Glocester*; the Lord *Nevil*, Earl of *Westmerland*; the Lord *Scroop*, Earl of *Wiltshire*; and the Lord *Thomas Percy* Lord Steward of the Kings house, was made Earl of *Worcester*: and for the better

F maintenance of their estate, he divided amongst them a great part of those lands that belonged to the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Arundell* and *Warwick*. Also in this Parliament, the Judges gave their opinions, That when Articles are propounded by the King to be handled in Parliament, if other Articles be handled before those be first determined, that it is Treason in them that do it. And in this Parliament, the King brought it so about, that he obtained the whole power of the Parliament to be conferred upon certain persons, namely, *John Duke of Lancaster, Edmund Duke of York, Edmund Duke of Aumerle, Thomas Duke of Surrey, John Duke of Excester, John Marquess Dorset, Roger Earl of March, John Earl of Salisbury*, and divers others; or to any seven or eight of them: and these, by vertue of this Grant, proceeded to conclude upon many things, which concerned generally the things of the whole Parliament, to the great prejudice of

G the State, and a dangerous example in time to come. A generall pardon was also granted for all offences, to all the Kings subjects, but only to fifty, whose names he would not expresse, but reserved them to his own knowledge, that when any of the Nobility offended him, he might at his pleasure name him, to be one of the number excepted, and so keep them still within his danger. And for the more strengthening the Acts of this Parliament, the King purchased the Popes Bulls, containing grievous censures and curses to them that should break them. And now the heads of the opposite Faction having lost their heads, and all things as well settled as could be desired, the King was secure, as thinking himself safe; and he had indeed been safe, if

Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, and Henry Duke of Hereford, accused each other,

Whereupon a Combat is agreed upon between them, and in what manner.

But the King interposeth and banisheth the Duke of Norfolk for ever: the Duke of Hereford for six years.

The delinquencies of great men, punished only with banishment; and the danger of it.

The Duke of Hereford is solicited to return into England.

He lands with three ships at Ravenspurre in Yorkshire. He pretends his coming to be only to claim the inheritance descended upon him from his father.

Time and Fortune were not Actors in Revenge as well as men; or rather, if a superiour power did A not enterpose, whose wayes are as secret as himself is invincible.

It now fell out, (though writers differ what it was fell out) for some write, that *Thomas Mowbray* accused the Duke of *Hereford*; others, that *Henry Duke of Hereford* accused *Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk*, for speaking words founding highly to the Kings dishonour; to which the Duke of *Norfolk*, being called to answer, charged the Duke of *Hereford* before the King, that he lyed falsly. Whereupon a Combat was agreed upon between them: the King laboured to make them friends; but not prevailing, he gave way to proceed in Combat, and the place to be at *Coventry*: where at the day and hour appointed, the Duke of *Hereford*, mounted on a white Courser, barded with green and blew Velvet, imbroidered sumptuously with Swans and Antilops of Goldsmiths work, approached the Lists; Of whom the Marshall, being the Duke of *Surrey*, demanding who he was? he answered; I am *Henry of Lancaster*, Duke of *Hereford*, that am come hither to doe my endeavour against *Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk*, as a Traytor, untrue to God, the King, his Realm, and me: Then incontinently he swore upon the holy Evangelists, that his quarrell was true and just, and thereupon required to enter the Lists, where in a Chair of green Velvet he sate down and reposed himself. Then came the Duke of *Norfolk*, his horse barded with Crimson velvet, imbroydered richly with Lyons of Silver, and Mulbery trees; and when he had taken his oath before the Constable the Duke of *Amurle*, that his quarrell was just, he entred the Lists, and sate him down in his Chair of Crimson Velvet, curtained about with white and red Damask. Then the Marshall viewed their spears, to see that they were of equall length; and the Heralds proclaimed, on the Kings behalf, they should mount on horseback, and addresse themselves to the Combat. But when they were set forward, and had their Speares in their Rests, the King cast down his Warder, and the Heralds cryed Stay, Stay. Then the King caused their Speares to be taken from them, and deliberated with his Counsell, what was fit to be done in so weighty a cause. After two long houres it was at last concluded, that *Henry Duke of Hereford* should within fifteen dayes depart out of the Realm, and not return before ten yeares were expired, upon pain of death; And that *Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk*, should likewise avoid the Realm, and never to return into *England*, upon the like pain. It is observeable, that this Censure was passed against the Duke of *Norfolk*, the very same day twelve moneth, in which he had taken order to put the Duke of *Glocester* to death at *Callice* whereof he was then Governour. When these Judgements were once read, the King called before him both the Dukes, and made them swear, that the one should never come in place where the other was. After this, the Duke of *Norfolk* went into *Almain*, and from thence to *Venice*, where after some time he dyed with sorrow. The Duke of *Hereford*, at the taking his leave of the King, had four yeares of his Banishment released; and then went to *Callice*, and from thence to *Paris*, where, of the *French King* he was so kindly received, that by his favour he had obtained in marriage the only daughter of the Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the *French King*, if King *Richard* by messengers had not hindered him. The Duke might have made his banishment, in manner of a visitation, if he had gone into *Spain*, for there he had two sisters marryed, the one to the King of *Portingale*, the other to the King of *Spain*; to whom his coming would have been most welcome, but he chose rather to make his stay in *France*, as the place where he might soonest have intelligence out of *England*: and indeed before a year came about, he heard of the death of his father, the Duke of *Lancaster*; and heard withall that King *Richard* had seized into his hands, all the lands descended upon him, contrary to his promise.

It was a Custome in those dayes, to punish the delinquencies of great men by banishment out of the Realm; a Custome not more grievous to the subject, then dangerous to the Prince; for by this course, they had meanes to work so closely in their mines of Revenge, that the Fabrick of a kingdome was in danger to be blown up, before their working could be perceived. An example whereof was never more plainly seen then at this time, in the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Hereford*: For they in their banishment meeting often together, and aggravating the grievances of King *Richards* government, fell at last to consult by what meanes he might best be removed, seeing there was no hope he could ever be reclaimed. In the time of their consultation about it, as if Fortune her self meant to do their work for them, Solicitations came from many parts of *England*, to move the Duke of *Hereford* to come now and take the Government upon him, wherein they would be ready to assist him. The Duke heared before by the Archbishops instigation, and now set on fire by this solicitation, gives Fortune no leisure to alter her course, by delaying the time, but without further deliberation prepares to be going: and taking with him the Archbishop, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington*, and Sir *Thomas Ramston* Knights; *John Norbury*, *Robert Waterton*, and *Francis Coynt* Esquires, and about some threescore other persons, as many as he could readily get; in three ships which the Duke of *Britain* lent him, he put to Sea; where hovering about the coast a while, to marke the countenance of the shores, he landed at last, about the beginning of *July*, at *Ravenspurre* in *Yorkshire*: which no sooner was known, but there repaired to him, the Lords, *Willoughby*, *Rasse*, *Darcy*, and *Beaumont*; and shortly after, at *Doncaster*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his son Sir *Henry Percie*, with the Earl of *Westmerland*, and great numbers of the Gentry and common sort; of whom though some had invited him to come to take the Government of the Realm upon him, yet he forbore to pretend that for any cause of his coming, but made a solemn protestation that he came only to take possession of the inheritances descended upon him from his father, which King *Richard* most unjustly,

Ally, and contrary to his promise, had seized into his hands: for this was a reason had no objection: the other he reserved, till his power should not need to regard objections. And indeed, no snow-ball ever gathered greatness so fast by rolling, as his Forces increased by marching forward; for by that time he came to *Berkley*, he had got a mighty Army; and within three dayes after, all the Kings Castles in those parts were surrendered to him. The Duke of *York*, left Governour of the kingdome, used his best meanes to raise Forces to resist him, but found few willing to bear Armes against him: whereupon, and perhaps hearing withall that the Dukes coming was but only to take possession of his inheritance, he thought good to goe to *Berkley* to him, to have there some communication about it. At *Berkley* at that time was arrested the Bishop of *Norwich*, Sir *William Elmham*, and Sir *Walter Burleigh* knights; *Lawrence Drew*, and *John Golefer* Esquires. From *Berkley* the two Dukes went forward toward *Bristow*; where in the Castle were the Lord *William Scroope* Earl of *Wiltshire* and Treasurer of *England*, Sir *Henry Green*, and Sir *Henry Bushie*; who were taken, and brought forth bound before the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the day after arraigned before the Constable and Marshall, found guilty of Treason for misgoverning the King and the Realm, and presently had their heads smitten off. Sir *John Russell* also was taken there; but he feigning himself to be out of his wits, escaped for that time.

All this while King *Richard* was in *Ireland*, where he performed Acts in repressing the Rebels there, not unworthy of him; and having with him amongst other of the Great Lords, the Duke of *Lancaster* son *Henry*, he there for his towardnesse in service, knighted him; by which it appeared that he had no great fear of the Father, when he graced the Son; and indeed he needed not have feared him, if his own absence out of *England* had not given him advantage. Six weeks were now passed after the Dukes arrivall in *England*; in all which time King *Richard* had no notice of it, by reason the windes were contrary to come forth of *England*: But as soon as he heard it, and in what hostile manner he proceeded, he then determined to return instantly into *England*; and had done it, but that the Duke of *Aumerle* his principall Counsellour (whether out of a good meaning, but grounded upon errors, or out of an ill meaning, but shadowed with colours) by all meanes perswaded him to stay till things fitting for his journey might be made ready. It was King *Richards* ill luck to hearken to this counsell: but yet he presently sent the Earl of *Salisbury* into *England*, to provide him an Army out of *Wales* and *Cheshire*, against his own coming; which he promised faithfully should be within six dayes at the most. The Earl landed at *Conway* in *Wales*, and had soon gotten to the number of forty thousand men: but the six dayes passed, and no news of the King: which made the souldiers suspect that he was dead, and thereupon were ready to disband; but at the Earl of *Salisburys* perswasion, they were contented to stay for some dayes longer, and when the King came not in that time neither, they then would stay no longer, but departed and went home. At length, about eighteen dayes after that the King had sent away the Earl of *Salisbury*, he took shipping, together with the Dukes of *Aumerle*, *Exeter*, and *Surrey*, and divers others of the Nobility; with the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlisle*; and landed at *Barklow* in *Wales*. He had about him some *Cheshire* men, and was at first in no great doubt of prevailing: but when he heard that all the Castles from the borders of *Scotland* unto *Bristow*, were delivered to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and that the greatest part of the Nobility and Commons took part with him, and specially that his principall Counsellours had lost their heads at *Bristow*; then, *soluntur frigore membra*, he fell so utterly to despair, that calling his Army together, he licensed every man to be gone, and to shift for himself. The souldiers besought him to be of good cheer, swearing they would stand with him to the death: But this encouraged him not at all; so as the next night he stole from his Army, and with the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Surrey*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, Sir *Stephen Scroope*, and some halfe a score others, he got him to the Castle of *Conway*, where he found the Earl of *Salisbury* determining there to stay, till he might see the world at some better stay. Here the Earl of *Worcester* Steward of the Kings house, broke his white staffe, and without delay went to the Duke of *Lancaster*; who understanding that King *Richard* was returned out of *Ireland*, he left the Duke of *York* at *Bristow*, and came back with his power to *Berkley*, and from thence the next day came to *Glocester*, and then to *Rosse*, after to *Hereford*, where came to him the Bishop of *Hereford* and Sir *Edmund Mortimer*: on the Sunday following he went to *Lynster*, and there the Lord *Carleton* came to him: from thence he went to *Ludlow*, and the next day to *Shrewsbury*, and thither came to him Sir *Robert Leigh* and Sir *John Leigh*, and many other, being sent from *Chester*, to offer their service; thither also came to him the Lord *Scales*, and the Lord *Bardolph*, forth of *Ireland*: From *Shrewsbury* he went to *Chester*, and from thence sent for his son and heir, and likewise for the Duke of *Glocesters* son and heir (whom King *Richard* had left in custody in *Ireland*) with all speed to come into *England*; but the Duke of *Glocesters* son through misfortune perished at Sea, or as some write, dyed of the plague; the sorrow whereof caused, shortly after, his mothers death. After this, the Duke sent the Earl of *Northumberland* to the King; who upon safe-conduct coming to him, declared, that if it might please his Grace to undertake, that there should be a Parliament assembled, in which Justice might be had, and herewith pardon the Duke of *Lancaster* of all things wherein he had offended, the Duke would be ready to come to him on his knees, and as an humble subject obey him in all dutifull services. Yet upon this conference with the Earl, some say the King required only, that himself and eight more, whom he would name, might have honourable allowance, with the assurance of a private quiet life, and that then he would resign his Crown; and that upon the Earls Oath that this should be performed, the King agreed to goe with the Earl to meet the Duke.

Many Lords repair to him, and all the Kings Castles are surrendered to him.

The L. Scroope Treasurer of England, with Sir Henry Green and Sir Henry Bushie have their heads smitten off.

King Richard being in Ireland, had no notice in six weeks of the Dukes arrivall in England.

Hearing it he prepares presently to return; but is otherwise counselled by the Duke of Aumerle.

He sends the Earl of Salisbury before, and promiseth to come himself within six dayes.

The Earl provides an Army of forty thousand; but when the King came not at his time, they all disbanded and went away.

The King coming over, and finding the Army disbanded, falls to despair, and secretly the next night gets him to Conway Castle.

The Duke of Lancaster offers conditions to the King.

Which the Earl of Northumberland undertakes upon his Oath should be performed.

Hereupon the King goes to meet the Duke, but is entrapped in an Ambush, and carried to Flint Castle.

Duke: but after four miles riding, coming to the place where they laid an Ambush, the King A was enclosed, and constrained to goe with the Earl to *Rutland*, where they dined, and from thence to *Flint* to bed. The King had very few of his friends about him, but onely the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *Nicholas Fereby*, and *James D' Artois* a Gascoine, who still wore a white Heart, the Cognisance of his Matter King *Richard*, and neither for Promises nor Threats would be drawn to leave it off.

The Dukes reverence to the King in coming to him.

The King being in the Castle of *Flint*, and Duke *Henry* with his Army approaching near the Town, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Duke of *Aumerle* and the Earl of *Worcester*, went before to the King; whom the King spying from the wals where he stood, went down to meet, and finding they did their due reverence to him on their knees, he took them up, and taking the Archbishop aside, talked with him a good while; and as it was reported, the Archbishop willed him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured not to have any hurt as touching his person. After this, the Duke of *Lancaster* came to the Castle himself, all armed; and being within the first gate, he there stayed, till the King, accompanied with the Bishop of *Carlisle*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Stephen Scroope*, who bore the sword before him, came forth, and sate down in a place prepared for him. As soon as the Duke saw him, he came towards him, bowing his knee; and coming forward, did so the second time, and the third, till the King took him by the hand, and lift him up, saying, Dear Cousin, you are welcome. The Duke humbly thanking him, said: My Sovereign Lord and King, the cause of my coming at this present, is (your Honour saved) to have restitution of my person, my Lands and Heritage: whereto the King answered, Dear Cousin, I am ready to accomplish your will, so that you may enjoy all that is yours without exception. After this, coming forth of the Castle, the King called for wine; and after they had drunk, they mounted on horse-back, and rode to *Chyster*, the next day to *Nantwich*, then to *Newcastle*, from thence to *Stafford*, and then to *Lichfield*, and there rested Sunday: after that they rode forward, and lodged first at *Coventry*, then at *Dayntree*, then at *Northampton*, next day at *Dunstable*, then at *S. Albans*, and so came to *London*: In all which journey they suffered not the King to change his apparell, but made him ride still in one suit of rayment and that but a simple one, though he in his time was exceeding sumptuous in apparell, having one Coat which was valued at Thirty thousand marks: And in this sort he was brought the next way to *Westminster*, and from thence the next day had to the Tower, and committed to safe Custody. After this, a Parliament was called by the Duke of *Lancaster*, but in the name of King *Richard*; in which many D heinous points of Misgovernment were laid to his charge and were ingrossed up in three and thirty Articles, the chief whereof were these:

But yet is basely carried away and committed to the Tower.

Articles delivered to the Parliament against King Richard.

That he had wastfully spent the Treasure of the Realm.

That without Law or Justice, he had caused the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Arundell to be put to death.

That he had borrowed great sums of money, and given his Letters Patents to repay the same, and yet not one penny ever paid.

That he had said, The Laws of the Realm were in his head, and in his brest: by reason of which fantastical opinion, he destroyed noble-men, and impoverished the Commons.

That he changed Knights and Burgesses of the Parliament at his pleasure.

That most Tyrannously he said, that the lives and goods of all his subjects were in his hands and at his disposition.

That whereas divers Lords were by the Court of Parliament appointed to treat of matters concerning the state of the Kingdome; they being busied about the same Commission, he went about to appeach them of high Treason.

That by force and threats he enforced the Judges of the Realm, at Shrewsbury, to condescend to his way, for the destruction of divers of the Lords.

That he caused his fathers own brother, the Duke of Gloucester, without Law to be attached and sent to Callice, and there without reason secretly murdered.

That notwithstanding the Earl of Arundell at his arraignment pleaded his Charter of Pardon, yet he F could not be heard, but was shamefully and suddenly put to death.

That he assembled certain Lancashire and Cheshire men, to make war upon his Lords; and suffered them to rob and spoil, without prohibition.

That though he had made Proclamation that the Lords were not attached for any crime of Treason, yet afterward in the Parliament he laid Treason to their charge.

That notwithstanding his Pardon granted to them, he enforced divers of the Lords partakers to be again intolerably Fined, to their utter undoing.

That without the assent of the Peers, he carried the Jewels and plate of this Kingdome into Ireland.

He is by Parliament deposed.

He voluntarily resigns his Crown to the Duke of Lancaster.

Upon these, and some other Articles, he was by Parliament adjudged to be deposed from all G Kingly honour, and Princely Government. And thereupon, the King being advised by his own servants, rather voluntarily to resign the Crown, then by compulsion to be forced to it; on the Munday before the nine and twentieth day of *September*, in the year 1399, he made a solemn resignation, before divers Lords and others, sent to him for that purpose: and an instrument of his resignation being made, he would needs read it before them all himselfe, and then subscribed it; and withall, made it his suit, that the Duke of *Lancaster* might be his successor, and King after him; and for a sign of his desire hereof, he took his signet Ring of Gold from his finger, and

A and put it upon the Duke of *Lancaster*; that never man who had used a Kingdome with such violence, gave it over with such patience, or rather such willingnesse, that he seemed rather to affect it, then that he was any way forced to it. This resignation of King *Richard* being shewed to the Parliament, both Houses gave their assent; and then Commissioners were appointed to pronounce openly the sentence of his deposing, which was done by the Bishop of *Asaph*, and all Allegiance renounced to him.

And now it is easie to be observed, what a wonderfull concurrence of fortunes, in behalf of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and against King *Richard*, happened together, whereof if any one had been missing, he had never been turned out of his Throne in such manner as he was: For first, if it had not happened that King *Richard* had been in *Ireland* at the time when the Duke began his attempt, it had not been possible for him to compasse his design as he did: And then if King *Richard* being in *Ireland*, he had not by misfortune of weather been kept six weeks from hearing of the Dukes arrivall, he had not given him so large a time for raising of Forces, and so more easily might have resisted him: Or after King *Richard* heard of the Dukes arrivall, if he had followed the Earl of *Salisbury*, and not stayed so many dayes longer then he promised, he had found an Army ready to receive him, sufficient at least to have given a stop to the Dukes proceedings: Or when at last he came over, and found his Army to fail him, if withall his own courage had not failed him, but that he had manfully put it to the hazard of a Battell, as his soldiers themselves would have had him to do, he could not chuse but have made a better end of his businesse then now he did. But when all is done, there is no warding the blowes of Fortune; or C to say better, No resisting the Decree of Heaven: but seeing that Decree is an Abyssus to us, and may perhaps but be conditionall; we shall manifestly be Traitors to our selves, if we use not our uttermost endeavors to divert it: that it may truly be said, King *Richard* lost his Crown, more by his own Treason, then by the Treason of any other.

Of his Taxations.

I N his second year, in a Parliament held at *Glocester*, was granted to be paid by the Merchants, upon every sack of Wooll a Mark, for this present year; and for every pounds-worth of Wares, brought from beyond Sea, and sold here, six pence of the Buyer. In his third year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, a Subsidy was granted to be levied of the great men of the Realm, to the Dend the Commons might be spared: The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Britain* paid twenty Marks; every Earl six Marks; Bishops and Abbots with Miter, as much: every Monk, three shillings four pence: also every Justice, Sheriffe, Knight, Esquire, Parson and Vicar, were charged after a certain rate; but no Commons of the Laity. Also this year, in another Parliament, was granted a Tenth by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity; but with this condition, That from thenceforth, which was in *March*, 1380. till the Feast of *S. Michael*, which should be in the year 1381. there should be no more Parliaments: but yet was not observed. In his fourth year, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, a new kinde of Subsidy was granted; of every Priest Secular or Regular, six shillings eight pence; and as much of every Nun; and of every man or woman, married or not married, being sixteen years of age, (beggars only excepted) four pence. In his fifth year, a Subsidy was granted by the Merchants, of certain Customs of their Woolls which they bought and sold, called a Maletoir, to endure for four years. In his seventh year was granted him one Moity of a Fifteenth by the Laity; and shortly after, a Moity of a Tenth by the Clergy. In his ninth year, half of a Tenth, and half of a Fifteenth by the Laity. In his eleventh year, there was granted him a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity. In his twelfth year at a Parliament, was granted of every sack of Wooll, forty shillings; whereof, ten shillings to be applied presently to the Kings use; the other thirty to remain in the hands of Treasurers, towards the charges of wars, if any should happen. Also there was a Subsidy granted, of six pence in the pound; whereof, four pence to the use last mentioned; the other two pence to be at the Kings pleasure. In his fifteenth year, at a Parliament, was granted a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity, towards the charges of *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, sent into *France*. In his eighteenth year, a Tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity, towards his own journey into *Ireland*. In his twentieth year, the Clergy granted him a Tenth, to be paid that year. In his one and twentieth year, upon pretence of having aided the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Arundell* and *Warwick* against him, he caused blank Charters to be made, which he compelled both Citizens and Gentlemen in the Countrey to seal, whereby he might charge them afterward to pay whatsoever he required. In his two and twentieth year, a Fifteenth and a half was granted; and for the Customes of Woolls, fifty shillings upon every sack, of *English* men born, and three pounds of strangers.

A Subsidy granted where the Commons are spared.

A Maletoir what it was.

Blank Charters commanded to be sealed by Gentlemen, that he might charge them afterward at his pleasure.

Of Lawes and Ordinances in his time.

I N his second year, in a Parliament at *Glocester*, it was enacted, That Merchant-strangers might buy and sell in Grose, or by Retail, within this Realm. In his third year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, it was Ordained, that the Priviledges and Immunities of the Abby of *Westminster* should remain inviolate; but with this Proviso, against those that took Sanctuary with purpose to defraud their Creditors, That their lands and goods should be liable to their debts. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, in which the Maior of *London*, upon suggestion that the Fishmongers used great deceit in uttering of their Fish, obtained to have it Enacted, That from thence-

Barons first
made by Let-
ters Patents.

thenceforth, none of that Company, nor of the Vintners, Grocers, Butchers, or other that sold any provision of Victuals should be admitted Maior of the City: but in the Parliament next following, were restored to their liberty again, saving that they might not keep Courts among themselves, but that all transgressions of their Customes should be tryed at the Maiors Court. In his eleventh year, King Richard created *John Beauchamp of Hult*, Baron of *Kedermister*, by his Letters Patents; the first that was so made; for before this time, Barons were alwayes made by calling them to Parliaments by the Kings Writ. Till this time, women used to ride astride as men do.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

Divers Lords
and others un-
dertake the
Crosse.

IN the second year of this Kings reign, there came messengers from the new-elected Pope *Urban*, to require the Kings aid against such Cardinals as he named Schismaticks, that had elected another Pope, whom they named *Clement*: which Cardinals sent Messengers likewise to crave his aid for them, but through perswasion of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Urban* request was granted, and *Clement* rejected. In his fourth year, *John Wickliffe* set forth his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, in such sort as the Church of *Rome* did then teach. In his sixth year, *Henry Spenser* Bishop of *Norwich* received Bulls from Pope *Urban*, to grant all privileges of the *Crusado* to all such as would come over and assist him against the Anti-Pope *Clement*; which being debated in Parliament, it was after much opposition, agreed that it should go forward; and thereupon, the Bishop not only gathered much money from such as would contribute to the expedition, but drew many great Captains to go themselves in person; as namely, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *William Farington*, the Lord *Henry Beaumont*, Sir *William Elmham*, Sir *Thomas Tryvet*, and divers others. The money raised by contribution, came to 25000 Franks, and the Army to 3000 Horse, and 15000 Foot; with which Forces, the Bishop passing over into *Flanders*, won the Towns of *Graveling*, *Dunkirke*, and *Newport*; but at last encountred by a mighty Army of the *French*, he was put to the worst, and returned into *England*. In the twelfth year of this Kings reign, an Act was made that none should pass the Seas to purchase promotions or provisions (as they termed them) in any Church or Churches. Also in this year *Thomas* late Earl of *Lancaster*, by reason of miracles reported to be done by him, was Canonized for a Saint. At this time also the *Wickliffes* marvellously increased, Preaching against Pilgrimages and Images, whose greatest opposer was the Bishop of *Norwich*. In his thirteenth year Proclamation was made, that all Beneficed men abiding in the Court of *Rome*, should return into *England* by a certain day, under pain of forfeiting their Benefices; and all other not Beneficed, under a certain pain likewise. Also about this time a Statute was made, that no Ecclesiasticall person should possesse Manours, Houses, Lands, Revenues, or Rents whatsoever at the hands of the Feoffee, without the Kings License and the chief Lords. In his eighteenth year, the *Wickliffes* were persecuted, and excommunication pronounced against them by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. In this Schisme of the two Popes, the *French* Clergy wrote in behalf of *Clement* their Pope, and sent it into *England*; the Clergy of *England* on the contrary, wrote in behalf of Pope *Urban*, and so nothing was agreed.

Thomas late
Earl of *Lan-*
caster, Cano-
nized for a
Saint.

The *Wickliffes*
persecuted.

Works of Piety in his time.

Trinity Hall in
Cambridge by
whom founded.

IN the twentieth year of this Kings reign, *William Bateman* Bishop of *Norwich* builded Trinity Hall in *Cambridge*. In the third year of his reign, *John Philpot* Maior of *London*, gave to the City certain Tenements, for the which the Chamberlain payeth yearly to thirteen poor people, to every of them seven pence the week for ever; and as any of those thirteen persons dyeth, the Maior appointeth one to succeed, and the Recorder another. In the one and twentieth year of his reign, King Richard caused the great Hall at *Westminster* to be repaired, both the Walls, Windows, and Roof. In his time, *Simon* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, slain by the Rebels upon *Tower-hill*, built the West-gate of *Canterbury*, and from thence to the North-gate, commonly called the long Wall. *Thomas Fitz-Alan*, or *Arundell*, being Bishop of *Ely*, built the great Gate-house of *Ely* house in *Holburn*; and being after Bishop of *Canterbury*, he built a fair Spire Steeple at the West-end of his Church there, called to this day, *Arundell Steeple*, and bestowed a tuneable ring of five Bells upon the same.

Arundell Stee-
ple in *Canter-*
bury by whom
built.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

The price of
Wheat and
Wooll in a
dearth.
A Dolphin ta-
ken at *London-*
bridge.
A strange Ex-
halation.

IN his third year, so great a mortality afflicted the North parts of *England*, that the Countrey became almost desolate. In his sixth year, on the 24 day of *May*, there happened so great an Earth-quake, or (as some write) a Water-shake, that it made Ships in the Havens to beat one against the other. In *July*, in the year 1389, whilst the King was at *Sheene*, there swarmed in his Court such multitudes of Flies and Gnats, skirmishing with one another; that in the end they were swept away with brooms by heaps, and bushels were filled with them. In his twelfth year, in *March*, first there were terrible Windes; afterward followed a great mortality, and after that a great dearth, that a bushel of Wheat was sold for thirteen pence, which was then thought a great price; for the years before it was sold for six pence, and Wooll was sold for two shillings a stone. In his fourteenth year, on *Christmas* day, a Dolphin was taken at *London-bridge*, being ten foot long, and a monstrous grown Fish. In his eighteenth year, an Exhalation, in likeness of fire appeared in the night in many places of *England*; which when a man went alone went as he went, and

A and stayed as he stayed; sometimes like a Wheel, sometimes like a Barrell, sometimes like a Timber-log; but when many went together it appeared to be afar off. Also in a Parliament time, there was a certain Image of Wax made by Necromancy (as was said) which at an hour appointed, uttered these words:

An Image of waxe, made by Necromancy, spake certain words.

The Head shall be cut off; the Head shall be lift up aloft; the feet shall be lift up above the Head: and then spake no more. This happened in the Parliament called the *Marvellous* Parliament, not long before the Parliament that wrought wonders. In his one and thirtieth year, a River not far from *Bedford*, suddenly ceased his course, so as the channell remained dry by the space of three miles; which was adjudged to signifye the revolting of the Subjects from their naturall Prince. In his two and twentieth year, almost through all *England*, old Bay trees withered, and

All Bay Trees withered: and after grew green again.

B afterwards grew green again; which was supposed to import some strange event. About the year 1280. the making of Guns was found by a *Germane*, which may well be reckoned amongst casualties, seeing it was found by casualty; for this *Germane* having beaten brimstone in a Morter to powder, and covered it with a stone; it happened, that as he struck fire, a spark chanced to fall into the powder; which caused such a flame out of the Morter, that it raised the stone a great height; which after he perceived, he made a Pipe of Iron, and tempered the powder with some other ingredients, and so finished that deadly Engine. The first that used it were the *Venetians* against the Inhabitants of *Genoa*.

Guns found about this time by a German.

Of his Wives.

C King *Richard* in his time had two Wives, the first was *Anne* Daughter to the Emperor *Charles* the Fourth, and Sister to the Emperour *Wenceslaus*; who lived his Wife ten years, and dyed without Issue at *Sheene* in *Surry*, in the year 1392. whose death King *Richard* took so heavily, that he caused the buildings of that Palace to be thrown down and defaced, as though to revenge himself upon the place, could ease his minde, and mitigate his sorrow. His second Wife was *Isabel* Daughter to *Charles* the sixth King of *France*; she was marryed to him at eight years of age, and therefore never co-habited. After King *Richards* death she was sent home, and married afterward to *Charles* Son and Heir to the Duke of *Orleance*.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

D HE was the goodliest personage of all the Kings that had been since the Conquest; tall of stature, of streight and strong limbs; fair and amiable of countenance; and such a one as might well be the Son of a most beautifull Mother. Concerning his conditions, there was more to be blamed in his Education, then in his Nature; for there appeared in him many good inclinations, which would have grown to be abilities, if they had not been perverted by corrupt flatterers in his youth. He was of a credulous disposition, apt to believe, and therefore easie to be abused. His greatest transgression was, that he went with his friends *ultra aras*, where he should have gone but *usq; ad aras*. His greatest imbecillity, that he could not distinguish between a flatterer and a friend. He seemed to have in him both a *French* nature and an *English*; violent at the first apprehension, calm upon deliberation; He never shewed himself more worthy of the Government, E then when he was deposed as unworthy to govern; for it appeared, that his Regality was not so dear unto him, as a private quiet life; which if he might have enjoyed, he would never have complained that Fortune had done him wrong.

Of his Death and Burial.

K King *Richard* shortly after his Resignation, was conveyed to the Castle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pomfret*; where the common fame is, that he was served with costly meat, like a King, but not suffered once to touch it, and so died of forced Famine. But *Thomas Wat-singham* referreth it altogether to a voluntary pining of himself, through grief of his misfortunes. But one Writer, well acquainted with King *Richards* doings, saith, that King *Henry* sitting one day at his Table, said sighing, Have I no faithfull friend that will deliver me of him who will be my death? This speech was specially noted by one *Sir Piers of Exton*; who presently with eight persons in his company went to *Pomfret*, commanding the Esquire that took the Assay before King *Richard*, to do so no more, saying, Let him eat now, for he shall not eat long. King *Richard* sitting down to dinner, was served without Assay, where, marvelling, he demanded of his Esquire, why he did not his duty? *Sir* (said he) I am otherwise commanded by *Sir Piers of Exton*, who is newly come from King *Henry*. When King *Richard* heard that word, he took the Carving knife in his hand, and stroke the Squire on the head, saying, The Devill take *Henry* of *Lancaster* and thee together: And with that word *Sir Piers* entred the chamber, with eight armed men, every of them having a Bill in his hand. King *Richard* perceiving this put the Table from him, and stepping G to the foremost man, wrung the Bill out of his hands, and slew four of those that thus came to assail him; but in conclusion, was felled with a stroke of a Poll-axe, which *Sir Piers* gave him upon the head, with which blow he fell down dead: Though it be scarce credible, that a man upon his bare word, and without shewing any warrant, should be admitted to do such a fact. *Sir Piers* having thus slain him, wept bitterly: a poor amends for so hainous a trespass. King *Richard* thus dead, his body was embalmed, and covered with lead, all save the face, and then brought to *London*, where it lay at *Pauls* three dayes together, that all men might behold it, to see he was dead: The Corps was after had to *Langley* in *Buckingham-shire*, and there buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers:

Starved.

Murthered.

Preachers: but afterward by King Henry the Fifth, it was removed to *Westminster*, and there honourably entombed, with Queen Anne his Wife; and that beautifull picture of a King, sitting Crowned in a Chair of State, at the upper end of the Quire in *S. Peters at Westminster*, is said to be of him: although the *Scots* untruly write, that he escaped out of Prison, and led a solitary and vertuous life in *Scotland*, and there dyed, and is buried (as they hold) in the Black-Fryers at *Stirling*. He lived three and thirty years, reigned two and twenty and three moneths.

Men of Note in this Kings time.

Men of Valour in his time were to many, that to reckon them all would be a hard task; and to leave out any would be an injury: yet to give an instance in one, we may take John of B Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, whose valour was no less seen abroad then at home: In France, in Germany, in Spain; in all which places he left Trophies of his Victories. But of learned men, we may name these: William Thorne an Augustine Fryer of Canterbury, an Historiographer: Adam Merimouth, a Canon of Pauls Church in London, who wrote two Historical Treatises; one intitled *Chronicon 40. annorum*; another, *Chronicon 60. annorum*. William Packington sometime Secretary to the Black Prince, an excellent Historiographer: William Badbye a Carmelite Fryer, Bishop of Worcester, and Confessor to the Duke of Lancaster: John Bourge, Chancellour of the University of Cambridge: William Sclade, a Monk of Buckfast Abby in Devonshire: John Thorisbye Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellour of England, and a Cardinall: William Berton Chancellour of Oxford, an Adversary to Wickliffe: Philip Pepington Abbot of Leicester, a Defender of Wickliffe: Walter Brit, a Scholar of Wickliffe, a Writer both in Divinity and other Arguments: John Sharp, a great adversary to Wickliffe, who wrote many Treatises: Peter Pateshall, a great favourer of Wickliffe; Marcell Ingelmo, an excellent Divine, one of the first Teachers in the University of Heydelberg: Richard Wisbee a learned Priest, and an earnest follower of Wickliffe: John Swafham Bishop of Bangor, a great adversary to the Wickliffe: Adam Eston, a great Linguist, and a Cardinall: John Trevisa, a Cornish man, and a secular Priest, who translated the Bible; Bartholomew, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; Polichronicon of Ranulph Higden, and divers other Treatises: John Moorn, an English man, but a Student in Paris; who compiled in the French Tongue, *The Romant of the Rose*; translated into English by Geoffry Chawcer, and divers others.

The Romant of the Rose, translated into English by Geoffry Chawcer, by whom composed.

Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,
Sir Nicholas Brembar was Maior.
Nicholas Twisford, Andrew Pikeman, Sheriffs.
In his second year,
John Philpot was Maior.
John B. scham, Thomas Cornwallis, Sheriffs.
In his third year,
John Hadley was Maior.
John Helisdon, William Barra, Sheriffs.
In his fourth year,
William Walworth was Maior.
Walter Doget, William Knighthode, Sheriffs.
In his fifth year,
John Northampton was Maior.
John Rotu, John Hynde, Sheriffs.
In his sixth year,
John Northampton continued Maior.
Adam Bamme, John Sely, Sheriffs.
In his seventh year,
Sir Nicholas Brembar was Maior.
Simon Winchcombe, John More, Sheriffs.
In his eighth year,
Sir Nicholas Brembar continued Maior.
Nicholas Exton, John French, Sheriffs.
In his ninth year,
Sir Nicholas Brembar continued Maior.
John Organ, John Churchman, Sheriffs.
In his tenth year,
Nicholas Exton was Maior.
William Stondon, William More, Sheriffs.
In his eleventh year,
Nicholas Exton continued Maior.
William Venor, Hugh Falstafse, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Nicholas Twisford was Maior.
Thomas Austen, Adam Carlebul, Sheriffs.
In his thirteenth year,
William Venor was Maior.
John Walcot, John, Sheriffs.
In his fourteenth year,
Adam Bamme was Maior.
John Francis, Thomas Vivent, Sheriffs.
In his fifteenth year,
John Hind was Maior.
John Shadworth, Henry Vamere, Sheriffs.
In his sixteenth year,
William Stondon was Maior.
Gilbert Masfeld, Thomas Newington, Sheriffs.
In his seventeenth year,
John Hardley was Maior.
Drew Barintin, Richard Whittington, Sheriffs.
In his eighteenth year,
Sir John Froyse was Maior.
William Bramstone, Thomas Knolles, Sheriffs.
In his nineteenth year,
Sir William More was Maior.
Roger Ellis, William Sevenoke, Sheriffs.
In his twentieth year,
Adam Brown was Maior.
Thomas Wilford, William Parker, Sheriffs.
In his one and twentieth year,
Sir Richard Whittington was Maior.
John Woodcocke, William Assham, Sheriffs.
In his two and twentieth year,
Sir Drew Barintin was Maior.
John Wade, John Warner, Sheriffs.



THE
R E I G N
O F
K I N G H E N R Y
T H E F O U R T H.

Of his Coming to the Crown.



After the Resignation of King *Richard*, and the sentence of his Deposing openly read in Parliament; *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* riseth up from his seat; and first, making the Sign of the Crosse upon his forehead and brest, he said, *In the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost: I Henry of Lancaster claim the Crown of England, as descended by right line from King Henry the third.* And having thus spoken, he sat down again. Upon this, the Archbishop conferred with the Lords; and having heard their opinions, he turned to the Commons, asking them, if they would joyn with the Lords, in choosing *Henry of Lancaster* for their King: who

An. Dom.
1399.

King *Henry* claims the Crown as descended from King *Henry* the third.

all with one voice cried, Yea, Yea: whereupon going to the Duke, he bowed his knee, and taking him by the hand led him to the Royall Seat; and then began a Sermon, taking for his Text, out of the first Book of the Kings, *cap. 9. Vir dominabitur in populo*: wherein he declared what a happinesse it is to a Nation to have a King of Wisdome and Valour, and shewed the Duke of *Lancaster* to be such a one; and as much the defects in both, of the late King *Richard*. The Sermon ended, the King thanked them all for his Election; and testified to them, that he meant not to take advantage against any mans estate, as coming in by Conquest; but that every one should freely enjoy his own, as in times of lawfull succession. And now a time was appointed for his Coronation; and accordingly, upon the 13 day of *October* following, the very day wherein the year before he had been banished, he was Crowned at *Westminster*, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites and Ceremonies accustomed. At his Coronation, he was anointed with an Oyle which a religious man had given to *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*, together with this Prophecie, That the Kings anointed with this Oyl, should be the Champions of the Church. This Oyl coming to the hands of King *Richard*, as he was looking amongst his jewels, going then into *Ireland*, he was desirous to be anointed with it, but that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* told him, it was not lawfull to be anointed twice: whereupon putting it up again, at his coming afterwards to *Flint*, the Archbishop got it of him, and kept it till the Coronation of King *Henry*, who was the first King of the Realm that was anointed with it. The day before the Coronation, the King in the Tower made one and forty, some say but twelve Knights of the *Bath*, whereof four were his own Sons, *Henry*, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Humphrey*, all then alive; and with them, three Earls, and five Barons. Upon the Feast-day, many claimed Offices, as belonging to their Tenures, to which, upon shewing their right, they were admitted. And now the King made divers new Officers: The Earl of *Northumberland* he made Constable of *England*; the Earl of *Westmerland* was made Lord Marshall; Sir *John Serle*, Chancellor; *John Newbery* Esquire, Treasurer; and Sir *Richard Clifford* was made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: The Lord *Henry* his eldest Son, being then about thirteen years of age, was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and

He is Crowned the very day wherein the year before he had been banished.

Anointed with a speciall Oyl.

Earl of *Chester*, and soon after also Duke of *Aquitain*: and the Crown was by Parliament Entailed A to King *Henry*, and the Heirs of his body lawfully begotten.

Accusations a-
gainst many,
but connived
at by the King.

After this a Parliament is holden, in which the Acts made in the eleventh year of King *Richard* were revived, and the Acts made in his one and twentieth year were wholly repealed; and they who by that Parliament were attainted, were restored to their Lands and Honours: whereupon *Richard* Earl of *Warwick* was delivered out of Prison, and the Earl of *Arundels* son recovered his Inheritance, and many other also that were banished, or imprisoned by King *Richard*, were then fully restored to their liberty and estates. Also the King gave to the Earl of *Westmerland* the County of *Richmond*; and to the Earl of *Northumberland* the Isle of *Man*, to be holden of him by bearing the sword wherewith he entred into *England*. And now was the time for shewing of spleens: Sir *John Bagot* then prisoner in the Tower, accused the Earl of *Anmerle* for speaking B words against the Duke of *Lancaster*, now King: also the Lord *Fitzwater* accused him for the death of the Duke of *Glocester*: The Lord *Murley* appealed the Earl of *Salisbury* of Treason: and one *Hall* accused the Duke of *Excester*, for conspiring the death of *John* of *Gaunt* the Kings Father: but King *Henry* having entred the Throne in a storm, was willing now to have a calm; and therefore laying aside the ones Accusations, he accepted of the others Excuses, and received the Duke of *Anmerle*, and the Duke of *Excester* into as much favour, as if they had never been accused.

King *Henry* ac-
quaints fo-
rain Princes
by what Title
he came to the
Crown.

And to qualifie the hard opinion which forain Princes might conceive of King *Richards* De-
posing, he sent Ambassadors into divers Countreys, to make it known, by what title, and
by what favour of the people he came to the Kingdom. To the Court of *Rome* he sent *John* C
Treouant Bishop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheyny* Knight, and *John Cheyny* Esquire: Into *France* he
sent *Walter Sherlow* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Worcester*: Into *Spain* he sent
John Trevor Bishop of *Assaph*, and Sir *William Parre*: and into *Germany* he sent the Bishop of
Bangor, and certain others. Most of these Princes seemed either not to regard what was done,
or were easily perswaded that all was done well: only *Charles* King of *France* was so distemper'd
with this indignity offered to his son in Law King *Richard*, that by violence of his passion he fell
into his old pangs of Frensie; but somewhat recovered, he resolved to revenge it; wherein
many Lords of *France* shewed themselves forward, but specially the Earl of *S. Paul*, who had
married King *Richards* half sister: yet having prepared an Army in readinesse, when afterward
they heard of King *Richards* death, they dissolved it again, as considering the time was then past. D
The *Aquitains* also, and specially the Citizens of *Burdeaux*, as being the place where King
Richard was born, were mightily incensed: but Sir *Robert Knolls* Lieutenant of *Guyen*, and after-
ward *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Worcester*, being sent to them by the King, so perswaded them, that
with much adoe they continued in obedience.

It was about this time moved in Parliament, what should be done with King *Richard*, (for he
was not as yet murdered:) whereupon *Thomas Mercks* Bishop of *Carlisle*, a learned man and
wise, and who had never given allowance to the deposing of King *Richard*; now that he was in a
place of freedom of speech, he rose up, and said:

The Bishop of
Carlisle bold
speech in be-
half of King
Richard, and a-
gainst King
Henry.

"My Lords, The matter now propounded is of marvellous weight and consequence; wherein
there are two points chiefly to be considered: the first, Whether King *Richard* be sufficiently E
put out of his Throne: the second, Whether the Duke of *Lancaster* be lawfully taken in.
For the first, how can that be sufficiently done, when there is no power sufficient to doe it?
The Parliament cannot, for of the Parliament the King is the head; and can the body put down
the Head? You will say, But the Head may bow it self down; and so may the King resign?
It is true; but what force is in that which is done by force? and who knowes not that King
Richards Resignation was no other? But suppose he be sufficiently out, yet how comes the
Duke of *Lancaster* to be lawfully in? If you say by Conquest, you speak Treason; for what Con-
quest without Arms? and can a Subject take Arms against his lawfull Sovereign; and not be Tre-
son? If you say, by Election of the State, you speak not reason; for what power hath the State
to elect, while any is living that hath right to Succeed? but such a Successor is not the Earl of F
Lancaster, as descended from *Edmund Crouchback*, the elder son of King *Henry* the Third, though
put by the Crown for deformity of his body; For who knowes not the falsenesse of this allega-
tion? seeing it is a thing notorious, that this *Edmund* was neither the elder brother, nor yet
crook-back, (though called so for some other reason) but a goodly personage, and without any
deformity. And your selves cannot forget a thing so lately done, who it was that in the fourth
year of King *Richard* was declared by Parliament to be Heir to the Crown, in case King *Richard*
should die without Issue. But why then is not that claim made? because, *Silent leges inter-*
arma; what disputing of Titles against the stream of Power? But howsoever it is extreme in-
justice, that King *Richard* should be condemned, without being heard, or once allowed to
make his defence. And now, my Lords, I have spoken thus at this time, that you may consider G
of it before it be too late; for as yet it is in your power to undoe that justly, which you have
unjustly done.

Much to this purpose was the Bishops speech; but to as little purpose as if he had gone about
to call back Yesterday: The matter was too far gone; and scarce a person there present, that had
not a hope of either a private or a publick benefit by that which was done: Yet against this
speech of the Bishop there was neither Protesting nor Excepting; It passed in the House as but
one mans opinion: And as for the King, it was neither fit he should use much severity against any
Member

A Member of that Parliament which had so lately shewed so much indulgence towards him; nor indeed safe, to be too hot in his Punishment, when he was yet scarce warm in his Government. Yet for a warning to use their liberty of speech with more moderation hereafter, the Bishop was arrested by the Marshall, and committed to prison in the Abbey of *St. Albans*; but afterward without further censure set at liberty; till upon a conspiracy of Lords, wherein he was a party, he was condemned to dye, though through extremity of grief he prevented execution. But as for King *Richard*, and *Edward Mortimer* Earl of *March*, enough was spoken by the Bishop in both their behalves to undoe them both: and indeed King *Richard* was soon after made away; the Earl secured himself by retiring far off, to his Lordship of *Wigmore*; avoiding the danger of Contention, by not entering the Lists of Aspiring: But although the Divine Providence, for causes hidden from humane knowledge, gave way at this time to the advancement of the younger, the House of *Lancaster*; yet in the third Generation after, the elder, the House of *Clarence* recovered its right in King *Edward* the Fourth; that we may know it is but staying the leaseure of Heaven, for every one to have his Right, either in Person, or by Proxie.

But did King *Richard* more hurt then good.

But whether incited by this speech of the Bishop, or otherwise out of the rancour of envy in some, and malice in others; it was not long after, before there grew in the minds of many both Lords and other, a malignant inclination towards King *Henry*; and came first to be a Conspiracy in the House of the Abbot of *Westminster*. This Abbot was a kinde of a Book-statesman, but better read in the Politicks of *Aristotle* then of *Solomon*; who remembring some words of King *Henry*, which he had spoken long before, when he was but Earl of *Darby*; That Princes had too little, and Religious men too much, and fearing, lest being now King, he should reduce his words into act, he thought it better to use preventing Physick beforehand, then to stand to the hazard of a curing afterward: and thereupon invited to his house the discontented Lords; as namely, *John Holland* Duke of *Excester*, *Thomas Holland* his brothers son, Duke of *Surrey*, *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle*, *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Spenser* Earl of *Glocester*, *John* Bishop of *Carlisle*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and *Mandlin* one of King *Richards* Chappell: who after dinner conferring together, and communicating their spleens against King *Henry* one with another; they resolved at last, both to take away the Kings life, and of the way how to do it. The devise was this: They would publish a solemn Jufts to be holden at *Oxford*, at a day appointed, and invite the King to honour it with his presence; and there, in the time of acting the Jufts, when all mens intentions should be otherwise busied, they would have him be murdered. This devise was resolved on; Oaths for

A Conspiracy of Lords, begun in the house of the Abbot of *Westminster*.

D secrecy were taken; and Indentures sextipartite for performing conditions agreed upon between them, sealed and delivered: The Jufts are proclaimed; the King is invited, and promifeth to come; secrecy of all hands kept most firmly to the very day: But though all other kept counsell, yet Fortune would not, but she discovered all; For it fortuned, that as the Duke of *Aumerle* was riding to the Lords at *Oxford*, against the day appointed, he took it in his way to go visit his Father the Duke of *York*; and having in his bosome the Indenture of Confederacy, his Father as they sat at dinner, chanced to spy it, and asked what it was? to whom his son answering, It was nothing that any way concerned him; By *S. George* saith his Father, but I will see it: and therewithall snatching it from him, read it; and finding the Contents, and reviling his son for being now the second time a Traitor, before to King *Richard*, and now to King *Henry*, he commanded his horses to be instantly made ready, and with all the speed he could make, rode to *Windsor*, where the King then lay: but the younger years of his son out-rid him, and came to the Court before him; where locking the Gates, and taking the keys from the Porter, pretending some speciall reason, he went up to the King, and falling on his knees, asked his Pardon, The King demanding, for what offence? he then discovered the whole Plot: which he had scarce done, when his Father came rapping at the Court-gates, and coming to the King, shewed him the Indenture of Confederacy which he had taken from his son. This, though it amazed the King, yet it informed him of the truth of the matter, whereof he was before doubtfull; and thereupon lays aside his journey to see the Jullings of others in jest, and takes care that he be not julled in earnest out of his Throne himself. In the meantime the confederate Lords being ready at *Oxford*, and hearing nothing of the Duke of *Aumerle*, nor seeing any preparation for the Kings coming, were certainly perswaded that their Treason was discovered: Whereupon falling into consideration of the case they were in, they found there was no place left for them of Mercy, and therefore were to stand upon their Guard, and provide the best they could for their safety; To which purpose, the first thing they did was to apparell *Magdalen* in Princely Robes, a man as like to King *Richard* in countenance and personage, as one man lightly can be to another; and to give forth that he was King *Richard* escaped out of Prison, thereby to countenance their proceedings: The next thing was to dispatch messengers to the King of *France*, and require his assistance. This done, they set forward in Battell-array towards *Windsor*, against King *Henry*; but finding him

Which was to invite the King to a Jufts at *Oxford* and there to seize upon him

How discovered.

F gone to *London* before they came, they then deliberate what course to take: Some advised to set King *Richard* at liberty before their counterfeit *Richard* should be discovered: Others thought best to follow the King to *London*, and set upon him unprovided, and before he had gathered Forces. In this division of Advices, when they could not do both, they did neither; but as men amazed, marched on, though they knew not well whither, till they came to *Colbrook*; by which time the King had gathered an Army of twenty thousand; and was marching towards them: but they not thinking so well of their cause, that they durst put it to the triall of a battel; or perhaps staying for aid out of *France*; withdrew themselves back to *Sunnings* near to *Reading*, where the young

The Lords provide an Army, but are by the King discovered.

By what Accident,

Queen lay : to whom their coming gave some flashes of comfort, but quenched before they were A
thoroughly kindled : and from thence they march to *Cicester* ; where the Duke of *Surrey* and the
Earl of *Salisbury* took up their lodging in one Inne ; the Duke of *Excester* and the Earl of *Glo-*
cester in another : And now a strange Accident, beyond the reach of all consultation, gave a pe-
riod to their Design ; for who would think that a private company durst oppose those Lords
having their Army so near them ? yet the Bayliffe of the Town upon intelligence (no doubt that
these Lords were up in Arms against the King,) taking with him a company of Townsmen, in
the night assaulted the Inne where the Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* lay ; who thus
assaulted, made shift to defend themselves till three a'clock in the afternoon ; but then, being
in danger to be taken, a Priest, one of their company, set divers houses in the Town on fire,
thinking thereby to divert the Assailants from prosecuting the Lords, to save their houses : but this B
inflamed them the more ; and so hotly they pursued their assault, that they wounded the Duke
and the Earl to death ; who dying that night their heads were stricken off and sent up to *Lon-*
don. With them also were taken, Sir *Bennet Shelly*, Sir *Barnard Brocas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and
eight and twenty other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen ; who were sent to *Oxford*, where the
King then lay, and there were put to execution. The Duke of *Excester* in the other Inne, hearing
of this assault, fled out of the backside towards the Camp, intending to bring the whole Army
to the rescue, but the souldiers having heard a clamour, and seeing fire in the Town, supposing
the King had been come with all his Forces, out of a sudden fear dispersed themselves and fled ;
which the Duke seeing, he also, with Sir *John Shelley*, fled into *Essex*, where wandering and lurk-
ing in secret places, he was at last apprehended as he sate at supper in a friends house, and led to
Plashey, and there shortly after beheaded, the place, where by his counsell and countenance, the C
Duke of *Glocester* formerly had been apprehended : that we may observe how the Divine Provi-
dence, in revenging of injuries, takes notice, and makes use of the very circumstance of place
where the injuries are done. The Earl of *Glocester* fled towards *Wales*, but was taken and beheaded
at *Bristow*. *Magdalen* the counterfeit King *Richard*, was apprehended and brought to the Tower,
and afterward hanged and quartered ; with Mr. *Herby*, another of King *Richards* Chaplains. Divers
other Lords, and Knights, and Gentlemen, and a great number of mean persons, were in other
places put to death ; that so much Noble blood, at one time, and for one cause, hath scarce been
heard or read of. The Abbot of *Westminster*, in whose house the plot was contrived, hearing of
these misfortunes, as he was going between the Monastery and his Mansion, fell suddenly into a D
Palsie, and shortly after without speech, ended his life. About this time also, a strange peece of
Treason is reported to have been practised against the Kings life : that there was found in his bed-
cloaths an Iron with three sharp pikes standing upright ; that when the King should have laid him
down, he might have thrust himself upon them. But seeing there is no farther mention of inquiring
after it ; it seems to have been but an idle rumour not worth beleiving.

Magdalen the
counterfeit
King *Richard*
is hanged and
quartered.

Another Treason
practised
against the
King.

Owen Glendour
stirreth up the
Welsh to rebell.

But now that the hot *English* blood was well allayed, the *Welch* blood springs up as hot : For
now, *Owen Glendour* an Esquire of *Wales*, brought up at the Innes of Court in *London* ; partly out of
a desire to revenge a wrong done him (as he conceived) in a suit for lands in controver-
sie between the Lord *Grey of Ruthin* and him, but chiefly out of an humour of aspiring, endeavoured to draw E
the *Welchmen* to a generall defection, telling them, that the *English* being at variance amongst
themselves, now was the time to shake off their yolk, and to retume their own ancient Laws
and Customs. To whose perswasions the *Welch* men hearkening, made him their King and Cap-
tain ; and he having gotten a competent Army : sers first upon his old Adversary *Reynold Lord Grey*
of *Ruthin*, and takes him prisoner ; yet with promise of releasement, if he would marry his daugh-
ter, which offer though the Lord *Grey* at first not only refused, but scorned, yet out of necessity at
last he was contented to accept ; when notwithstanding his deceitfull Father in law trifled out the
time of his enlargement till he dyed. But the *Welchmen* growing confident upon this successe,
break into the borders of *Herefordshire*, making spoil and prey of the Countrey as freely as if they
had leave to do it ; for indeed none opposed them but only the Lord *Edmund Mortimer*, who had
formerly withdrawn himself to his Castle at *Wigmore*, and having assembled the forces of the F
Countrey, and joyning battell with them, was taken Prisoner, and then fettered and cast into a
deep and vile Dungeon. It was thought if *Glendour* had as well known how to use his victory, as
to get it, he might at this time have put the *English* yolk into a great hazard to be shaken off :
but he having killed 1000. of the *English* thought he had done enough for that time, and so giving
over the pursuit, retired. The inhumanity of the *Welsh* women was here memorable, who fell
upon the dead carcases of the *English*, first stripping them, and then cutting off their privy parts
and noses ; whereof the one they thrust into their mouths, the other they pressed between their
buttocks. Many noble men, specially his kinsmen the *Percies*, solicited King *Henry* to deliver
Mortimer ; but the King was deaf of that ear, he could rather have wished both him and his two
Sisters in heaven, for then he should be free from conceild Competitors.

These affronts were at this time suffered in the *Welch*, because the King was now employed in
a more dangerous service with the *Scots* ; for they taking advantage of the distraction in the King-
dom (as it was alwayes their custom to do) had made an In-ride into the County of *Northumber-*
land, and suddenly one night set upon the Castle of *Werk* ; took and spoiled it, and then returned.
In revenge whereof, the *English* invaded and spoiled certain Islands of the *Orkneys* : Then the *Scots*
set forth a Fleet, under the conduct of Sir *Robert Logon* ; but before he came to any action,
he was encountred, and the greatest part of his Fleet taken. But these were but such affronts,

As often happen between troublesome neighbours; for all this while the Peace was still in being between the Nations; but at last it brake out into an open warre upon this occasion: Robert King of Scots had offered to match his Son David with a Daughter of George Earl of Dunbarre, and had received money of him in part of her portion; and afterward would neither suffer the Match to proceed, nor yet pay back the money; but married his son to a daughter of Archibald Earl of Dowglaste: Upon which indignity, George of Dunbarre flies into England to King Henry, and with his aid makes divers incursions into Scotland: Whereupon Robert King of Scots sent to King Henry, that if he would have the Truce between them to continue, he should deliver to him George of Dunbarre. King Henry answered, that he had given him a safe conduct, and could not now recall it with his Honour; but as for continuing the Truce, King Robert might do in that what he thought best. Upon this answer, the King of Scots presently proclaimed warre against him; But King Henry as ready in that matter as he, stayed not for King Roberts invading of England; but himself with a puissant Army invaded Scotland, burning Cattles and Cities, and not sparing Churches, and Religious Houses. About the end of September, he besieged the Castle of Maydens in Edensburgh; where Prince David, and the Earl of Dowglaste were: At which time, Robert Duke of Albany, who in the King of Scots sickness managed the business, sent an Herald to King Henry, protesting upon his Honour, that if he would stay but six dayes, he would give him battell. King Henry rewarded the Herald, and stayed; but six times six dayes passed, but neither Duke of Albany, nor any other for him appeared. And now Winter came on, victuals grew scant, and which was worst, a mortality began in the English Camp; For which causes, King Henry removed his siege, and returned into England. As soon as he was gone, Sir Patrick Hebborne a Scottishman, having a good opinion of his valour, thought to do great matters; and with a competent Army of the men of Lough-deane, he invaded Northumberland, making great spoil, and loading his souldiers with prey, and prisoners; but in the Retreat marching loosely, and licentiously, was set upon by the Earl of Northumberland Vice-Warden, at a Town called Nefby, where Hebborne himself, and all the flower of Lough-deane were slain; Sir John and William Cockburne, Sir William Basse, John and Thomas Habington, Esquires, and a multitude of common souldiers taken prisoners. On the English part few slain, and none of any rank or quality: In revenge whereof Archibald Dowglaste with an Army of twenty thousand entred Northumberland; but at a place called Hamildon, were encountred by the English, under the leading of Henry Lord Percy, surnamed Hotspur, and George Earl of March, who put them to flight; and after the slaughter of ten thousand of them, took five hundred prisoners; whereof the chief were Mordack Earl of Fife, (son of the Generall, who in the fight lost one of his eyes) Thomas Earl of Murrey, Robert Earl of Angus, the Earls of Atholl and Mentish; and amongst the slain, were Sir John Swinton, Sir Adam Gourdon, Sir John Levisston, Sir Alexander Ramsay, and three and twenty other Knights.

In this mean time, Glendour of Wales had solicited the King of France for aid, who sent him twelve hundred men of quality, but the windes were so contrary, that they lost twelve of their Ships, and the rest returned home. The English deriding this ill successe of the French, so exasperated the French King, that presently after he sent twelve thousand, who landed safely, and joyned with the Welch, but as soon as they heard of the English Armies approach, whether mistrusting their own strength, or suspecting the Welch mens faithfulness, they ran to their Ships and disgracefully went home.

The Peace between England and Scotland, how it brake out into open war.

The French aid Owen Glendour, but without successe.

King Henry's Ambassadors lately sent into Britain to fetch the Lady Jane de Navarre Dutchesse of Britain, the relict of John de Montford surnamed the Conquerour; with whom the King by Procurators had contracted Matrimony; in the beginning of February returned with her in safety: The King met her at Winchester, where the seventh of February the marriage was solemnized.

King Henry marries the Lady Jane de Navarre, he relict of John Montford surnamed the Conquerour.

About this time some affronts were offered by the French: Valerian Earl of S. Paul, with seventeen hundred men, landed in the Isle of Wight, where he burnt two Villages and some few Cottages; but hearing the people of the Island to have assembled, he made hattie to his Ships, and returned home. Also John Earl of Clermont (the heir of Bourbon) won from the English the Castles of S. Peter, S. Mary, and the New-Castle: The Lord de la Bretz, won the Castle of Calais; places of great consequence to the English.

And now to make King Henry sensible that a Crown can hardly ever sit easie upon the head, if it be not set on right at first; a new Conspiracy is hatching against him: The Percies Earls of Northumberland and Worcester, with Henry Hotspur, began about this time to fall off from King Henry; their reason was, First, because the King at their request refused to redeem their kinsman Mortimer from Glendours slavery; and then because he denied them the benefit of such prisoners as they had taken of the Scots, at Hamildon, or Nefbie: whereupon they went of themselves, and procured Mortimer's delivery, and then entred into a League offensive and defensive with Glendour, and by their Proxies, in the house of the Archdeacon of Bangor, they agreed upon a Tripartite Indenture under their hands and seals, to divide the Kingdom into three parts; whereby all England from Severn and Trent, South and Eastward, was assigned for the portion of the Earl of March: All Wales and the Lands beyond Severn Westward, were assigned to Owen Glendour: and all the remainder of Land from Trent Northward, to be the portion of the Lord Percy. In this, as Glendour pertwaded them, they thought they should accomplish a Prophecie; as though King Henry were the Mouldwarp cursed of Gods own mouth; and they three were the Lyon, the Dragon and the Wolf which should divide the Land among them. In this mean time King Henry, not acquainted with this Conspiracy, caused a Proclamation to be made, intimating that the Earl of March had

Another conspiracy hatching against King Henry: and why.

Articles framed by the Lords against King Henry, and sent unto him.

King Henry with an Army encounters the Lords: where Henry Hotspur is slain; the Earl of Worcester taken prisoner, with divers others.

King Henry slayes 36 of his Adversaries with his own hands.

The Earl of Worcester beheaded.

Owen Glendour lurking in the woods is famished.

The Duke of Orleans sends a challenge to King Henry: and how he answers it.

voluntarily caused himself to be taken prisoner, to the end, the Rebels having him in their custody, might pretend some colour for their Conspiracy; and therefore he had small reason to take care for his deliverance. Hereupon the *Percies* assited with a company of *Scots*, and drawing to their party the Earl of *Stafford*, and *Richard Scroope* Archbishop of *Tork* and many other, purposed to joyn with the Captain of the *Welch*, but first they framed certain Articles against the King, and sent them to him in writing. That he had falsified his Oath given at his landing, swearing that he came but only to recover his Inheritance, and would not meddle with the King, or with the Crown. That most traiterously he had taken Arms against his Sovereign Lord, imprisoned him, and then most barbarously caused him to be murdered. That ever since the death of King *Richard*, he had unjustly kept the Crown from his kinsman *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, to whom of right it belonged. That upon no occasion he had imposed divers Taxes upon the people. That by his Letters he procured Burgeses and Knights of the Parliament to be chosen; for which causes and many other, they desired him, and vowed his destruction, and the restoring of the Earl of *March* to his right. King *Henry* could not but know that all these Articles against him were true, yet seeing the knowing it hindered him not from seeking to get the Crown when he had it not; it could lesse hinder him from seeking to keep it now that he had it; and if he were able, being a private man, to get it from a King, he was likely to be more able, being now a King, to keep it from private men; and as for any objections that Conscience could make, he had enough to answer them all: For, if his Title were good against King *Richard*, by his Resignation, it was good against *Mortimer* by his swearing Allegiance; and upon these grounds, with a minde as confident as if all circumstances were of his side, he raised an Army, and marched towards the Lords, taking care they might by no means joyn with the *Welch*, and about *Shrewsbury* on Saturday S. *Mary Magdalens* Eve he encountred them, in which fight though the *Scots* and *Henry Hotspur* shewed much valour, yet the victory rested on the Kings side; *Hotspur* himself was slain, the Earl of *Worcester* was taken prisoner, together with *Sir Richard Vernon*, *Sir Theobald Trissel*, the Baron of *Kinderton*; and the rest fled. On the Kings part (besides the Earl of *Stafford*, who had that morning revolted from the Conspirators) were slain, *Sir Hugh Sherley*, *Sir John Clifton*, *Sir John Cockayne*, *Sir Nicholas Causell*, *Sir Walter Blunt*, *Sir John Calverley*, *Sir John Maffie* of *Puddington*, *Sir Hugh Mortimer*, and *Sir Robert Gausell*, all which had been but that morning dubbed Knights, with *Sir Thomas Wendsley*, who dyed afterwards of his wounds; of common souldiers about sixteen hundred, but of the Conspirators above six thousand, whereof 36 the King slew with his own hand; but was once unhorsed by *Dowglass*, who in his presence slew *Sir Walter Blunt*, with divers others, that day in all things attired like to the King; for which exploit, *Dowglass* (being after by the fall of his horse taken prisoner) was by the Kings command carefully attended, and without ranfome set at liberty: In this battell, the young Prince *Henry*, though wounded in the face with an Arrow, yet was not wounded in his courage, but continued fighting still. After this victory the King caused publick thanks to be given to God, and then caused the Earl of *Worcester* to be beheaded, and many others of that Rebellion to be drawn, hanged and quartered, and their heads placed on *London* Bridge: And then the King sent his Son *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, with his whole Army into that Countrey; but before his coming, *Owen Glendour* was abandoned by all his Company; and lurking in the Woods was there famished; many of his associates were taken and put to death. Whilest the Prince was in *Wales*, *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, of his own accord, came and submitted himself to the King, protesting his innocency, as not being once acquainted with any intent of Treason and Rebellion; whose excuse the King received for the present with gentle language, the rather for that he had the possession of *Berwick* Cattle and other places of strength in his power, but yet he wiped not off the score of his misdemeanours out of his minde.

And now with the fourth year of his Reign ended all the great Troubles of this King *Henry* the fourth: those that follow are but such accidents as are frequent in all times both abroad and at home. The *Britains* under the leading of the Lord of *Castile*, spoiled the Town of *Plimouth*; In revenge whereof, the *Western-men*, under command of *William Wilford*, set forth a Fleet, which arriving in *Britain*, took forty Ships laden with Oyl and Wines, and burnt forty more. Again the *French* landed a thousand men in the *Isle of Wight*, where they got together a great booty of Cattell, but the Islanders coming upon them took away their booty, and made many of them leave their Carkases for a booty to the Island. Yet the *French* would not leave so, but a while after, as having gotten new spirits, they cast Anchor before the *Isle of Wight*, and require no lesse then to have the Island into their possession, but a resolute answer of the Islanders frightened them away, and made them glad they were gone. Soon after this the Duke of *Orleans*, brother to the *French* King, in a vaning style, sent a challenge to King *Henry* to meet him in the field, each of them to have a hundred in his Company; to which the King answered, That for his own valor it had sufficiently been tryed, and for this challenge of the Dukes, neither the Person nor the Cause were worthy of his undertaking. Upon this refusall of the Kings, divers taunts and jeers were bandied between them, till at last the Duke in great passion, falls upon *Vergie* a Town in *Guyen*, but after three moneths assaulting it being valiantly defended by *Sir Robert Anfield* and three hundred *English* men, he was glad to give over with losse, and return into *France*. Presently upon this, the Admirall of *Britain*, accompanied with the Lord *Du Castile*, and thirty sail of Ships, attempted to land at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, but were repelled, and the Lord *Du Castile*, and two of his brothers, and four hundred of his men were slain, besides two hundred

A hundred taken prisoners; of whom, the Lord *Bagueville* Marshall of *Britain*, was one. After this five hundred men of armes, five hundred Crosse-bows, and a thousand *Flemings*, under the conduct of the Earl of *S. Paul*, laid siege to the Castle of *Marck*, three leagues from *Callice*; but first by Sir *Philip Hall* Captain of *Callice*, and after by Sir *Richard Aston* Lieutenant of the *English* pale, they were forced to retire and flee: The Earl of *S. Paul* escaped to *S. Omers*, but left many of his men of quality behind him, and more taken Prisoners. After this, *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, the Kings second Sonne, and the Earl of *Kent*, with competent Forces entred the Haven of *Sluce*, where they burnt four ships riding at anchour, and returned to the relief of *Callice*, besieged at that time by the *French*; and in the way took three Carricks of *Genoua* richly laden, and brought them into the Chamber of *Rye*. And these were the troubles of this King abroad. About this time a Parliament was assembled at *Coventry*; which by some was called, the Lay-mens Parliament, because the Sheriffs were appointed, that none should be chosen Knights for the Counties, nor Burgeses for the Cities and Towns, that had any skill in the Laws of the Land.

But now at home, the Reliques of the former Northerne Rebellion began to revive; for now *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Richard Scroope* Archbishop of *Torke*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earl Marshall, the Lords, *Hastings*, *Fawconbridge*, and *Bardolfe*, with divers others, conspired at a time appointed, to meet upon *Tork* *Swold-Downes*, and there bid defiance to King *Henry*. Articles of Grievances were framed, and set up in all publick places, which drew multitudes to be partakers of the enterprize. But now, *Ralph Nevill* Earl of *Westmerland*, with the Lord *John* the Kings third son, the Lord *Henry Fitz-Hughes*, *Ralph Evers*, and *Robert Umphrevile*, make head against them; and coming into a Plain in the Forrefts of *Galltree*, they fate down right against the Archbishop and his Forces, which were twenty thousand; and *Westmerland* perceiving the Enemies Forces to be farre more then theirs, he used this policy: he sent to the Archbishop, demanding the reason why he would raise Forces against the King? who answering, that his Arms were not against the King, but for his own defence, whom the King, upon the intigation of Sycophants, had threatened: withall he sent him a scrowl of their grievances, which *Westmerland* read, and seemed to approve, and thereupon desired a conference with him: The Archbishop more credulous then wise, perswaded the Earl Marshall to goe with him to the place appointed to conferre: the Articles are read and allowed of; and thereupon *Westmerland* seeming to commiserate the souldiers, having been in armour all day, and weary, wished the Archbishop to acquaint his party, as he would do his, with this their mutuall agreement; and so shaking hands, in most Courtly friendship drank unto him, whereupon the souldiers were willed to disband, and repair home: which they had no sooner done, but a Troop of horse, which in a colourable manner had made a shew to depart, wheeled about, and afterwards returned; and being come in sight the Earl of *Westmerland* arrested both the Archbishops and the Earl Marshall, and brought them both Prisoners to the King at *Pomfret*; who passing from thence to *Tork*, the Prisoners likewise was carried thither, and the next day both of them beheaded. At *Durham* the Lords *Hastings* and *Fawconbridge*, with two Knights, were executed. *Northumberland*, with the Lord *Bardolfe*, fled first to *Berwick*, and after into *Scotland*, where they were entertained by *David* Lord *Flemming*: whereupon the King gave summons to the Castle of *Berwick*, which at first they refused to obey, but upon the planting and discharging of a Piece, they presently yeelded without composition: and here *William Graystock*, *Henry Baynton*, and *John Blinkensop*, knights, and five other were presently put to execution, and many others committed to severall Prisons. About this time, *James* son and heir of *Robert* King of *Scotland*, a childe of nine years old, attended by the Earl of *Orkney*, as he was sailing into *France*, was taken by certain Mariners of *Norfolk*, who brought him to the King at *Windsor*, the 30 of *March*, 1408. and the King sent them to the Tower of *London*.

Northumberland and *Bardolfe*, after they had been in *Wales*, *France*, and *Flanders*, to raise a power against King *Henry*, returned back into *Scotland*, and after a year with a great power of *Scots* entred *England*, and came into *Tork* *Shire*, making great spoil and wast as they passed: but Sir *Thomas Rokesby* Sheriffe of *Tork*, levying the forces of the County, upon *Bramham-moor* gave them battel; in which *Northumberland* was slain, *Bardolfe* taken, but wounded to death, and the rest put to flight. About this time also, Sir *Robert Umphrevile* Vice-Admirall of *England*, with ten men of war entred *Scotland*, burnt their Gallyes, and many other ships over against *Leith*, and brought away with him fourteen tall ships laden with corn and other staple commodities, which at his return he sent into the Markets round about, and thereby brought down the prices of all things, and purchased to himselfe the name of *Mend-markes*.

The Prince had been a Student in *Queens* Colledge in *Oxford*, under the tuition of his Unkle *Henry Beaufort*, Chancellour of that University, afterwards Bishop of *Lincolne* and *Winchester*, and lastly made a Cardinall, by the title of *Ensebius*. From *Oxford*, the Prince was called to Court, and the Lord *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Worcester* was made his Governour: but coming afterward to be at his own disposing, whether being by nature valorous, and not yet well stayed by time and experience; or whether incited by ill companions, and emboldned by the opinion of his own greitnesse; he ran into many courses so unworthy of a Prince, that it was much doubted what he would prove when he came to be King once. It is said, he lay in wait for the Receivers of his fathers Rents, and in the person of a Thief set upon them and robbed them. Another time, when one of his companions was arraigned for felony before the Lord Chief Justice, he went to the King Bench bar, and offered to take the Prisoner away by force; but being withstood by the Lord Chief Justice, he stepped to him, and struck him over the face: whereat the Judge nothing abashed

Another conspiracy against King Henry.

But by a policy of the Earl of Westmerland defeated.

The Archbishop of Torke and Mowbray Earl Marshall beheaded.

The Earl of Northumberland slain. Sir Robert Umphrevile called Mend-Markes, and why.

Prince Henryes disorderly.

He strikes the Lord Chief Justice, who commits him to the Fleet.

In what manner the Prince presents himself to his Father:

The K. makes his son John Duke of Bedford, and his son Humphrey Duke of Gloucester: also, Sir Thomas Beaufort he made Earl of Dorset, and the Earl of Arundell Duke of York.

King Henry takes upon him the Crusado.

shed, rose up and told him, that he did not this affront to him, but to the King his father, in whose place he sat; and therefore to make him know his fault, he commanded him to be committed to the Fleet. You would have wondred to see how calme the Prince was in his own cause, who in the cause of his companion had been so violent: for he quietly obeyed the Judges sentence, and suffered himself to be led to Prison. This passage was not a little pleasing to the King, to think that he had a Judge of such courage, and a Son of such submission: but yet for these and such other pranks, he removed him from being President of the Counsell, and placed in it his third son John. This made the Prince so sensible of his fathers displeasure, that he thought it necessary to seek by all means to recover his good opinion; which he endeavoured to doe by a way as strange as that by which he lost it; for, attiring himself in a garment of blew Sattin; wrought all with Elyt-holes of black silk, at every hole the needle hanging by which it was sowed, and about his arme a thing in fashion of a hounds collar, studded with SS. of Gold, he came to the Court at *Westminster*: to whom, the King (though not well in health) caused himself, in a Chair, to be brought into his Privie Chamber; where in presence of but three or four of his Privie Countells, he demanded of the Prince the cause of his unwonred habit and coming? who answered, That being not only his subject but his son, and a son so tenderly alwayes regarded by him; he were worthy of a thousand deaths, if he should intend or but imagine the least offence to his sacred Majesty, and therefore had fitted himself to be made a sacrifice: and therewithall reached his dagger, holding it by the point to his father, For (said he) I desire not to live longer, then I may be thought to be, what I am and shall ever be, Your faithfull and obedient Vassall. With this or the like Answer, the King was so moved, that he fell upon his sons neck, and with many tears imbracing him, confessed that his eares had been too open to receive reports against him, and promising faithfully, that from thenceforth no reports should cause any disaffection towards him. The King about this time, made his son John Duke of Bedford, and his son Humphrey Duke of Gloucester; he made also Sir Thomas Beauford Earl of Dorset, and the Earl of Arundell he created Duke of York.

The rest of King Henries dayes, from this time forward, being scarce a year, was free from all trouble both abroad and at home; unless perhaps he might be troubled in minde for having shed so much English and Noble blood; for expiation whereof, or else to the end he might joyn Valour and Devotion in one action together, which hitherto he but used singly; he took upon him the Crusado, and at a Councell in *White Friars*, order was taken, and great preparation was made for his journey to *Ierusalem*: But it was otherwise Decreed in Heaven; and yet not so otherwise, but that he ended his life in *Ierusalem*, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Of his Taxations.

IN the very beginning of his reign, it might passe in stead of a Taxation, that he found in King Richards Cofters, in money and jewels, to the value of seven hundred thousand pounds. In his fourth year, an extraordinary Subsidie was granted him; twenty shillings of every Knights Fee, and of every one that had twenty shillings a year in land, twelve pence, and upward according to that rate; and of every one that had twenty pounds in goods, twelve pence, and upward according to that rate; but with this caution and protestation, that it should not hereafter be drawn for a Precedent; and that no Record thereof should be made. In his sixth year, the Clergie granted to the King a Tenth. In his seventh year, the Clergie granted a Tenth and a half, and the Commons two Fifteens. In a Parliament holden the ninth year of his reign, the King moved to have allowed him in every year wherein there was no Parliament kept, a Tenth of the Clergie, and a Fifteenth of the Laity; to which demands the Bishops assented, but the Commons would not. In his seventh year, a Parliament began which lasted almost a whole year, in which a Subsidie was at last granted; so sharp, that even Priests and Friars who lived of Almes, were forced every one to pay a Noble.

Of Lawes and Ordinances made in his time.

Controversies in Religion first punished by burning.

IN this Kings dayes, burning and execution by fire for controversies in Religion was first put in practise.

Also in the first year of his reign an Act was made, that no person of what degree soever, should after that day alledge for his excuse, any constraint or coarcting of his Prince, for doing of any unlawfull act; and that such excuse after that day, should stand him in no stead.

Also an Act was made, that no Lord, nor other, might give any Liveries to any but their household and meniall servants. In his twelfth year, the King caused a new coyne of Nobles to be made, which was of lesse value then the old Noble, by four pence.

Also that all Rypiers, and other Fishers from any of the Sea-coasts, should sell their fish in *Cornhill* and *Cheapside* themselves, and not to Fishmongers that would buy to sell again.

The Dutchie Court instituted by King Henry.

Also this King instituted the Dutchie Court, which he did in honour of the House of Lancaster; to the end, the Lands belonging to the Dutchie, might in all following times be distinguished and known from the Lands of the Crown. In his sixth year, the King called a Parliament at *Coventry*, and sent Proccesse to the Sheriffs, that they should chuse no Knights nor Burgeses, that had any knowledge

A knowledge in the Laws of the Realm; by reason whereof, it was called, the Lay-mens Parliament. In his seventh year, the Maior of London for preservation of fish, obtained, that all Weres which stood between London and seven miles beyond Kingstone; as also, such as stood between London and Gravesend, should be pulled up and taken away.

The Lay-mens Parliament and why so called.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

BY reason of discord between John of Gaunt, and Wickham Bishop of Winchester; the Bishop either in durance, could not, or in fear durst not come to the Parliament house, at a time when the King required a supply of money; but the Clergy unanimously affirming, that without their brother, the Bishop of Winchester's presence, they neither can nor will consult of any thing; he is presently sent for, and by the King secured. After this, the King called a Parliament at Coventry, and sent Procelles to the Sheriffs that they should chuse no Knights or Burgeses that were Lawyers, and was therefore called the Laymens Parliament: And shortly after another Parliament was called, and named the unlearned Parliament, either for the unlearnedness of the persons, or for their malice to learned men: In which the Commons presented a Petition to the King and the upper House; desiring that the King might have the Temporall possessions of the Bishops and Clergie, the value whereof they pretended would be sufficient maintenance for a hundred and fifty Earls, one thousand five hundred knights, six thousand two hundred Esquires, and a hundred Hospitals for maimed Souldiers. They craved likewise, that Clerks convict should not be delivered to the Bishops prison; and that the Statute made in the second year of the King against Lollards, might be repealed. But the King denied their Petition; and in person commanded them from thenceforth, not to presume to trouble their brains about any such business, for he was resolved to leave the Church in as good state as he found it. In the twelfth year of his reign, certain learned men in Oxford, in their Sermons maintained the opinions of Wickliffe: but the Bishops and Doctors of the University, inhibited and condemned them. In his time was a great Schisme in the Church, by reason of two Anti-popes; but afterwards in an assembly of Cardinals and Bishops, a third man was elected, named Alexander the fifth, who had been trained up at Oxford.

The unlearned Parliament.

The temporall possessions of the Clergie, required to be given to the King; and how great it was.

A Schisme in the Church, by two Anti-popes.

Works of Piety in his time.

KING Henry founded a Colledge at Battlefield in Shropshire, where he overcame the Lord Henry Percy. In his third year, the Conduit upon Cornhill was begun to be built. Also in his time Sir Robert Knolls made the Stone bridge of Rochester in Kent; and founded in the Town of Pomfret a Colledge and an Hospitall; he also re-edified the body of the White-Friers Church in Fleetstreet, where he was afterward buried: Which Church was first founded by the Ancestours of the Lord Grey of Codnor. In the eighth year of his reign, Richard Whittington Maior of London erected a house or Church in London, to be a house of Prayer, and named it after his own name, Whittington Colledge, with lodgings, and weekly allowance for divers poor people. He also builded the Gate of London, called Newgate, in the year 1420, which was before a most loathsome prison: he builded also more then half of S. Bartholomews Hospitall in West-Smithfield, and the beautifull Library in the Gray-Friers in London, now called Christs Hospitall. He also builded a great part of the East end of Guildhall, and a Chappell adjoining to it, with a Library of stone, for the custody of the Records of the City. But he that exceeded all at this time in works of Piety, was William Wickham Bishop of Winchester; his first work was the building of a Chappell at Titchfield, where his Father, Mother, and Sister Perrot was buried: Next, he founded at Southwick in Hampshire, near the Town of Wickham, the place of his birth, as a supplement to the Priory of Southwick, a Chantry, with allowance for five Priests for ever: He bestowed twenty thousand marks in repairing the houses belonging to the Bishoprick; he discharged out of Prison in all places of his Diocese, all such poor prisoners as lay in execution for debt, under twenty pounds: he amended all the high-ways from Winchester to London, on both sides the River. After all this, on the fifth of March 1379. he began to lay the foundation of that magnificent structure in Oxford, called New-Colledge, and in person laid the first stone thereof; in which place before, there stood Natus-Colledge, built by Alvers, at Natus intreaty; and for the affinity of the name, came to be called New-Colledge. In the year 1387, on the 36. of March, he likewise in person laid the first stone of the like foundation in Winchester, and dedicated the same, as that other in Oxford, to the memory of the Virgin Mary. The Grocers in London purchased their Hall in Cunyhope Lane for 320 marks; and then laid the foundation thereof on the tenth of May. King Henry founded the Colledge of Fodringbey in Northamptonshire; to which King Henry the fifth gave land of the Priories of Monks Aliens, by him him suppressed.

The Conduit in Cornhill begun to be built.

Whittington Colledge, by whom founded.

Newgate by whom builded

William Wickham Bishop of Winchester, his works of piety.

He builded New Colledge in Oxford.

Also the like Colledge in Winchester.

John Gower the famous Poet his work of piety.

The Stocks in the Poultrey builded.

Guildhall in London begun to be builded.

John Gower the famous Poet, new builded a great part of S. Mary Overies Church in Southwark, where he lies buried. In the second year of this King, a new market in the Poultrey, called the Stocks, was builded for the free sale of forein Fishmongers and Butchers. In his twelfth year, the Guildhall of London was begun to be new edified; and of a little Cottage made a goodly house, as now it is. Also in this Kings time, John Colepepper, one of the Justices of the common Pleas founded a Free-schoole with competent yearly maintenance in West Peckham in Kent.

Caualties,

Casualties happening in his time.

The Devil appeared in the likeness of a Gray Fryer.

A snow that continued four months.

IN his third year, in the Moneth of *March*, appeared a blazing star; first betwixt the East and the North, and then sending forth fiery beames towards the North: foreshewing perhaps the effusion of blood that followed after, in *Wales* and *Northumberland*. In the same year, at *Danbury* in *Essex*, the Devil appeared in likeness of a Gray Fryer; who entering the Church, put the people in great fear, and the same hour, with a Tempest of whirlwind and Thunder, the top of the steeple was broken down, and half the Chancell scattered abroad. In his seventh year, such abundance of water brake suddenly over the Banks in *Kent*, that it drowned Cartell without number. Also this year, the Town of *Roystone* in *Hartfordshire* was burnt. In his ninth year was so sharp a winter, and such abundance of snow, continuing *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, that almost all small Birds died through hunger.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, the first was *Mary*, one of the Daughters and heirs of *Humphrey de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Essex*, and *Northampton*; she dyed before he came to the Crown, in the year 1394. His second Wife was *Joan*, Daughter to *Charles* the first King of *Navarre*, she being the widow of *John de Montford* surnamed *Streany*, or the Conquerour, Duke of *Britain*; who dyed without any issue by King *Henry*, at *Haverling* in *Essex*, the year 1437. in the fifteenth year of King *Henry* the sixth, and lyeth buried by her husband at *Canterbury*. He had four sons and two daughters; Of his sons, *Henry* his eldest was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Father, King of *England*. His second son was *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, and Steward of *England*; who was slain at *Beaufort* in *Anjou*, and dyed without issue. His third son was *John* Duke of *Bedford*; he married first with *Anne* daughter to *John* Duke of *Burgundie*; and secondly with *Jacoba* daughter of *Peter* of *Luxembourg*, Earl of *S. Paul*, but dyed also without issue. His fourth son was *Humphrey*, by his brother King *Henry* the fifth created Duke of *Glocester*, and was generally called the good Duke; he had two Wives, but dyed without issue, in the year 1446 and was buried at *S. Albans*; though the vulgar opinion be, that he lies buried in *Saint Pauls Church*, Of King *Henry* the fourths daughters; *Blanch* the elder was married to *Lewis Barbatous*, Palatine of the *Rhene*, and Prince Elector: *Philippe* his younger Daughter, was married to *John* King of *Denmark*, and *Norway*.

Of his Parsonage and Conditions.

Concerning his body; he was of a middle stature, slender limbs, but well proportioned. Concerning his Minde; of a serious and solid disposition, and one that stood more upon his own legs than any of his Predecessors had done: in cases of difficulty; not refusing, but not needing the advice of others; which might confirm, but not better his own. He was neither merry nor sad, but both: best pleas'd when he was opposed, because this was like to do him good, by sharpening his invention: most angry when he was flattered, because this was sure to doe him hurt, by dulling his judgement. No man ever more loved, nor lesse doted upon a wife, then he: a good husband, but not uxorious; that if there be reins to that Passion, we may know he had them. It may be thought, he affected the Crown, not so much out of Ambition as out of Compassion, because the oppressions of his Country he could not so well help being a subject, as a King; for otherwise we may truly say, he was a looser by the Crown, being not so great for a King, as he was before for a Subject: The Crown rather was a gainer by him, which hath ever since been the richer for his wearing it. We may think he was either weary of his life, or longing for death; for why else would he take upon him the *Crusado*, having been told by a skilfull Soothsayer, that he should die in *Jerusalem*? but it seems, he did not beleve him.

Of his Death and Buriall.

He dies of an Apoplexie.

IN the forty sixth year of his Age, having Peace both at home and abroad, and being of too active a spirit to be idle, he took upon him the *Crusado*, and great provision was made for his journey to *Jerusalem*: but alas, his journey to *Jerusalem* required no such provision; for being at his prayers at *S. Edwards* shrine, he was suddenly taken with an Apoplexie, and thereupon removed to the Abbot of *Westminsters* house; where recovering his senses, and finding himself in a strange place, he asked what place it was? and being told that he was in the Abbots house, in a Chamber called *Jerusalem*: Well then (said he) Lord have mercy upon me, for this is the *Jerusalem* where a Soothsayer told me I should dye. And here he dyed indeed, on the 20 day of *March*, in the year 1413. when he had lived six and forty yeares, reigned thirteen and a half. It is worth remembering, that all the time of his sickness, his will was to have his Crown set upon his bolster by him; and one of his fits being so strong upon him, that all men thought him directly dead; the Prince coming

A coming in, took away the Crown : when suddenly the K. recovering his senses, missed his Crown; and asking for it, was told, the Prince had taken it : whereupon the Prince being called, came back with the Crown, and kneeling down said : Sirs, to all our judgements, and to all our griefs, you seemed directly dead, and therefore I took the Crown as being my Right : but seeing to all our comforts, you live, I here deliver it much more joyfully then I took it, and pray God you may long live to wear it your self. Well (saith the K. sighing) what right I had to it, God knows. But (saith the Prince) if you dye King, my sword shall maintain it to be my Right against all opposers. Well (saith the King) I refer all to God : but I charge thee on my Blessing, that thou administer the Laws indifferently, avoid Flatterers, defer not to doe Justice, nor be sparing of Mercy : And then turning about, said, God bless thee, and have mercy on me : and with those words, B gave up the ghost. His body with all Funeral pomp was conveyed to *Canterbury*, and there solemnly buried.

His admonitions to the Prince.

Of men of note in his time.

OF men of Valour in his time, of whom there was store, I shall need to say no more then what hath already been said in the body of the story : only I cannot but remember Sir *Robert Knolls*, who born of mean parentage, made himself famous over all Christendome ; and dying at a Manour of his in *Norfolk*, was brought to *London*, and buried in the Church of the White Fryers in *London*, which himself had re-edified. But for men of learning, I must set in the first place, *William Wickham*, a man of no learning, yet well worthy to hold the place : In relating of whose life, I must have leave to expatiate a little. His fathers name was *John Long*, or as some say, *Perot* ; but as *Campion* proveth, *Wickham* ; and not from the place of his dwelling, though he was parish Clerk of *Wickham* in *Hampshire*, where he taught children to write : in which quality his son *William* proved to excellent, that *Nicholas Woddall*, Constable of *Winchester* Castle, took him from his father, and kept him at Schoole, first at *Winchester*, afterward at *Oxford*, till himself being made Surveyor-general of the Kings works, he sent for this *William* to serve him as his Clerk ; who in short time grew so expert in that imployment, that *Adam Torleton* Bishop of *Winchester*, commended him to the King, who imployed him presently in surveying his Fortifications at *Dover*, and *Quinborough* Castles ; and afterward made him Surveyor of his Buildings at *Windor* Castle, and his houses of *Henly* and *East-Hampstead*. And here first envie rose up against him ; for having caused to be engraven on a stone of a Wall at *Windor* Castle, these words ; *This made William Wickham* : some that envied his rising, complained to the King of his insolency, as arrogating to himself, that excellent piece of building to be done at his charge : but *Wickham* called before the King about it, made answer, that his meaning was not, neither by any indifferant construction could it import, that *Wickham* made that building, but that the same building made *Wickham*, as being a means of the Kings great favour towards him. This answer pacified the King, who took him daily more and more into his favour ; and being now entred into the Ministry, was first made Parson of *S. Martins* in the Fields, then Minister of *S. Martins le grand*, afterwards Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Provost of *Wells*, and Rector of *Manthens* in *Devonshire* ; so as at one time he had in his hands so many Ecclesiasticall livings, that the value of them, in the Kings Books, amounted to eight hundred seventy six pounds thirteen shillings : besides which, he was honoured with many Temporall places of great profit and respect, as to be his principall Secretary, Keeper of the Privie Seal, Miter of the Wards and Liveries, Treasurer of the Kings Revenues in *France*, and some other Offices. After which, the Bishoprick of *Winchester* falling void, means was made to the King to bestow that place upon him : And here, the second time, did envie rise up against him, informing the King that he was a man of little of no learning, and no way fit for such dignity : whereupon the King made stay of granting it : but when *Wickham* came before the King, and told him, that what he wanted in personal learning, he would supply with being a Founder of learning ; This so satisfied the King, that he bestowed the place upon him. After this, he was made Lord Treasurer of *England* and here the third time, did envie rise up against him, for the King requiring of his subjects a supply of money. It was answered, that he needed no other supply, then to call his Treasurer to accompt : This blow struck deep upon the Bishop ; for he was presently charged to give accompt for eleven hundred ninety six thousand pounds ; and whilst he was busie in preparing his accompt, all his Temporalties, upon importunity of *John of Gaunt*, were seized into the Kings hands, and given to the Prince of *Wales*, and himself upon pain of the Kings displeasure, commanded not to come within twenty miles of the Court. In this case, he dismitte his train, and sendeth copies abroad of his accompt, if it might be received ; but was hindred by the working of *John of Gaunt* against him ; upon this ground (as was thought). *Queen Philip* wife to King *Edward* the Third, upon her death-bed, by way of Confession, told *Wickham*, that *John of Gaunt* was not the lawfull issue of King *Edward*, but a supposititious son : for when she was brought to bed at *Gaunt* of a Daughter, knowing how desirous the King was to have a son ; she exchanged that daughter, with a *Dutch* woman for a Boy, whereof she had been delivered about the same time with the Queen. Thus much she confessed, and withal made the Bishop swear, that if the said *John of Gaunt* should at any time, either directly, or indirectly attempt the Crown, or that rightfully, through want of issue, it should devolve unto him ; that then he should discover this matter, and make it known unto the King, and Councell. Afterward the Queen being dead, and the Bishop finding *John of Gaunt*, as he thought, too much aspiring, he secretly told him this relation, and this adjuration of his supposed mother, advising him not to seek higher then a private state ; for else he was bound by oath to make it known

William Wickham his Parentage, and rising.

John of Gaunt said to be a supposititious sonne.

known to all the World: Thus far the Bishop did well; but when he saw the son of *John of Gaunt* not only aspiring, but possessed of the Crown, why did he not then discover it, and joyn at least with the Bishop of *Carlisle*, in opposing it? Certainly, we may know, that either the whole relation was but a Fable, or that *Wickham* was a Temporizer, or that *John of Gaunt* was a most patient man, to suffer the affront of such an indignity, with lesse then the death of him that did it. But howsoever it was, it is certain, the Duke bore a mortall grudge to the Bishop; who had no way to withstand such an enemy, but by making *Alice Pierce* his friend: by whose means, after two yeares, he was restored to all his livings; and afterward *K. Edward* being dead, and *Alice Pierce* banished; by the meanes of a greater friend then *Alice Pierce* (his full purse) he obtained in the second year of *K. Richard*, a generall pardon under the Great Seal of *England*; and from that time forward enjoyed a quiet life, and dyed in the fourth year of this King *Henry* the fourth, being then of the age of above 80 yeares, and lyeth buried in the Church of *S. Swithens* in *Winchester*, in a monument of his own making in his life time; leaving for his heir *Thomas Perrot*, the son of his sister *Agnes*, married to *William Perrot*.

Roger Walden
his Rising and
Fall.

Another great example of the volubility of Fortune, in Professors of learning, was *Roger Walden*, who dyed in the ninth year of this King: he was at first a poor Scholar in *Oxford*; and the first step of his rising, was to be a Chaplain in the Colledge there of *S. Maries*; from thence by degrees he got to be Dean of *Tork*; and after this, a high step, to be Treasurer of *England*; and yet a higher after that, upon the Banishment of *Thomas Arundell*, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*: But being now at the top, he came down again; for in this Kings time, *Thomas Arundell* being restored to the Archbishoprick, *Walden* was not only put out of that place, but was called to accompt for the Treasureship: and though he shewed his *Quietus est*, yet all his Temporalties were seized, and his person imprisoned, till by the mediation of the now Archbishop *Arundell*, he was made Treasurer of *Callices*, and after promoted to be Bishop of *London*.

The next place after these, is justly due to *Geoffry Chancer*, and *John Gower*, two famous Poets in this time, and the Fathers of *English* Poets in all the times after: *Chancer* dyed in the fourth year of this King, and lyeth buried at *Westminster*: *Gower*, in this Kings ninth year, and was buried at *S. Mary Overies* Church in *Southwark*. And now come others to be remembered, who lived and dyed in this Kings time: *Hugh Legate*, born in *Hartfordshire*, a Monk of *S. Albans*, who wrote *Scholies* upon *Boetius de Consolatione*, *Nicholas Gorham*, born also in *Hartfordshire*, a Dominick Frier, and the French Kings Confessor, though an *Englishman*. *Walter Disse*, so called of a Town in *Norfolk* where he was born, Confessor to the Duke of *Lancaster*. *Lawrence Holbeck*, a Monk of *Ramsay*, who wrote an *Hebrew* Dictionary. *John Cotton* Archbishop of *Armagh*: *Richard Scroope*, brother to *William Scroope* Lord Treasurer of *England*, made Archbishop of *Tork*; and writing an invective against King *Henry*, lost his head. *William Thorpe*, an earnest follower of *John Wickliffe*, for which he was committed to *Saltwood Castle*, where he dyed. *Stephen Patrington*, born in *Torkshire*, and *Robert Mascall*, a Carmelite Fryer of *Ludlow*; both of them Confessors to King *Henry* the fifth. *Boston* a Monk of the Abbey of *Bury* in *Suffolk*; who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church, & other Treatises. *John Purvey*, who was convented for teaching Doctrine contrary to the Church of *Rome*, and compelled to recant. *Thomas Rudburne* Bishop of *S. Davids*, who wrote a Chronicle. *Nicolas Riston*, who considering the strife between the then Antipopes, wrote a book, *De tollendo schismate*. *Robert VVansham* a Monk in *Dorsetshire*, who wrote a book in verse, *Of the Originall and signification of Words*. *Robert Wimbledon* an excellent Preacher, as appeareth by the Sermon he made upon this Text, *Redde rationem Villicationis tue*.

Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,
Sir *Thomas Knolls*, was Maior.
William Waldern, *William Hende*, Sheriffs.
In his second year,
Sir *John Francis*, was Maior.
John Wakel, *William Ebot*, Sheriffs.
In his third year,
Sir *John Shadworth*, was Maior.
William Venor *John Fremingham*, Sheriffs.
In his fourth year,
John Walcott, was Maior.
Richard Marlow, *Robert Chicheley*, Sheriffs.
In his fifth year,
Sir *William Ascham*, was Maior.
Thomas Falconer, *Thomas Poole*, Sheriffs.
In his sixth year,
John Hinde, was Maior.
William Louth, *Stephen Spilman*, Sheriffs.
In his seventh year,
Sir *John Woodcock*, was Maior.
Henry Barton, *William Cromer*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *Richard Whittington*, was Maior.
Nicolas Waton, *Geoffry Brooks*, Sheriffs.
In his ninth year,
Sir *William Stondon*, was Maior.
Henry Pontfract, *Henry Walton*, Sheriffs.
In his tenth year,
Sir *Drew Barentine*, was Maior.
Thomas Buck, *William Norton*, Sheriffs.
In his eleventh year,
Richard Marlow, was Maior.
John Law, *William Chicheley*, Sheriffs.
In his twelfth year,
Sir *Thomas Knolls*, was Maior.
John Penne, *Thomas Pike*, Sheriffs.
In his thirteenth year,
Sir *Robert Chicheley*, was Maior.
John Rainwell, *William Cotton*.
In his fourteenth year,
William Waldren, was Maior.
Ralph Levenham, *William Sevenoke*, Sheriffs.

THE
R E I G N
O F
K I N G H E N R Y
T H E F I F T H.

HENRY of Monmouth (so called from the place in *Wales*, where he was born) eldest son of King Henry the fourth, succeeded his Father in the Kingdome of *England*, to whom the Lords of the Realm swore Homage and Allegiance, before he was yet Crowned; an Honour never done before to any of his Predecessours: and afterwards on the ninth of *April*, in the year 1412. he was Crowned at *Westminster*, by *Thomas Arundell*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites and Solemnities in such case accustomed: And as the Scripture speaks of *Saul*, That as soon as Samuel had anoynted him King, he had a new heart given him, and he became another man then he was before: So was it with this King Henry; for preiently after his Coronation, he called before him all his old Compagnions, who had been *fratres in malo* with him; strictly charging them, not to presume to come within ten miles of his Court, untill such time as they had given good proof of their amendment in manners; and lest any of them should pretend want of maintenance to be any cause of their taking ill courses, he gave to every one of them a competent means whereby to subsist. And knowing (as he did) the fashion of the *Scots* and *Welch*; that in times of change they would commonly take advantage, to make Inroads upon the Borders; he therefore caused Forts and Bulwarks in fit places to be erected, and placed Garrisons in them, for preventing or repelling any such Incursions. Immediately after this, he called a Parliament, where a Subsidy was granted without asking: and in this Parliament the Commons began to harp upon their old string, of taking away the Temporalities of the Clergy; and the Bishops fearing how it might take in the Kings ears, thought it best to divert him; by striking upon another string which they knew would be more pleasing to him; which was, to shew him the great right he had to the Crown of *France*. And thereupon *Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in a long narration, deduced the Kings right from *Isabel* Daughter to *Philip* the fourth, married to King *Edward* the second; from whom it descended by direct line to his Majesty, and no hinderance of enjoying it, but pretension of the *Salique* laws; which (said he) was neither according to the law of God, nor yet intended at first to that Nation; and though his Predecessors by reason of other incumbrances forbore to prosecute their Claim, yet he being free from all such incumbrances, had no lesse power then right to do it. This indeed struck upon the right string of the Kings inclination; for as he affected nothing more then true glory, so in nothing more then in warlike actions. Hereupon, nothing was now thought of, but the Conquest of *France*. First therefore he begins to alter in his Arms the bearing of *Semy-de-Luces*, and quarters the three Flower De-luces, as the Kings of *France* then bare them; and that he might not be thought to steal advantage, but to do it fairly, he sent Embassadors to *Charles* the sixth then King of *France*, requiring in peaceable manner the surrender of the Crown of *France*; which if he would yeeld unto, then King Henry would take to Wife his Daughter *Katharine*; but if he refused to do it, then King Henry would with fire and sword enforce it from him, or lose his life. The Ambassadors sent were the Duke of *Excester*, the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord High Admirall, and

Anno Dom.
1412.

King Henry
bath Homage
sworn to him
before he was
Crowned.

Being once
Crowned, he
discharged all
his disorderly
companions.

A Subsidy
granted him
without asking

The Bishops
shew him his
right to the
Crown of
France.

He quarters in
his Arms the
three Flower
Deluces.

He sends Am-
bassadors into
France to claim
the surrender
of the Crown.

The King of
France returns
Answer by his
Ambassadors.

The Dauphin
of France sends
King Henry
a Tonne of
Tennis Balls
in derision, and
King Henry's
Answer.

A Treason dis-
covered against
King Henry.

Richard Earl of
Cambridge,
Henry L. Scroop
L. Treasurer,
and Thomas
Gray Earl of
Northumberland
put to death.

King Henry
passeth with an
Army into
France.

His Devotion.

His strict
discipline.

The French
Army, how
marshalled.

and the Bishop of *Normich*, with five hundred horse: who coming to the Court of *France*, were at first received and feasted, with all the honour and shew of kindnesse that might be; but as soon as their message was delivered, and that it was known what they came about, the Copy of their entertainment was altered, and they were sent away with as little complement, as they were before received with honour; only told, that the King would speedily make answer to the King their Master by his own Ambassadors: and speedily indeed he did it; for the Earl of *Vendosme*, *William Barastier* Archbishop of *Bourges*, *Peter Fresnel*, Bishop of *Lyseaux*, with others, were arrived in *England*, as soon almost as the *English* were returned. But being come, the Archbishop of *Bourges* made a long Oration in the praise of Peace, concluding with the tender of the Lady *Katherine*, and 50000 Crowns with her in Dower, besides some Towns of no great importance: To which King *Henry* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* made Answer; That these offers were trifles, and that without yielding to his demands, he would never desist from that he intended: and with this Answer the *French* Ambassadors were dismissed. It is said, that about this time, the Dauphin (who in the King of *France* his sickness, managed the State) sent to King *Henry* a Tonne of Tennis Balls, in derision of his youth, as fitter to play with them, then to manage Arms; which King *Henry* took in such scorn, that he promised with an Oath, it should not be long ere he would tossle such Iron balls amongst them, that the best Arms in *France* should not be able to hold a Racket to return them. And now all things are prepared and in a readines for the Kings journey into *France*, his men shipped, and himself ready to go on Shipboard; when suddenly a Treason was discovered against his person, plotted by *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, *Henry* Lord *Scroope* of *Malham*, Lord Treasurer, and *Thomas Gray* Earl of *Northumberland*, and plotted and procured by the *French* Agents. These being apprehended, and upon examination confessing the Treason, and the money (which was said to be a Million of Gold) by them for that end received, were all of them immediately put to death. From this *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, second Son of *Edmund* of *Langley*, did *Richard* afterward Duke of *York* claim and recover the Crown from the *Lancastrian* Family. This execution done, and the winde blowing fair, King *Henry* weighs Anchor; and with a Fleet of 1200 Sayl, (*Grafton* saith, but 140 Ships) but *Enguerant* saith, 1600. attended with six thousand Spears, and 24000 Foot, besides Engineers and labourers; he puts to Sea, and on our Lady Eve landed at *Caux*; where he made Proclamation, that no man upon pain of death should robbe any Church, or offer violence to any that were found unarmed; and from thence passing on, he besieged *Harflew*; which when no succour came within certain dayes agreed upon, the Town was surrendered and sacked. Of this Town he made the Duke of *Exeter* Captain, who left there for his Lieutenant, *Sir John Falstoffs*, with a Garrison of 1500 men. It is said, that when King *Henry* entred *Harflew*, he passed along the streets bare-foot, untill he came to the Church of *St. Martin*; where with great devotion, he gave most humble thanks to God for this his first achieved Enterprize. From thence he marched forward, and coming to the River of *Soame*, he found all the Bridges broken; whereupon he passed on to the Bridge of *St. Maxene*, where 50000 *French* appearing, he pitcht his Camp, expecting to be fought with; and the more to encourage his men, he gave the order of Knighthood to *John* Lord *Ferrers* of *Grobby*, *Reynold Graystocke*, *Percy Tempest*, *Christopher Morisby*, *Thomas Pickering*, *William Huddleston*, *Henry Mortimer*, *John Hosbalton*, *Philip Hall*; but not perceiving the *French* to have any minde to fight, he marched by the Town of *Amyens* to *Bowes*, and there stayed two dayes expecting battell, and from thence marched to *Corby*; where the Peasants of the Countrey, with certain men of arms sent from the Dauphin, charged the right wing of the *English*, which was led by *Hugh Stafford* Lord *Bonchier*, and won away his Standard, but was recovered again by *John Bromeley* of *Bromeley*, a Commander in the Lord *Staffords* Regiment, who with his own hand slew him that had taken the Colours; and then taking them up, displayed the same; with fight whereof, the *English* were so encouraged, that they presently routed the *French*, and put them to flight: which valiant exploit, the Lord *Stafford* recompensed, by giving to *Bromely* an Annuity of fifty pounds a year out of his Lands in *Staffordshire*. After this, the King marched towards *Callice*, so strictly observing his Proclamation against Church robbing; that when one was complained of for having taken a silver Pixe out of a Church, he not only caused the same to be restored, but the Souldier also to be hanged: which point of Discipline, both kept the rest from offending in that kinde, and drew the people of the Countrey, underhand to relieve his men with all things necessary. The *French* King hearing that King *Henry* had passed the River of *Soame*; by advice of his Counsell (who yet were divided in opinion) sent *Montjoy* the *French* King at Arms to desie King *Henry*, and to let him know he should be fought with; which King *Henry*, though his Army was much infected with feavers, whereof the Earl of *Stafford*, the Bishop of *Normich*, the Lords *Molines* and *Burnell*, were lately dead; yet he willingly heard, and rewarded the Herald for his message: and first having cleared a passage over a Bridge, where of necessity he was to passe, on the 22 of *October* he passed over with his Army: At which time the Duke of *York* that led the *Rereward*, had discovered the Enemy to come on apace, whereof he sent word to the King; who thereupon made a stand, and appointing his Officers what course to hold, and encouraging his Souldiers, they all attended when the battell should begin. The *French* Army was divided into three battells; in the first were placed eight thousand men at Arms, four thousand Archers, and fifteen hundred Crossbowes, the wings consisting of two thousand two hundred men at Arms; this battail was led by the Constable of *France* himself, the Dukes of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Evre*, *Richmond*, and *Vendosme*, the Lord *Dempier*, the Lord Admirall of *France* the

A the Admirall *Bonciquale*, and others. The middle Battail wherein were more men at Arms, was commanded by the Dukes of *Barre*, and *Alanfon*, and by the Earls of *Vaumont*, *Salings*, *Blamont*, *Grantpees*, and *Roufey*. In the Rereward, were all the remainder of the *French* forces, guided by the Earls of *Marle*, *Dampmartin*, *Fauconbridge*, and the Lord *Lunrey*, Captain of *Arady*. The *Frenchmen* thus ordered, being six times, some say ten times as many as the *English*, (who were not above nine thousand) thought of nothing, but of the booty they should get: In the mean time King *Henry* having made choice of a piece of ground half fenced on his back with the Village, wherein they had reited the night before, on both sides having strong hedges and ditches, begun there to order his battell; but first he appointed an Ambush of two hundred Archers, which upon a watchword given, should discharge their whole flight upon the whole flank of the enemies horse: The Vantguard consisting of Archers only, was conducted by the Duke of *Tork*, who out of an heroick courage made suite for that place; with whom were joynd the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby*, and *Fanhope*. The main battle was led by the King himself, which consisted of Bill-men, and some Bow-men; with him were the Duke of *Glocester* his Brother, the Earl Marshall, *Oxford*, and *Suffolk*. The Rereward was led by *Thomas* Duke of *Exceter*, the Kings Uncle, consisting of all sorts of weapons; the horsemen as wings guarded the companies on both sides. The King to prevent the fury of the *French* Cavallery, by the direction of the Duke of *Tork*, appointed divers stakes studded with iron at both ends, of six foot long, to be pitched behind the Archers, and appointed Pyoners to attend to remove them, as they should be directed: These things thus ordered, publique Prayers were humbly made, and the on-set was presently given by the *French* horsemen; whereupon Sir *Walter Orpington*, according to direction, caused the Bow-men behind the hedges, to let flie their Arrows: which so galled the *French* horses, that either they cast their Riders, or through their unrulinesse so opened their Ranks, that the right wing of the *English* horse had way to come in upon the *French* foot; and withall, the *French* horse disorderly retiring, they were miserably trodden down and disranked by their own company. Upon which, the King with his main battell came on with such resolution, that himself in person charged the Duke of *Alanfon*, by whom he was well-near unhorsed; but afterward, having first slain two of the Dukes men, he charged the Duke again, and with his sword beat him from his horse; whom the Kings Guard, notwithstanding the King cryed out to the contrary, slew outright: and with his fall, the main battell of the *French* first gave ground, then turned their backs, and lastly cast away their weapons and fled. But then certain of the *French* horsemen that first ran away, led on by *Robert Bondile* and the Captain of *Agincourt*, meaning to wipe away the blot of running away from souldiers, by fighting with boyes, set upon the Pages and Laundresses that were left in the Camp; who gave such a lamentable shriek, that King *Henry* verily thought some fresh forces had been come: whereupon he caused all the arrows that were sticking in the field, to be gathered, and the stakes to be plucked up, and made ready to be again used; amongst which the Duke of *Tork*'s body was found, miserably hacked and defaced: the fight whereof, together with danger of a second Charge, made King *Henry* give order, the Prisoners should be all slain, except only some principall men, whom he caused to be bound back to back, and so left. For which fact, though done in cold blood, yet the King could not justly be taxed with cruelty, seeing the number of the prisoners was more then of his own souldiers; and nothing could give assurance of safety, but their slaughter. But all was not yet done: for the Earls of *Marle* and *Fauconbrigde*, with six hundred men at Arms, who had stood still all day, began now to stir, and gave a brave charge upon King *Henries* Army: but being but few, and their horses galled with the stakes, they had only the honour to dye bravely; and indeed they slew more of the *English*, then the whole Army had done before. And now at last, the King being satisfied by the scouts, that no Enemy was more to be seen, he asked what the place was called: and being told, *Agincourt*; Well then (said he) this shall be from henceforth called the battell of *Agincourt*: and presently he caused the whole Army, in their array as they were, to give God thanks; causing the Clergie there present, to sing the Psalm of *David*. *In exitu Israel de Agypto*; and made Proclamation, that every one, at the verse, *Non nobis Domine, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*, should kneel down, and the horsemen bow their bodies: and then singing *Te Deum* and other holy Hymns, they marched to the enemies Camp, where the souldiers had liberty given them to take the spoil.

A great Victory no doubt, but yet a victory by which the *English* gained not one foot of ground in *France*, more then they had before; and which *Monsieles* attributeth not so much to the valour of the *English*, as to the indiscretion of the *French*, who had so straightned the vanguard of their Army, and pent them up so close together, that they had not room to draw out their swords; so true is that saying, *Quos deus vult perdere, dementat*. The next day after the Battell, *French* Heralds came to ask leave to bury their dead, and had it; and the *English* Heralds, appointed to make search, made return that there were slain of the *French* above ten thousand, whereof a hundred twenty six were of the Nobility bearing Banners; of Knights and gentlemen of Coat-Armour, seven thousand eight hundred seventy four, whereof five hundred were knighted the night before the battel: and of common souldiers, about sixteen hundred. Amongst the slain of the Nobility, were *Charles le Brets* High Constable, *Jaques* of *Chatillon* Admirall of *France*, the great Master of *France*, the Master of the Crosse-bowes, the Dukes of *Alanfon*, *Brabant*, and *Barre*; the Earls of *Nevers*, *Marle*, *Vandemont*, *Beaumont*, *Grandpees*, *Roufey*, *Fauconbridge*, *Foys*, and *Lestrenck*: There was taken Prisoners, *Charles* Duke of *Orlance*, *John* Duke of *Bombon*, the Lords *Danvers*, *Fosseux*, *Humiers*, *Roy*, *Cawny*, *Fancourt*, *Noel*, *Bonciquale*; to the number in all

Six times as many as the English.

King Henries Army how marshalled.

A policy.

The Duke of Tork slain.

The prisoners taken were all slain: how justified.

This battell was fought at Agincourt. His devotion after the victory.

An error of the French in ordering their battell, cause of the overthrow.

The number of French slain in the battell.

And who of the Nobility.

The small number of the English that were slain.

The Dauphin with grief dyeth.

The Emperour Sigismund comes into England.

Harflew besieged by the Earl of Arminiack.

Five hundred French ships sunk by the English. Harflew rescued by the Duke of Bedford. The Emperour enters League defensive and offensive with King Henry.

King Henry with a great Army passeth in person into France; and besiegeth Tonque Castle, and takes it.

of fifteen hundred. On the English part were slain, *Edward Duke of Yorke*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, and not full six hundred in all; but (saith *Caxton*) not above six and twenty in all; and *Paulus Emilius* saith, besides the two Lords, only two Knights, and but ten private souldiers in all: a Miracle rather then a victory. But not onely *K. Henry* was the death of the French Lords before named, in the field with his sword; but of another great Prince, at home, with his Victory; for *Lewis* the Dauphin, eldest son of *Charles* the sixth, King of France, presently upon it, without any other cause apparent, fell sick and dyed. Yet King *Henry*, to make his enemies the better contented with their overthrow, and to take away the envy of his Victory; at his return into England with his Prisoners, which was on the sixth of November following, he presently gave straight order, that no Ballad or Song should be made or sung, more then of Thanksgiving to God for his happy Victory and safe return; but without words of either disgracing the French, or extolling the English. At his entrance into London, the City presented him with a thousand pounds, and two Batons of Gold worth five hundred pounds more. The bodies of the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk were brought into England, and the Dukes buried at *Fodringham* in *Northamptonshire*, the Earls at *New-Elme* in *Oxfordshire*.

About this time the Emperour *Sigismund* Countingerman to King *Henry*, having been first in France, came accompanied with the Archbishop of *Rhemes*, Ambassador from the French King, into England; for whom there were thirty great ships sent from the King to waite him over: but approaching to land at *Dover*, the Duke of *Glocester*, with a company of Gentlemen, having their swords drawn, stept up to the knees in water, saying to him, That if he came as the Kings friend, he should be welcome; but if as claiming any jurisdiction, they would resist him: whereupon the Emperour renounceth all Imperiall Authority; and is thereupon admitted to land, and received with as much honour as could be done him; and afterward together with *Albert Duke of Holland*, who was lately likewise arrived at *Winchester*, is elected Companion of the Order of the Garter, and sate in the seats at the solemnity of the Feast. A principall cause of the Emperours coming, was to mediate a peace between England and France; wherein he had brought King *Henry* to a good degree of inclination; till news came of the besieging of *Harflew* by the French, and of the Earl of *Arminiack* setting upon the Duke of *Exceter*, being Governor there: and then he presently grew so averse from Peace, that he would hearken no more to any Treaty of it. Not that he misliked they should treat of Peace with their swords in their hands, as all wise men would do; but that to treat of Peace, and in the time of the Treaty to do acts of Hostility, was an affront to all honesty, and not to be tolerated with any patience.

And now the Earl of *Arminiack* having set down before the Town, the Vice-Admirall of France brought up the whole Navie of the French, with intent whilest the Earl should assail it by land, to have entred the Town by the waters side: but of this purpose, the valour and diligence of the Duke of *Exceter* prevented them. As soon as King *Henry* had intelligence hereof, he would presently have gone himself; but being dissuaded by the Emperour, he sent his brother the Duke of *Bedford*, with the Earls of *March*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Arundell*, *Salisbury*, *Devonshire*, and divers others, with two hundred Sail, to the rescue of *Harflew*; who upon the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, came to the mouth of the River *Seyne*: whereupon, *Norbon* the French Admirall set forward, and got the mouth of the Haven: and here began a fight, which was resolutely maintained on both sides, untill the English having sunk five hundred Vessels one and other of the French, and taken three great Carricks of *Genova*, won the harbour, and at last, thogh with some opposition made by their Gallies, relieved *Harflew*, and made the Earl of *Arminiack* glad to raise his siege. Upon the news hereof, the Emperour desisted from mediating any further for peace with France; and entering into a league defensive and offensive with King *Henry*, wherein only the Pope was excepted, on the 19. of October he departed towards Germany, whom King *Henry* accompanied to *Calice*; whither the Duke of *Burgundie* came to confirm the League concluded on before by the Earl of *Warwick* and him, concerning *Flanders* and *Artois* only. In the meantime the French had hired divers Carracks and other great ships of the *Genoese* and *Italians*, which joyning with the French Fleet, lay at the mouth of the River of *Seyne*, under the command of *Jaques Bastard of Bourbon*, to hinder all succours from coming to *Harflew*; but *John Earl of Huntington* (son to the Duke of *Exceter* beheaded at *Chicester*) being sent to scour the coasts, encountered with him, and after a long fight took him Prisoner, and three of his great Carricks, with all the money for the half years pay of the Fleet, and sinking three other of his Carricks, and dispersing the rest, cleared the mouth of the River, and then returned to the King at *Southampton*. And now upon the twenty third of July, in the fourth year of his reign, the King himself, with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Devonshire*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk* and *Somerset*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh*, *Clynton*, *Scroape*, *Matrevers*, *Bourchier*, *Ferrers* of *Groby*, *Ferrers* of *Charley*, *Fanhope*, *Grey* of *Codnor*, *Sir Gilbert Umphreville*, *Sir Gilbert Talbot*, and an Army consisting of twenty five thousand five hundred twenty eight fighting men, besides a thousand Artificers and Pyoners, took shipping at *Portsmouth*, and upon the first of August landed in *Normandy* neer to the Castle of *Tonque*, which he presently besieged, and upon the ninth of August had it yielded to him, at which time the Earl of *Salisbury*, took the Castle of *Albervilliers* which the King gave to him and to his heirs, being the first land given by the King in France.

At the winning of *Tonque*, the King made eight and twenty Knights; and from thence Marched with his Army to *Caen*; where to prevent the Citizens from falling out, he cast up a Mount; and

A and then making many assaults, but finding them to doe little good, he caused his Pyoners to undermine the wals : which being done, upon the fourth of *September*, he offered the Besieged their fives, if they would submit : which they refusing, he thereupon made a shew of a generall assault, whilst many of his men entred the City under the foundation, of whom the Duke of *Clarence* with his Company was the first : and they coming upon the backs of those that defended the walls, easily overcame them ; and then the whole Army entred without resistance. The next day the King caused all the principall men of the Town to come before him at their Senate house, where some of them, for their stubbornness refusing the grace he had offered them, were adjudged to death, and the rest fined : the spoil of the Town was distributed amongst the souldiers. The Captain of the Castle stood out a while ; but being advertised that the King had sworne to shew

B no mercy, if he did not surrender ; he gave twelve hostages, that if it were not relieved before the twentieth of *September*, he would then give it up ; which not coming he performed : and so the King had possession both of *Caen* and the Castle.

And now *Charles* the new Dauphin, being but seventeen yeares of age and bare of money, had got into his possession all the jewels, plate and money of the Queen his mother ; which so incensed her against him, that to doe him a spight, she placed the Duke of *Burgundy* in chief authority about the King, who by reason of his infirmity was unable himself to manage the State ; and the Duke having now the sword in his hand, meant first to repress the growing boldnesse of the Dauphin, and afterward to repell the common Enemy : and the Dauphin likewise, envying the Dukes advancement above him, meant first to take down his swelling greatness, and afterward to fall upon the forein Adversary ; and thus while private respects were preferred before publick,

C whilst the Duke and the Dauphin had their first intentions one against another, nor looking after King *Henry*, but in the second place, after their own turnes served, an easie way was left for King *Henries* proceedings, and he went on at his pleasure with small opposition. He sent the Duke of *Clarence*, who took in the City of *Bayeux*, as likewise the Duke of *Gloucester* the City of *Lyseux* ; whilst himselfe remaining still at *Caen*, put out of the City the natives that were impotent or young infants, to the number of 1500. and in their places put *English* people, and finding a great masse of money and plate, deposited by the Citizens in the Castle, he caused the same upon proof, to be respectively delivered to the right owners, upon condition they would acknowledge him for their Sovereign ; which moderate and just dealing won him more hearts then

Difference between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Dauphin makes easie way for King *Henries* proceeding.

D the force of his armes had won him knees, specially with the *Normans*, who are easier to be drawn with gentleness and love, then forced by violence and compulsion. From hence the King Marched the first of *October* to *Corfye* Castle, which within three dayes yeelded. The fourth of *October* he came to *Argenton*, which not relieved by a day agreed upon, was likewise surrendred. The Town of *Alanson* endured eight dayes siege, but in the end did as other their neighbour Towns had done. From *Alanson* the Earl of *Salisbury* was sent to *Fayles*, to view the strength thereof, whom the King presently followed, where the besieged concluded, if it were not relieved before the second of *January*, then to yeeld up the Town : no relief coming, the Town was yeelded up, and soon after upon the like termes, the Castle. From hence the King returned to *Caen*, to put in execution a Proclamation he had formerly made ; That if the inhabitants of *Normandy*, that were fled, returned not by a day assigned, he would then grant their Lands to his souldiers : and thereupon he gave to the Duke of *Clarence* during life, the Vicounties of *Ange*, *Orver* and *Pontius*, with all the Lands of those that were not returned according to the Proclamation. All the Lent the King lay at *Bayeux*, whilst his Navie still kept the Seas, and daily took many *French* ships, but upon the sixteenth of *July*, such a Tempest took them, that they were driven to fall in with *Southampton* ; and yet, with all their diligence, could not so save themselves, but that two Ballingers, and two great Carriks laden with merchandize were in the very Haven drowned. In the mean time the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Talbot* besieged the strong Castle of *Damfront* : the Duke of *Clarence* took *Connton* and *Burney* ; and many other being taken, as *Chambois*, *Bechelwynn*, *Harcourt*, *Fantgernon*, *Crevenet*, *Anvillers*, *Bagles*, in all of them he placed Captains and Garisons, and particularly in *Fresny*, Sir *Robert Brent*, lately made Viscount. The Duke of *Gloucester* also, with the Earl of *March*, and the Lord of *Codnor*, took in all the Isle of *Constantine*, except *Chereburg*, and then returned to the King, but was sent back to take in that City also : which after some time, when no relief came, was, together with the Castle, likewise surrendred ; although by this time the Duke of *Burgundie* and the Dauphin, by mediation of the Pope, were reconciled and began to joyn their Forces to make resistance. And now the Duke of *Exeter* the Kings Uncle, with a supply of fifteen thousand men out of *England*, came to the King, who presently took in the City of *Eureux* ; and the Earl of *Ryme*, the strong Castle of *Mille le Vesco*.

King *Henries* liberrall dealing with the Citizens of *Caen*.

The next thing attempted, was the siege of *Roan*, a City strongly fortified, both with wals and

F ditches ; and to which there was no convenient passage, but by the City of *Lovies* ; to this City therefore he first layes siege, which when relief came not within a time agreed on, was surrendred, and yet there was another impediment to be removed, a stone-bridge, which hindred the approach to *Roan*, being exceeding strongly guarded : For this, King *Henry* devised floats of wicker covered with bealts hides, by which the Duke of *Clarence* with his quarter passed the River, and then laid siege to the Town on that side ; and for the other side, he had other devices made with hogsheds and pipes, fastned to firpoles and Barges, with which he passed his men over at pleasure ; and in the mean time he caused divers of his souldiers that could swim, to make shew

King *Henry* besiegeth *Roan*. His policies in the siege.

of passing the River three miles off another way; with which the *French* men being deluded, drew all their forces thither, and by this means the Fort being left unfurnished or sufficient guard, was presently forced to surrender, and the souldiers were taken to the Kings grace. The bridge being thus gained, the Duke of *Exceter* was sent, and with him *Windfor* the Herald, to summon the Citizens to surrender the Town; who not only gave proud answers, but also made a sally forth, though with the losse of thirty of their men. Upon this obstinacy of theirs, the King presently orders his siege; his own quarter was the *Charreux*, the Duke of *Clarence* at *S. Gervays*, the Duke of *Exceter* at *Port St. Dennis*, and every great Commander had his quarter assigned, so as the City was begirt round, and a great chain of Iron set upon piles, and a strong wooden Bridge for passage from one Camp to the other, was made over the River. At this time the Earl of *Kilmayne* with sixteen hundred *Irish* came to the King, and had their quarter assigned them, who behaved themselves with great valour: The Kings Cousin german the King of *Portugall*, sent likewise a Navy of Ships to the mouth of the River of *Sejne*, which stopped all passage of succour to *Roan*; many policies and practises were used against the City, but none prevailed, till famine forced it; for there being in *Roan* 210000 persons at the beginning of the siege, and the siege continuing long, it grew to that extremity, that the Citizens drank nothing but vinegar and water, and had little to eat but Rats and Mice, Cars and Dogs, and such like: Great numbers of the poorer sort were thrust out of the City, who not suffered to passe the *English* Army, miserably perished; only upon *Christmasse-day*, in honour of Christs birth, the King relieved and suffered to passe as many as were at first put out, but not others that were put out the second time, but suffered them to perish.

But nothing prevailed till at last famine.

Roan is yielded up to King Henry.

In this distresse, a Parley is required by the Citizens; who notwithstanding their misery, yet stood upon such high terms, that nothing was concluded, only a Truce for eight dayes was granted them; the eight dayes ended, and nothing yet agreed upon amongst themselves, they crave one day longer, and neither in that day could any thing be agreed on; then they crave four dayes more, in which the multitude and common people so pressed the Magistrates and Governours of the City, that on the fourth day, being about the nineteenth of *January*, the City was surrendered, and the Inhabitants themselves, and all their goods were yeilded to the Kings mercy; the Duke of *Exceter* was appointed to take possession, who accordingly entred with his souldiers. The next day after being *Friday* the twentieth of *January*, the King himself made his entry, with four Dukes, ten Earls, eight Bishops, sixteen Barons, and others, and was by the Clergy conducted to our Lady Church; where after publick thanksgiving, he took Homage and Fealty of the Burgeses and Inhabitants; making Proclamation, that all that would come and acknowledge him to be their Sovereign, should enjoy the benefit of his Protection, and retain their possessions: whereupon many came in, and many Towns were surrendered. In this time of the Kings lying at *Roan*, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Hunfrew*, *Munster de Villiers*, *Ewe*, and *Newcastle*; the Duke of *Clarence* took *Vernon* and *Nauant*; and the Earl of *Warwick*, *la Roche Guyon*.

And now the Duke of *Burgundy* seeing the great successes of King Henry, could think of no better way for his own safety, then to make a reconciliation between the two Kings; to which end, Ambassadors are sent to procure their meeting; at which time, King Henry for their service already performed, and in hope of more hereafter, made the valiant *Gascoigne* Captain *le Beuff*, Earl of *Longueville*, Sir *John Gray* Earl of *Tankerville*, and the Lord *Bourchier* Earl of *Ewe*. Upon the last of *May*, King Henry accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Gloucester*, and *Exceter*, his Uncle *Beaufort*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, with the Earls of *March*, and *Salisbury*, and a thousand men at Arms, entred the place appointed for the meeting of the two Kings. The *French* Queen (her Husband being taken with the frenzie) with the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and the Earl of *St. Paul*, and a company of Ladies; amongst whom, as a bait to intangle the Kings affection, was the Kings Daughter, the beautifull Lady *Katherine*; with whose sight, though the King was marvellously taken, yet he made no shew thereof, till other things should be agreed upon, but the *Dauphin* having made means to the Duke of *Burgoyne* to hinder all agreement, nothing was effected; whereupon at their parting, the King told the Duke, that he would have both the Lady, and all his other Demands, or else drive the King of *France* out of his Kingdome, and him out of his Dukedome: Upon this, the Duke thought it best to agree with the *Dauphin*, and upon this the sixth of *July*, Articles of their reconciliation are signed and sealed; In the mean time, the Earle of *Longueville* surpris'd the Town of *Ponthoyse*, but had scarce been able to make good the surprize, if the Duke of *Clarence* had not come to his succour; from thence the Duke marched to *Paris*, and there stayed two dayes; but perceiving no show of sally to be made, he returned to *Ponthoyse*; whither the King himself came; and from thence marching on, took in the Castle of *Vaynon Villeirs*; and on the last of *August*, the Castles of *Gisors* and *Galyard*, and *Dumall*; so that now all *Normandy* (*Mount St. Michael* only excepted) was reduced to the possession of the King of *England*, which had been wrongfully detained from him, ever since the year 1207.

The Duke of *Burgoyne* treacherously murdered by the *Dauphin*.

The *Dauphin* all this while, though having outwardly made a reconciliation with the Duke of *Burgoyne*, yet inwardly bearing a spleen against him, intended nothing so much as his destruction; which to effect, he procured a meeting between the Duke and him, and all the Peers of the Realm at *Monnstrew*; where the Duke though humbling himself in reverence to the *Dauphin* on his knee, was most barbarously murdered; which act, was so much the lesse to be pitied in the Duke, by how much he in the like kinde, upon the like enterview, had caused *Lewis* the Duke

of

A of Orleans to be murdered. But though this barbarous act might justly incense Philip Earl of Carolois the Duke of *Burgoyne* Heir to seek revenge; yet as a wise and politick Prince, he forbore for the present to make shew of choler or intemperance; and considering with himself, that difference between the Dauphin and him, would but give King *Henry* the greater advantage, he endeavoured to propose an overture of peace between the two Kings; And to that end Ambassadors are sent from the King of *France*, and the young Duke of *Burgoyne*, whom the King kindly entertained, but seemed to intimate unto them, that he could give no great credit to their propositions, unless the Lady *Katherine* would joyn in them, whose innocence he knew would never abuse him. Whilest these things are in agitation, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Fresney*, and the Earls *Marshall* and *Huntington* entred into *Mayn*, who approaching *Mentz*, were encountered by the Forces of the Dauphin, whereof they slew five thousand, and took two hundred prisoners; for which, newes being brought to *Rouen*, whither King *Henry* was come to solemnize the Feast of Christs Birth, thanksgiving to God were publickly made; and in the instant thereof, arrived other Ambassadors from the King and Queen of *France*, and a letter from the Lady *Katherine* to King *Henry*, was secretly by the Bishop of *Arras* delivered; The conclusion of all was, that the King of *England* should speed himself to *Troyes*, there to be Espoused to the Lady *Katherine*, and to have assurance of the Crown of *France*, after the decease of the present King *Charles*: Whereupon with a Guard of fifteen thousand choice souldiers, accompanied with the Duke of *Clarence* and *Glocester*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Huntington*, *Longueville*, *Tankerville*, and *Ewe*; the King of *England* came to *Troyes* in *Champaign*, upon the 18. day of *May*, where he was met by the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and divers of the *French* Nobility, who attended him to the Palace, where the Queen with her Daughters, the Dutchesse of *Burgoyne*, and the Lady *Katherine* gave him Princely entertainment; and after some intercourese of complement between the Princes and the Ladies, King *Henry* tendered to the Lady *Katherine* a Ring of great value, which she (not without some blushing) received; and afterward, upon the twentieth day of *May*, she was affianced to him in *St. Peters* Church, and on the third of *June* following, the marriage was solemnized; and therewithall King *Henry* was published to be the only Regent of the Realm, and Heir apparent to the Crown of *France*; the Articles whereof, with all convenient expedition were Proclaimed both in *England* and in *France*, and the two Kings, and all their Nobles, and other Subjects of account, were sworn to observe them; and in particular the Duke of *Burgoyne*.

King *Henry* affianced to the Lady *Katherine*, the King of *France* daughter; and withall proclaimed Regent of *France* and heir apparent of the Crown.

D And thus was the Salique Law violated, and the Heir Male put by his succession in the Crown, which the Genius of *France* will not long endure, a while it must; and therefore the main endeavour of both Kings now is, to keep him down, whom they had put down; and thereupon, on the fourth day of *June*, King *Henry* with the *French* King, *James* King of *Scots*, who was newly arrived, the Duke of *Burgoyne*, the Prince of *Orange*, one and twenty Earls, five and forty Barons, with many Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army consisting of *French*, *English*, *Scottish*, *Irish*, and *Dutch*, to the number of six hundred thousand, marched towards the Dauphin; and upon the seventh day, laid siege to the Town of *Seins*, which sided with the Dauphin, which after four dayes siege was yeelded up. From thence they removed, having the Duke of *Bedford* in their company, who was newly come out of *England*, with large supplies of men and money to *Monstrean*; which was taken by *Escalado*, only the Castle held out still; during the siege whereof, King *Henry* created an Officer of Arms, to be King of Heralds over the *English* men, and intitled him *Garret*; whom he sent with offers of mercy to the Castle, but was by the Captain thereof reproachfully upbraided: for punishment of which his presumption, a Gibbet was erected, and in view of Mounseur *Guitrey*, the said Captain, twelve of his friends were executed: whereupon those of the Castle treated for Peace; but the King in eight dayes together, would not grant so much as a parly; so that after six weeks siege, they were enforced, (their lives saved) simply to yeeld. From thence the King marched to *Melun* upon *Sein*, and besieged it the thirtieth of *July*, the Captain whereof was *Barbascon* a *Gascoigne*, no lesse politick then valiant, who countermined some, and stopt other Mines made by the *English*, and fought hand to hand in the Barriers with King *Henry*; yet at last through Famine and Pestilence was forced to yeeld; but being suspected to have had a hand in the murder of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, he was sent prisoner to *Paris*; and presently thereupon, both the Kings with their Queens, the Duke of *Burgoyne* and his Dutchesse, with a Royall Train came thither; where the *French* King was lodged in the house of *S. Pauls*, and the King of *England* in the Castle of *Louvre*. And here the three States of *France* anew under their hands and seals in most authentick manner ratified the former Articles of King *Henries* Succession in the Crown of *France*; the Instruments whereof were delivered to the King of *England*, who sent them to be kept in his Treasury at *Westminster*.

King *Henry* with an Army of six hundred thousand marcheth against the Dauphin.

Garret King of Arms when first created.

F And now King *Henry* began to exercise his Regency, and as a badge of his Authority, he caused a new Coyn which was called a *Salute*, to be made, whereon the Arms of *France* and *England* were quarterly stamped; he placed and displaced divers Officers, and appointed the Duke of *Excester* with five hundred men, to the Guard of *Paris*: He awarded out Procelles against the Dauphin, to appear at the Marble-Table at *Paris*, which he not obeying, Sentence was denounced against him, as guilty of the murder of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and by the sentence of the Parliament, he was banished the Realm.

King *Henry* makes a new Coin in *France* called a *Salute*.

After this, the King making *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence* his Lieutenant Generall of *France* and *Normandy*; on the 6. of *January*, with his beloved Queen *Katharine* he left *Paris*, and went to *Amyens*, and from thence to *Calice*, and thence landing at *Dover*, came to *Canterbury*, and after-

ward

A Coronation
Feast all of fish.

ward through *London* to *Westminster*, where the Queen upon *St. Matthews* day, the fourth of *A February* was Crowned; the King of *Scots* sitting at dinner in his State, but on the left hand of the Queen, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Kings Uncle the Bishop of *Winchester* being on the right hand. All were served with covered messes of Silver, but all the Feast was Fish, in observation of the Lent season.

After this, the King took his progresse through the Land, hearing the complaints of his poor Subjects, and taking order for the administering of Justice to high and low; and then met the Queen at *Leicester*, where they kept their *Easter*.

The Duke of
Clarence by
treachery slain,
with divers
others,

In the mean time, the Duke of *Clarence* making a Road into *Anjou*, came to the City of *Amers*, where he Knighted Sir *William Rosse*, Sir *Henry Goddard*, Sir *Kowland Vyder*, Sir *Thomas Beauford* his naturall Son; and returning home laden with prey, was advertised that the Duke of *B Alanson* intended to intercept his passage; whereupon he sent the Scout-master, *Andrew Fogosa a Lombard*, to discover the face of the Enemy; who being corrupted, brought report that their number was but small, and those but ill ordered, that if he presently charged, there could be no resistance. The Dukes credulity caused him to draw all his Hories together, and leaving his Bowes and Bills behinde which were his chieft strength, with his Horse only he makes towards the Enemy; but the Traitor leading to a straight, where by his appointment an Ambush was laid, that the Duke could neither retreat, nor flee; he soon perceived the Treachery, but finding no remedy, he manfully set spurs to his horse, and charged upon the Enemy; but overlaid with multitude, and wearied with fight, was himself, with the Earl of *Tankerville*, the Lord *Rosse*, the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *John Lumley*, and Sir *John Verend*, and above two thousand *English* slain; C The Earls of *Somerset*, *Suffolk* and *Pearch*, Sir *John Berkley*, Sir *Ralph Nevil*, Sir *William Bows*, and 60 Gentlemen were taken prisoners: The body of the Duke of *Clarence*, was by Sir *John Beauford* his base Son, (the Duke dying without other Issue) convey'd into *England*, and buried at *Canterbury* besides his Father: and this disaster happened upon *Easter-Eve*. The King was at *Beverley* when he heard of his brothers death, and presently thereupon dispatched away *Edmund* Earl of *Mortaigne* into *Normandy*, making him Lieutenant thereof; and then calls his high Court of Parliament to *Westminster*, requiring aid by money, to revenge his brothers death, which was readily granted; and the King thus provided, sent his brother the Duke of *Bedford* with an Army to *Calice*, consisting of four thousand men at Arms, and four and twenty thousand Archers, whom about the middle of *May* he followeth himself, and safely arriving at *Calice*, halted to relieve D Charters, which the Dauphin with seven thousand men had besieged; but hearing of the Kings coming, was retired to *Tours*. The King of *Scots*, with the Duke of *Glocester*, about the eighth of *July* besieged *Drenix*; which agreed, if it were not relieved by the twentieth of that moneth, then to surrender it; no relief coming, it was surrendered. The King pursued the Dauphin from place to place, but could not overtake him, but in the way surprized the Town of *Baugency*, where all that craved it, he took to mercy, as likewise he did at *Rougemont*; from thence he went to *Orleans*, and from thence to *Vignes St. Ton*, and from thence to *Paris*; where having fitted himself with supplies, he went and fate down before *Menix* in *Brye*, which after some opposition, he also took; and thereby had possession of all the Fortresses in the Isle of *France*, in *Lonnans*, in *Brye*, and in *Champaigne*. E

Queen Katherine
is brought
to bed of a son
at Windsor; and
King Henries
Prophetically
speech of him.

King Henry
with over hasty
journeys in
France, falls sick
and dies.

His exhorta-
tions to his
Lords at his
death.

Upon *St. Nicholas* day, in the year 1422. Queen *Katherine* was brought to bed of a Son at *Windsor*, who was by the Duke of *Bedford*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Countesse of *Holland* Christned by the name of *Henry*; whereof, when the King had notice out of a Prophetick rapture he said; Good Lord, I *Henry* of *Mommonth* shall small time reign, and much get, and *Henry* born at *Windsor* shall long time reign and lose all, but Gods will be done.

About this time the Dauphin laid siege to *Cosney*, which the King was intentive to relieve, as being a Town of the Duke of *Burgoynes*; and therefore tendred it more then if it had been his own; and making over hasty journeys, he over-heat himself with travell; and coming to *Senlys*, found himself so ill at ease, that he was forced to remain there, and to send his brother the Duke of *Bedford* to prosecute his design, which the Duke performed, and the Dauphin upon his approach, F retired into *Berry*; whereof, in mockage he was after called the King of *Berry*. But the Kings Feaver and Flux increasing, he was removed to *Boys de Vincens*; where growing worse and worse, within a few dayes he dyed. But somewhat before his departure, he had made his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* Lieutenant Generall of *Normandy*, and Regent of the Kingdome of *France*, and his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, he had made Protector of *England*, and of his Sons person: Exhorting all to be true and faithfull to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, to be at unity amongst themselves, to be loyall to their young Prince, to be serviceable to his dearly beloved Queen, to hold and preserve what he by his valour, and Gods assistance had won; and never to conclude contract of amity with the Dauphin or Duke of *Alanson* untill they had submitted themselves to the Kings Grace. And so giving God thanks for all his favours and blessings bestowed upon him, in the G midt of saying a Psalm of *David*, he departed this life; who might justly have prayed God with *David*, Take me not away in the midst of my dayes; for he dyed about the age of five or six and thirty years, which in *Davids* account is the midt of the number of the dayes of mans life: but though he dyed in the midt of his dayes, yet he dyed in the fulnesse of his Glory; and of whom it may be said, — *¶ an q; arce positus; Rider anhelantes duri ad fastigia montis*: When he had reigned nine years and five moneths.

A

Of his Taxations.

IN his first year, an incredible sum of money was given him by the Clergy, to divert him from a motion propounded to take away their Temporalities. And in the same year a Subsidy was granted him both by the Clergy and the Laity. In his fourth year was granted him, towards his wars in France, two whole Tenths of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity; which being far too short to defray his great charge, he was forced to pawn his Crown to the Bishop of *Beau-ford* his Uncle for a great sum of money, as also certain Jewels to the Lord Maior of *London*, for ten thousand Marks. In his ninth year in a Parliament at *Westminster*, for revenge of the Duke of *Clarence* death, two Tenths of the Clergy, and one Fifteenth by the Laity, which because the hate of the business could not stay the usual course of collection, the Bishop of *Winchester* brought in presently twenty thousand pounds, to receive it again when the Subsidy should be gathered. The same year also the Duke of *Bedford* in the Kings absence called a Parliament, wherein was granted towards his wars, one Fifteenth to be paid in such money as was at that time current. These are all the Subsidies that were given him, notwithstanding his many and great Achievements, by which it appears what great matters a moderate Prince may do, and yet not grieve his Subjects with Taxations.

King Henry pawneth his Crown to raise money.

C

Of Lawes and Ordinances made by him, or in his time.

HE ordained the King of Heralds over the *English*, which is called *Garret*.

In his ninth year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, It was ordained, that no man should offer Gold in payment, unless it were weight; and thereupon were appointed ballances and weights.

No Gold to be offered in payment unless it were weight, and thereupon Weights ordained.

An Act made in the thirteenth year of King *Richard* the second, which disabled the Alien Religious to enjoy any Benefices within *England*, was in the beginning of this Kings Reign put in execution: and further, this King excluded also the *French* from all preferment Ecclesiasticall; and those Priors Aliens Conventuall, who had institution and induction, were bound to put in security, not to disclose or cause to be disclosed, the Counsell and secrets of the Realm.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the beginning of his Reign, the *Wickliffes* increased greatly, of whom Sir *John Oldcastle* was chief; who by marriage of a kinswoman of the Lord *Cobhams* of *Cooling* in *Kent*, obtained that Title: this Knight being very valorous, and in great favour with the King, was in a Synod at *London* accused for maintaining of *Wickliff's* doctrine: whereof the King being informed, sent for him, and instantly dealt with him to submit himself to the censure of the Church: But Sir *John Oldcastle* told the King, that he owed his subjection only to his Majesty; and as for others, he would stand for the truth against them, to the uttermost of his life. Upon this, he was served by Procelle to appear in the Archbishops Court; and not appearing, was condemned of Contumacy, and afterwards in a Synod at *Rochester*, was by the Archbishop pronounced to be an Heretick; who then enacted that Decree, That the Holy Scriptures ought not to be translated into the *English* Tongue: But mark the judgement that fell upon his own tongue, whose roots and blade shortly after (as is recorded) grew so big in his mouth and throat, that he could neither speak, nor swallow down meat, but in horror lay languishing, till at last starved by famine, he so dyed. In the mean time, Sir *John Oldcastle* wrote his Belief, and presented it himself to the King; which the King would in no wise receive, but suffered him, in his presence and Privy Chamber to be summoned; who appearing before the Archbishop, after divers examinations, he was condemned of Heresie, and committed to the Tower of *London*, from whence shortly after he escaped, and got into *Wales*. The King by his Proclamation, promised a thousand Marks to any that should bring him in: but so much was his Doctrine generally favoured, that the Kings offer was not much regarded, but he continued four years after undiscovered: At last he was taken in the Borders of *Wales*, within a Lordship belonging to the Lord *Powes*, who brought him to *London*, before the Duke of *Bedford* Regent of the Realm; where in the end he was condemned, and finally was drawn from the Tower to *S. Giles* field, and there hanged in a Chain by the middle, and after consumed with fire, the Gallows and all. At the time of his first conviction, four years before, it was rumour'd, that twenty thousand men in Arms were assembled in *S. Giles* field: whereupon the King, at midnight, himself in person went thither, where he found many indeed, who upon examination confessed, that they came to meet their Captain Sir *John Oldcastle*, but without any intent against the King: yet was Sir *Roger Aston*, and eight and twenty others of them apprehended, and executed in *Smithfield*; and all the Prisons in and about *London* were filled with them.

Sir John Oldcastle censured for maintaining *Wickliff's* doctrine.

A Judgement of God upon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for denying the Scriptures to be translated into *English*.

Sir John Oldcastle condemned of Heresie: is hanged in *S. Giles* field, in a chain by the middle.

In his third year, the order of Church service throughout *England*, was changed from the use of *Pauls* to the use of *Salisbury*, to the great disliking of many in those dayes.

In

In a Council
holden at Con-
stance, England
ranked before
Spain.

John Huss
burned.

Three Anti-
Popes put
down, and a
fourth esta-
blished.

Penance en-
joyed for stri-
ving in the
Church.

In his fourth year, a Council was holden at *Constance*, whither he sent Ambassadors, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Bath*, and *Hereford*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, and the Prior of *Worcester*: In which Council it was decreed, that *England* should have the title of the *English Nation*, and should be accounted one of the five principall Nations in rank before *Spain*; which often before had been moved, but never granted till then. And herein were all *Wickliff* positions condemned: Also *John Huss*, and *Hierome of Prague* (notwithstanding the Emperours safe conduct) were both of them burned. In this Council, the Schism of Anti-Popes, which had continued the space of nine and twenty years, was reformed: *Benedict* the 13. had been elected by the *Spaniards*; *Gregory* the 12. by the *French*; *John* the 24. by the *Italians*: And now in this Council, begun in *February*, 1414. and continued above three years, wherein were assembled, besides the Emperour, the Pope, and the Palgrave of *Rhein*, four Patriarchs, twenty seven Cardinals, seven and forty Archbishops, one hundred and threescore Bishops, Princes and Barons with their attendants, above thirty thousand; The aforesaid elected Popes were all put down, or else resigned; and in the place, as legitimate Pope, was elected *Otho Colonna* by the name of *Martin* the fifth.

In this year also, fell out an Accident, which shews the strict observance of Ecclesiasticall censures in those dayes. The wives of the Lord *Strange*, and Sir *John Trussell* of *Warmington* in *Cheshire*, striving for place at a Sermon in *S. Dunstons Church* in the East, their husbands being present, fell themselves to striving in their wives behalf, and great part-taking there was on both sides, some slain, and many wounded: The delinquents were committed to the Counter, the Church suspended; and upon examination, the Lord *Strange* being found guilty, was by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* adjudged to this Penance, which was accordingly performed: The Parson of *S. Dunstons* went before, after whom followed all the Lords servants in their shirts; after them went the Lord himself, bare-headed, with a Wax Taper in his hand; then followed the Lady, bare-footed; and then last came the Archdeacon *Keynold Renwood*: in which order they went from *Pauls*, where the sentence was given, to *S. Dunstons Church*; where at the re-hallowing thereof, the Lady filled all the Vessels with water, and according to the sentence, offered to the Altar an ornament of the value of ten pounds; and the Lord a Pixe of silver of five pounds. A Penance, no doubt, which the Lord and the Lady would have redeemed with a great deal of money, if the Discipline of the Church had in those dayes allowed it: but it seems the commutation of Penance was not as yet come in use.

In his ninth year, in a Parliament at *Leicester*, a hundred and ten Pories alien were suppressed, because they spoke ill of his Conquests in *France*; and their possessions were given to the King: but by him and King *Henry* the sixth, were afterward given to other Monasteries, and Colledges of learned men.

Works of Piety by him, or others in his time.

Moore-gate
when first
built.

The strange
fortune of Wil-
liam of Seve-
noak.

Saint Johns
Colledge, and
All-Souls Col-
ledge in Ox-
ford, by whom
founded.

THIS King re-edified his Royall Manour, which was then called *Sheene*, now *Richmond*, and founded two Monasteries not far from it; the one of *Carthusians*, which he named *Bethleem*; the other of Religious men and women of the Order of *S. Bridget*, which he named *Sion*: He also founded the Brotherhood of *Saint Giles* without *Cripple-gate* in *London*. In the second year of his reign, *Moore-gate* neer to *Colemanstreet* was first made, by *Thomas Fawkenor* Maior of *London*, who caused also the ditches of the City to be cleansed, and a common Privy that was on the *Moore* without the wall, to be taken down, and another to be made within the City upon *Wall-brooke*, into the which Brook he caused the water of the City to be turned by grates of Iron in divers places. In his sixth year, *William* of *Sevenoak* Maior of *London*, founded in the Town of *Sevenoak* a Free School, and thirteen Almshouses. This man was found at *Sevenoak* in *Kent*, a new born Infant of unknown Parents, but by charitable people was Christened and brought up, bound Prentice in *London*, and came at last to be Maior of the City. Also *Robert Chicheley* Maior of *London* gave liberally to the Almshouses founded by his brother *Henry Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at *Higham-Ferrers* in *Northamptonshire*, where they were born. But *Henry Chicheley* the Archbishop founded two Colledges in *Oxford*; one called *Bernard Colledge*, renewed by Sir *Thomas White*, and named *S. Johns Colledge*, the other called *All-Souls*, which continueth at this day as he left it. Also *John Kempe* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, converted the Parish-Church of *Wye* in *Kent* where he was born, into a Colledge of Secular Priests.

Casualties happening in his time.

Seven Dol-
phins in the
River of
Thames.

IN the fifth year of his reign, a great part of the City of *Norwich* was burnt, with all the house of the Friars Preachers, and two Fryers of that Order. In his third year, on the Feast of the Purification, seven Dolphins came up the River of *Thames*, whereof four were taken.

A

Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married *Katherine* the Daughter of King *Charles* the sixth of *France*, who was his Queen two years and about three moneths, married at *Troyes* in *Champaign* the third day of *June*, 1420. and afterward *February* the fourteenth Crowned at *Westminster*: She surviving King *Henry*, was re-married to *Owen Tudor* an Esq; of *Wales*, who pretended to be descended from *Cadwalader* the antient King of *Wales*, though some write him to be the Son of a Brewer, whose meanness of estate was recompensed by the delicacy of his personage; so absolute in all the lineaments of his body, that the only contemplation of it might well make her forget all other circumstances; by him she had three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jasper*, and *Owen*, and a Daughter that lived but a while. Her Son *Owen* took the habit of Religion at *Westminster*, the other two were by King *Henry* the sixth (their half-brother) advanced in honour: *Edmund* was created Earl of *Richmond*, and marrying the sole heir of *John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerset*, was Father, by her, unto *Henry* the seventh, King of *England*, the only heir of the House of *Lancaster*. *Jasper* her second Son was first created Earl of *Pembroke*, and after Duke of *Bedford*, but dyed without lawfull Issue. This Queen, either for devotion, or her own safety, took into the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, who dying the second of *January*, 1436. she was buryed in our Ladies Chappell within *St. Peters* Church at *Westminster*, whose Corps taken up in the reign of King *Henry* the seventh, her Grand-child, (when he laid the Foundation of that admirable structure) and her Coffin placed by King *Henry* her Husbands Tombe, hath ever since so remained, and never since re-buryed, where it standeth (the cover being loose) to be seen and handled of any that will. By her King *Henry* had only one Son, named *Henry*, who succeeded him in the Kingdome.

Owen Tudor
marries King
Henries widow.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, lean of body, and his bones small but strongly made, somewhat long necked, black haired, and very beautifull of Face, swift in running, so as he with two of his Lords, without bow or other engine, would take a wilde Buck or Doe in a large Park: He delighted in Songs and Musickall Instruments, insomuch that in his Chappell amongst his private prayers, he used certain Psalms of *David* translated into *English* Meeter by *John Lydgate* Monk of *Bury*. And indeed it may be truly said of him as was said of *Aeneas*: *Quo iustior alter, Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis*; for he seldome fought battell where he got not the victory, and never got victory whereof he gave not the glory to God, with publique Thanksgiving. He was a better man, a King then a Subject; for till then he was not in his right Orbe, and therefore no marvel if he were something exorbitant. He was of a mercifull disposition, but not to the prejudice of wisdom; as thinking wise cruelty to be better then foolish pity. He was no lesse politick then valiant, for he never fought battell, nor won Town, wherein he prevailed not as much by stratagem as by force. He was so temperate in his diet, and so free from vain glory, that we may truly say, he had something in him of *Caesar* which *Alexander* the Great had not, that he would not be drunk; and something of *Alexander* the Great, which *Caesar* had not, that he would not be flattered. He was indeed a great affecter of Glory, but not of Glory the blast of mens mouths, but of the Glory that fills the sails of Time. He dyed of full years, though not full of years: if he had lived longer, he might have gone over the same again, but could not have gone further. If his love were great to Military men, it was not small to Clergy men, insomuch as by many he was called the Prince of Priests.

King *Henry*
called the
Prince of
Priests.

G

Of his Death and Burial.

Some say he was poysoned, which *Polydore Virgil* saith was much suspected. The *Scots* write that he died of the disease called *St. Fiacre*, which is a Palsie and a Cramp: *Enguerrant* saith that he died of *St. Antonies* fire: But *Peter Basset* Esquire, who at the time of his death was his Chamberlain, affirmeth that he died of a *Pleurisie*, which at that time was a sickness strange and but little known. Being dead his Body was embalmed and closed in lead; and laid in a Chariot Royall richly apparelled in cloth of Gold, was conveyed from *Boys de Vincennes* to *Paris*, and so to *Rome*, to *Abbeville*, to *Calice*, to *Dover*, and from thence through *London* to *Westminster*, where it was interred next beneath King *Edward* the Confessor; upon whose Tombe Queen *Katherine* caused a Royall picture to be laid, covered all over with silver Plate gilt, but the head thereof altogether of massie silver: all which at that Abbies suppression were sacrilegiously broken off and transferred to prophaner uses. He dyed the last day of *August*, in the year one thousand four hundred twenty two, when he had reigned nine years and five moneths, lived eight and thirty years; though some say, two years fewer.

Of

Of Men of Note in his time.

MEN of valour in his time were so frequent, that we may know it to be a true saying, *Regis ad exemplum*; and men of learning likewise in such numbers, that we may know the Prince to have been their Patron. First *Alayn de Lyn*, a Carmelite Fryer in that Town, who wrote many Treatises; Then *Thomas Osterborne* a Franciscan Fryer who wrote an History of England; Then *John Seguerd*, who kept a School in *Norwich*, and wrote sundry Treatises, reproving as well the Monks and Priests as Poets for writing of filthy Verses. *Robert Rose* a Carmelite Fryer in *Norwich*; who writing many Treatises, yet said nothing against the *Wickliffs*. *Richard B. Cayster* born in *Norfolk*, a man of great holinesse of life, favouring (though secretly) the Doctrin of *Wickliffe*; *William Wallis* a Black Fryer in *Lin*, who made a book of Moralizations upon *Ovids Metamorphosis*; *William Taylor* a Priest and a Master of Art in *Oxford*, a steadfast follower of *Wickliffs* Doctrin, and burnt for the same at *Smithfield* in *London* the last year of this Kings reign. *Bartholomew Florarius*, called so of a Treatise which he wrote called *Florarium*, who wrote also another Treatise of Abstinence, wherein he reproveth the corrupt manners of the Clergy, and the profession of the Fryers Mendicants. Also *Tinus Livinus de Foro Livifis*, an Italian born, but seeing he was refiant here, and wrote the life of this King, it is not unfit to make mention of him in this place: also many others.

Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,
Sir *William Cromar* was Maior.
John Sutton, *John Michael*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir *Thomas Falconer* was Maior.
John Michael, *Thomas Alen*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Nicholas Wotton* was Maior.
William Cambridge, *Alen Everard*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *Henry Barton* was Maior.
Richard Whittington, *John Coventrie*, Sheriffs.

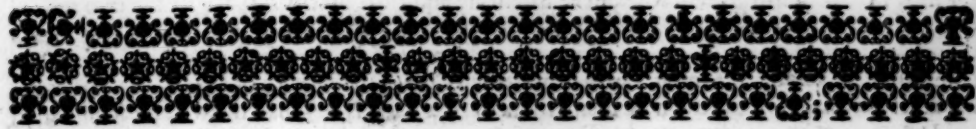
In his fifth year,
Sir *Richard Marlow* was Maior.
Henry Read, *John Gedney*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
William Sevenoke was Maior.
John Brian, *John Barton*, *John Paruesse*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *Richard Whittington* was Maior.
Robert Whittington, *John Butler*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
William Cambridge was Maior.
John Butler, *John Wells*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *Robert Chichley* was Maior.
Richard Gosseline, *William Weston*, Sheriffs.



THE
R E I G N
O F
K I N G H E N R Y
T H E S I X T H.

D Here hath been a Race of Princes, of which for three Generations together, it might be rightly said; *Pulcherrima Proles; Magnanimi Heroes; et melioribus Annis.* For King Edward the Third had many Sons, not inferior in valor to the many Sons of King Priamus, not excepting his valiant Son Hector, having so equall a match for him as Edward the Black Prince, who wanted but an Homer, to have been an Achilles. Then John of Gaunt likewise had divers Sons, men as valorous as any that age afforded. Then Henry the Fourth had four Sons, of so heroicall disposition all, that you might know them all to be his Sons, only King Henry the Fifth to be his eldest.

Anno Domini
1422.

E And now that in him the Heroicall nature was come to the height, it degenerated again in King Henry the Sixth, which must needs be attributed to the Mothers side; who though in her self she was a Princesse of a noble spirit, yet being the Issue of a crazie Father, what marvell, if she proved the Mother of a crazie Issue? and yet even this Issue of hers, a Prince no doubt, of excellent parts in their kinde, though not of parts kindly for a Prince; in a private man praise-worthy enough, but the Sword of a King required a harder metall than the soft temper of King Henry the sixth was made of: and in him we may see the fulfilling of the Text; *Va Genti cuius Rex est puer*; Woe to that Nation whose King is a Childe, for he was not above eight moneths old, when he succeeded his Father in the Kingdome; although that Text perhaps is not meant so much of a childe in years, for which there may be helps by good Protectors; as of a childe in abilities of ruling: whereof, though possibly there may, yet probably there can be no sufficient supply: of which, in this King we have a pregnant example; for as long as he continued a childe in years, so long his Kingdomes were kept flourishing by the Providence of his carefull Unkles; but as soon as he left being a Childe in years, and yet continued a Childe in ability of Ruling, then presently began all things *In peius ruere & retro sublapsa referri*, all things went to wrack both in France and England. And thus much was necessary to be said by way of a Preface to that great fall as it were of Nilus, in King Henry the Sixth.

King Henry but
eight moneths
old when his
father died.

G Henry called of Windsor, because born there, the only childe of King Henry the Fifth, as yet scarce nine moneths old, succeeded his Father, and was Proclaimed King of England on the last of August, in the year 1422. by reason of whose Infancy, King Henry his Father had before by his Will appointed, and now the Lords by their consent confirmed, the Regency of France to John Duke of Bedford, the Government of England, to Humphry Duke of Gloucester, the Guard of his Person to Thomas Duke of Exeter, and Henry Beauford Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor, wherein it was wisely provided that one man should not rule all, lest it should prove a spurte to aspiring, and withall stay them from envying one another, when many were alike placed in the highest fount of authority: and indeed they all carried themselves so uprightly and carefully in their places, that it well appeared the trust reposed in them by the dying King, had made a strong impression of love and loyalty towards his Son.

John Duke of
Bedford is ap-
pointed Regent
of France, and
Humphrey Duke
of Gloucester
Guardian of the
Kings person.

Assistants to the Duke of Bedford.

The Dauphin Crowned King at Poitiers, and called Charles the seventh. What assistance he had.

King Henry is proclaimed in Paris King of England and France.

The Duke of Bedford marries the Sister of the Duke of Burgoyne.

The Parisians aspiring are repressed by the Regent.

Thomas Montacute Earl of Salisbury defeats a great Army of the French.

James the first, King of Scots, after 18 years imprisonment, is released, and the manner of doing his Homage.

The Regent gives the French a great overthrow at Vernoyle.

The Duke of Bedford Regent of France, was to keep that by the sword, which King Henry the Fifth by his sword had gotten, wherein he had many and great assistants, specially the two terrors of France, Thomas Montacute Earl of Salisbury, and John Lord Talbot; and amongst the French themselves, the Duke of Burgoyne, a friend no lesse powerfull, then firm unto him. The Dauphin also (now Crowned King at Poitiers, and called Charles the seventh of France, his father being newly dead, within a little more then a moneth after King Henry) had likewise great assistants; the Duke of Alanson, and many other Peers of France, and of the Scots many, and some perhaps of the English that took part with him; by means whereof, the game of Fortune was a long time played between them with great variety. The first act of the Duke of Bedford's Regency, was an Oration which he made to the French in Paris, which wrought this good effect; that King Henry is Proclaimed King of England and of France, and such French Lords as were present did their Homages, and took their Oaths to be true unto him. The first act of hostility was performed by the new King of France, who sends the Lord Granville to Pont Meulan, who surprized it, putting all the English Souldiers to the sword; but the Regent sending thither Thomas Montacute Earl of Salisbury, so strongly beleagred it, that the Lord Granville not onely surrendered it, but swore Allegiance (though he kept it not) to the King of England. From thence the Earl marched to Seyne, which he took by assault; and put all the Souldiers (except the Captain Sir William Maryn) to the sword.

At this time the Regent, the Duke of Burgoyne, John Duke of Britain, and his Brother in law the Earl of Richmond, (who revolted afterward to the new King of France, and was by him made Constable of France) met at Amiens; and there not only renewed the old League, but further enlarged it, to the offensive and defensive respectively: and to make the friendship the more firm, the Regent married Anne the Sister of the Duke of Burgoyne at Troyes. In this mean time the Parisians taking advantage of the Regent's absence, conspired to have let in the new King into Paris; but the day before the night appointed for his admision, the Regent with his power entred; apprehended the Conspirators, and put them to publick execution. That done, he furnished all the Forts, and places of strength with English men, and sent Sir John Falstaff, who took in Pacye, and Courfay, two strong Castles; whilest himself with his Forces took in Traynel, and Bray upon Seyne.

The Constable of France the mean while with the new Kings forces, laid siege to Cravant in Burgoyne; but the Regent sent thither the Earl of Salisbury, who set upon the French, and after a long fight, putting them to flight, slew about 1800 Knights and Gentlemen of note, and three thousand common Souldiers, Scots, and French, took prisoners the Constable himself, the Earl of Ventadour, Sir Alexander Alerdyn, Sir Lewis Ferignye, and two and twenty hundred Gentlemen. Of the English part, were slain Sir John Gray, Sir William Hall, Sir Gilbert Hallsall, Richard ap Madocke, and one and twenty hundred Souldiers. From thence the Earl led his forces to Montagnillon, and sat down before it, which after five moneths siege he took, whilest the Duke of Suffolke took in the two strong Castles of Conveye, and le Roche.

While these things are done in France, in England the Protector ransomed and enlarged the young King of Scots, James the first; who by the space of eighteen years had been kept a Prisoner, which he did out of opinion, that he might withdraw the Scots out of France, taking Homage and fealty of him for the Crown of Scotland, in these words; I James Stuart, King of Scots, shall be true and faithfull to you Lord Henry, King of England and France, the Superiour Lord of Scotland, and to you I make my fidelity for the said Kingdome, which I hold and claim of you, and shall do you service for the same, so God me help, and these holy Evangelists: and therewithall, with consent of all the Nobility, the Protector gave him to Wife, Jane Daughter to the deceased Duke of Somerset, and Cousen german to the King, with a large Dowry, and married them at St. Mary Overies in Southwarke; yet all this courtesie could not keep him afterward from being unfaithfull, and unthankfull.

And now the Protector sent over to the Regent ten thousand well furnished souldiers with which fresh succour he won many Towns and places of strength: which the French seeing, and finding themselves too weak by plain force to withstand the English, they sought by subtilty to compass their ends; and first, they work upon the inconstancy of the Duke of Britain, and his Brother Arthur, by King Henry the fifth created Earl of Teyry, whom by gifts and promises they suborned, perfidiously to deliver over into their possession the Castles of Crotoge, and Terney; but the English before the French Garrisons were settled, fell upon Crotoge and recovered it; and that done, the Regent beleagred Terney, and by secret mining, and violent Batteries so shook the Walls, that they agreed to yield it up, if not relieved by a certain time: whereupon the Duke of Alanson with sixteen thousand French came to the rescue, but perceiving the English to be prepared to receive them, he wheeled about to Vernoyle, and swore to the Townsmen that he had put the Regent to flight, and rescued Terney; which they believing, rendred up Vernoyle to him; but the Regent followed him thither, when by the encouragement of some fresh Companies of Scots come to his succour, he came to a battell in the field, where the English, with the losse of two thousand one hundred common souldiers, and two of the Nobility, the Lord Dudley, and the Lord Charleton; got the honour of the day, and slew of their enemies, five Earls, two Viscounts, twenty Barons, and above seven thousand other of the French, besides two thousand seven hundred Scots lately arrived, and took Prisoners the Duke of Alanson himselfe, the Lord of Hernys, and divers other French, and Sir John Tournbull, and two hundred Gentlemen,

A men, besides common souldiers. This battell was fought the eight and twentieth day of *August*, in the year 1424. and thereupon *Vernoyls* was presently re-delivered. After this, the Earl of *Salisbury* with ten thousand men, taketh in the strong Town of *Mannors*, the Town of *St. Susan*, the Port *St. Bernard*, and others; from thence he went to *Anjou*, where he performed such Heroick Acts, that his very name grew terrible in all *France*; as for instance the new High-Contable perfidious *Richmond*, with forty thousand men laid siege to the good Town of *St. James* in *Benyon*, the Garrison whereof consisted but of six hundred *English*, who being driven to some extremity, sallied forth, crying *Saint George*, a *Salisbury*; which word of *Salisbury*, so frightened the *French*, thinking he had been come to rescue them, that casting away their weapons, they ran all away, saving some few that yielded themselves prisoners, leaving all their Tents, four-teen Peeces of Ordinance, forty Barrels of Powder, three hundred Pipes of Wine, much Armour and some Treasure behinde them. After which, other Castles, as that of *Bramont*, of *Vicomps*, *Tenney*, *Gilly*, *Osce*, *Rusey*, *Vasick*, and many more were taken in by Sir *John Monnigomery*, and Sir *John Falstaffe*; so as once again the *French* are glad to betake themselves to their old course of fraud; they compounded with a *Gascoigne* Captain for delivery of *Alanson* to them; whereof the Regent having notice, he sent the Lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *John Falstaffe* to prevent it, who encountering with *Charles de Villiers*, that with two hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot, was come to the place appointed for entry, took and slew them all, except some few horse which saved themselves by flying. After which, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in and demolished above forty Castles and strong Piles, for which there was publick thanksgiving to God in *London*.

The Earl of *Salisbury* doth great acts in *France*.

His very name defeated an Army of forty thousand.

The *French* use fraud; but to their own hurt.

Whilest these things were done in *France*, an unkinde variance fell out between the Protector, and his Brother the Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellour: for appealing whereof, the Regent having substituted the Earl of *Warwick* Lieutenant Generall in his absence, came into *England*, where in a parliament he compounded all differences between them: in honour whereof, King *Henry* kept a solemn feast; at which time the Regent dubbed the King Knight, not yet above four years old; and then the King presently invested with that dignity many of his servants; and *Edmund Mortimer*, the last Earl of *March*, at this time dying, his Inheritance descended to *Richard Plantagenet* son and heir to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* beheaded at *Southampton*, who was now created Duke of *York*; and was afterward father to King *Edward* the fourth: and at this time also, *John Mowbray* son and heir to *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, banished before by King *Richard* the second, was restored to the Title of Duke of *Norfolke*. And now all things peaceably settled in *England*, the Regent with the Bishop of *Winchester*, returned into *France*; where, at the intercession of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, the Duke of *Alanson* was ransomed for two hundred thousand Crowns: and the Bishop of *Winchester* returned to *Calice*, where he was invested with the dignity and Hat of a Cardinall, which his brother the Regent put upon his had.

King *Henry* at four years old dubbed Knight by the Regent.

Richard Plantagenet created Duke of *York*, father to King *Edward* the fourth.

The Bishop of *Winchester* made a Cardinall.

In the fourth year of this Kings reign, a Parliament was holden at *Leycester*, called of the common people, the Parliament of *Bats*, because being commanded to lay by their Swords, servants took great bats to follow their Lords and Masters to the Parliament.

About this time, the Duke of *Glocester*, Protector, took some blemish in his honour, by marrying another mans Wife, *Jaquelyne* Countesse of *Haynault*, *Holland* and *Zeland*, who was married before to *John* Duke of *Brabant* yet living, and had lived with him ten moneths as his lawfull Wife, but at that time upon some discontent gone from him, intending to be divorced: at which injury offered to the Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Burgoyne*, being his Cousin, took so great offence, that first by friendly Letters he admonished the Duke of *Glocester* of it, and that not prevailing, they grew to terms of challenge, and a Combat between them was appointed; but in the mean time, the Lady betrayed, was carried to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who conveyed her to *Gauant*; from whence, by friendship of a *Burgonian* Knight, in mans apparell she escaped into *Holland*, and there made a defensive war against her husband the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Duke of *Burgoyne*. To her aid, the Duke of *Glocester* sent the Lord *Fitzwater*, with a power of a thousand men: but she being discomfired by the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Pope also pronouncing the first marriage legall, the Duke of *Glocester* deserted her, and then took for a second Wife *Eleanor* Daughter of the Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*, his old Mistresse; and the Lady *Jaqueline*, after the death of *John* Duke of *Brabant*, married a mean Gentleman; whom the Duke of *Burgoyne* imprisoned, and brought her self to live in much trouble.

An. Reg. 4. The Duke of *Glocester* marries another mans wife, and the trouble that grew about it.

And now in *France*, the Constable with forty thousand men besieged the Town of *S. James de Benuron*, and having made a breach fit for assault, whilest his Captains stood straining of courtesie, which of them should first enter, Sir *Nicholas Burdet* with all his forces sallied forth, crying aloud, *A Salisbury*, *A Suffolke*; whose names struck such a terror into the besiegers, that they stood like men amazed, of whom six hundred were slain, two hundred drowned in the Dirches, fifty taken prisoners, with eighteen Standards, and the Constable was glad to quit the place, and give over the siege.

Forty thousand *French* frightened away, with crying, *A Salisbury*.

At the same time also, the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Scales*, with seven thousand besieged *Ponterson* many weeks together; but Provision waxing scant, the Lord *Scales* with three thousand men went a foraging into the Enemies Countrey; and in his return with plenty of provision, was encountered with six thousand *French*, of whom he slew many hundreds, took above a thousand prisoners, and then returned safe into the Camp.

The L. *Scales* defeats an Army of *French*.

Pledges put to death for not having provision kept.

About this time also Sir *John Falstaffe* besieged the strong Town of *Gravile*, which after twelve dayes, offered to render it self by a day, if it were not relieved. The offer was taken, and

Pledges

Pledges delivered: but before the day came, they within the Town had victualled and manned the place; and thereupon neglecting their Pledges, refused to tender the Calise according to agreement: whereupon the Pledges were brought before the sight of them within the Castle, and there openly put to death.

An Army of
French defeated
with crying
a Talbot.

And now a conspiracy of the Clergie and Magistrates in *Mauvais* so prevailed, that the Marshals of *France* with five hundred men, about midnight came to the Townwalls; where the Guard of the English, by those that seemed their friends, were suddenly massacred, and setting open the Gates, made way for the Enemy to enter: whereupon the Alarm given, the Earl of *Suffolk* with the surviving English withdrew to the Castle, wherein they were sharply assailed by the French, who yet had more mind to ransack houses, and to make good cheere: whereof the Lord *Talbot* having intelligence by Captain *Gosse*, whom he had sent to discover the state of the French, he secretly gave notice to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who thereupon sallied forth of the Castle at a time when the Lord *Talbot* was ready with his Troopes, and on both sides trying, St. *George*, a *Talbot*, they fell upon the careless French, who lost four hundred of their best men, the rest were all taken, the Town regained, and the Conspiratours, thirty Citizens, twenty Priests, and fifteen Friars, condemned and put to execution.

The Duke of Exeter
dies.

Whilst these things went on prosperously in *France*, a great dyaster fell out in *England*; for the fight Noble *Thomas Beaufort* (son of *John of Gaunt*, and *Katherine Swinford*) Duke of *Exeter*, and Guardian of the King, makes King *Henry* his heir, and at *East-Grinwich* in *Kent* ended his life; whose place was presently supplied by the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earls place in *France* by the Earl of *Salisbury*; who thereupon with five thousand men came to *Orleans*, and besieged the City; and won from the French the great Fort. But here happened another great dyaster; for from an high tower in this fort, the Besegers observed the passages of the Townsmen; when the Noble Earl of *Salisbury*, intending to informe himself of the State of the Town, unfortunately looking out at a Widow of the fort, with Sir *Thomas Gargrave*; a great shot from the Town striking the battes of the window, the Splinters thereof were driven into his head and face; of which wounds, within eight dayes he died. This was now a second weakening to the English party: but in his place the Earl of *Suffolk* succeeded, to whom the Regent sendeth Sir *John Falstaffe* with fresh supplies; whom the Lord de la *Brette*, nine thousand strong, endeavours to intercept: but Sir *John* resolving to abide the charge, placeth his carriages behind, the horse next, and the foot before, lining his bowes with bill-men, and pitching stakes behind the Archers, who having discharged their first volley, retired behind the stakes: on which the French, forgetting their former defeats by that courtesan and goared their horses; by which their Vaward being disordered, the Battaille made a stand: which Sir *John* perceiving, cryeth out, St. *George*! they flie! at which words they fled indeed, and lost two thousand five hundred of their men, with the Lords de la *Brette*, and *William Stewart*; eleven hundred were taken Prisoners: with whom, and a rich booty, they came to the Campe before *Orleans*: And this Battell because moit part of the carriage, was Herring and Lenten stuffe, was by the French men called the Battell of Herrings. But the besieged having notice of this defeat they offered to submit themselves to the Duke of *Burgaigne*, who was contented to receive them, so as the Regent would consent: But the Regent consented not; and therefore in the mean time, the besieged made meanes to the Duke of *Alanson*, who furnished the Town with fresh Forces and Provision; which put such spirits into the Citizens; that they made a sally out, slew six hundred English, and adventured upon the Bastile, where the Lord *Talbot* commanded, who repelled them with great slaughter of their men; but yet the next day the Earl of *Suffolk* gave over his siege; and dispersed his Army into their Garisons.

The English
side begins
to goe down.
The Duke of
Suffolk taken
Prisoner.
The Lords
Talbot and
Scates taken
prisoners.

And now the wheele of Fortune began to turn to the French against the English which once set a going, was not easie to be stayed. And first, the Duke of *Alanson* took by assault the Town of *Jargeau*, and in it the Earl of *Suffolk* and one of his brothers, and slew Sir *Alexander Pole* another of his brothers, and many other Prisoners in cold blood, by reason of a contention amongst the French, to whom the Prisoners should be long. Presently upon this, another great blow was given the English: for the Lords *Talbot*, *Scates*, and *Hungerford*, going to fortifie the Town of *Meun*, were encountered by the said Duke of *Alanson*, and *Arthur of Britaine*, with three and twenty thousand men: with whom the English Lords interchanged some blowes; but oppressed with multitude, were all three taken prisoners, all sore wounded, twelve hundred of their company slaine, and the rest hardly escaping to *Meun*, where they fortified themselves the best they could against future assaults.

The French
King recovers
many Towns
The French
K. Crowned
at Rhemes.
The Regent
persuades the
French King.

These were great blowes given to the English fortune in *France*; *Salisbury* slaine, and now *Talbot* taken prisoner: which though they made her a little to cotten, yet there must be greater blows given before she will fall. And indeed, these dyasters were seconded by the perfidious surrender of many Towns and strong Holds to the French King; who now encouraged by these successes, marcheth into *Champaigne*, where by composition he took *Troyes* the chiefe City of that Province; *Challons* rebelleth, and enforceth their Captain to yeeld it up: by whose examples the Citizens of *Rhemes* do the like, where the French King is anew Proclaimed, and with accustomed ceremonies Anointed and Crowned: whereupon many Towns submit themselves to him, and revolt from the English. Upon this, the Duke of *Bedford* (to make the French know, that all the English strength consisted not only in *Salisbury* and *Talbot*) with ten thousand English, besides Normans, marched out of *Paris*, and sent letters of defiance to the French King, affirming that

A that deceitfully and by unjust meanes he had stoln many Cities and places of importance belonging to the Crown of *England*; which he was come to iustifie by battell, if he would appoint a time and place. To which the King of *France* making a slight answer, the Regent marched apace toward him, and as fast the King of *France* marcheth away: The Regent followed him, but could not overtake him, till he came neer to *Senlys*: there both the Armies encamped and embattelled, yet only some light skirmishes passed between them; and a night or two after, the French King fled with his Army to *Bray*: which the Duke thinking to be but a plot to draw him further off from *Paris*, of whose fidelity he had no great assurance, followed him no further, but returned thither. At which time, the Regents Brother the Cardinall, having prepared forces to assist Pope *Martin* in *Bohemia*, the Regent borrowed them of him for a present expedition, and with them

B marched into *Champaigne*, where he found the French King encamped upon the Mount *Piball*; whose number being twice as many as the Regents, yet by no provocations could be drawn to battell; but secretly fled to *Crispi*; whereupon the Regent also returned to *Paris*.

The French King declineth battell.

Whilest these things are done in *France*, in *England*, upon St. *Leonards* day 6. of November 1429, King *Henry* not yet eight yeares old was with great solemnity Crowned at *Westminster*: at whose Coronation were made fix and thirty Knights of the *Bathe*, and after the solemnity, a feast; and if any man desire to know much Cookery, he may read in *Fabian*, all the dishes of meate that were served at that feast.

An. Reg. 8. King Henry Crowned at Westminster

About this time, in *France*, a strange Impostor ariseth; a maid called *la Pucelle*, taking upon her to be sent from God, for the good of *France*, and to expell the English; and some good indeed she did; for by her subtilty working the King was received into *Champaigne*, and many Towns were rendred to him; whilest the Lord *Longueville* took by surprize the Cattle of *Anmarle*, and slew all the English that were in it. But all these were but petty acquies to the King of *France*: there is a knot of friendship between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which must be broken, or he will never be able to compasse his designs. He therefore labours by all meanes possible to disunite them; wherein he so little prevailed, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* acquaints the Regent with all the practises, who thereupon, with many thanks, exhorteth him to continue firme, of which he should never have cause to repent him: and because *Normandy* was a principall part of the English strength in *France*, he goeth thither, and by many reasons perswades them, as their Ancestors had alwayes been, to be faithfull to the Crown of *England*.

La Pucelle begins to shew herselfe.

D In this time of the Regents absence from *Paris*, the King of *France* drew all his forces thither, using all meanes possible, by Escalado, Battery, and burning the gates, to enter the City: but was so withstood by the vigilancy of the Citizens, that he was glad to sound retreat, leaving his slain and maimed souldiers behind him, all but the *Pucelle*, who being hurt in the Legge, and almost stifled with myre in the ditch, was by a servant of the Duke of *Alanson* drawn up, and conveyed after the King to *Berry*, who by the way received the submission of the Inhabitants of *Laignye*. Some other Services were performed on both sides, by the Duke of *Suffolk* and Sir *Thomas Kyriell*, for the English; by the Bastard of *Orleanse* and Sir *Stephen le Hye*, for the French; but of no great importance: till at last, the *Pucelle*, (who a little before had caused an English Captaines head to be cut off, because he would not humble himselfe to her upon his knee) was by Sir *John of Lutsemburgh* taken, and presented to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who sent her to the Regent, and he to the Bishop of the Diocesse, who judicially proceeding against her as a Sorceresse, and deciever of the King and his subjects, she was (after many delayes of promise to discover secret practises, and lastly of her feigning to be with childe) publickly burnt at *Roan*.

La Pucelle taken and burnt at Roan for a Sorceresse.

And now the Regent finding how much the Crowning of the French King had furthered his designs, he made account the like effect would follow the Crowning of King *Henry* in *France*: whereupon he is sent for to come over; and coming to *Paris*, was, by his Uncle the Bishop of *Winchester* and Cardinall of *Eusebius*, not yet above nine yeares old, with all usuall ceremonies Crowned King of *France*, receiving the oaths of Homage and Fealty of all the French Nobility that were present, and of all the Inhabitants of *Paris*, and of the places adjacent. Upon this,

An. Reg. 10. King Henry is Crowned King of France in Paris.

F Pope *Eugenius* laboured a reconciliation between the two Kings, but could effect nothing, but onely a Truce for six yeares: which agreed upon, King *Henry* returns into *England*, and landeth at *Dover*, the eleventh of *February*. But the six yeares Truce was scarce openly Proclaimed, when the French had cunningly possessed themselves of divers Castles and places of strength, justifying their actions, affirming, That what was politicly obtained without blowes, was no infringement of the Truce: and afterwards they perfidiously conveyed two hundred men into the Castle of *Roan*, with intent to have surprized it; but being discovered, they were all taken, and either ransomed, or put to execution. Upon this, the Regent (whose Wife, the sister of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, being lately dead, and he married again to *Jacqueline* the Earl of *S. Pauls* daughter, with whom he went over into *England*) returned again to *Paris*; to whom the Lord *Talbot*, having now paid his ransome, cometh, bringing with him seven hundred tryed souldiers; and with them the Regent takes the field, where the French Army lay, but the French slunk away in the dark, as not daring to abide the hazard of a battell.

A Truce abused,

About this time, the Duke of *Bourbon*, taken at the battell of *Agincourt*, after eighteen year imprisonment, paying eighteen thousand pounds for his Ransome, the same day he was enlarged died at *London*.

The Regent and the Duke of Burgoigne fall at variance and for what,

And now a very great effect was produced out of a very small cause: There had been sparks of unkindnesse between the two great Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which brake out into a flame

upon this occasion: A time and place was appointed, where they should meet to compound A some differences that were between them; The place agreed upon, was *St. Omers*, a Town in *Burgoyne*: When the time came, they stood upon this nice point, Which of them should first come to the place; as thinking that he which did so, should thereby acknowledge himself to be the meaner person. The Duke of *Bedford* thought he had no reason to doe it, seeing he was Regent of *France*, and therefore superiour to any subject in the Kingdome: And the Duke of *Burgoyne* thought he had no reason to doe it, seeing it was to be done in his own Dominions, where he was himselfe the Sovereign Lord. Upon this nice point they parted without meeting; and the unkindnesse grew afterward to so great hatred, that the Duke of *Burgoyne* chose rather to be friends with him that had murdered his father, then ever to have any more commerce with the Duke of *Bedford*. Thus was one great branch of assistance lopt off from the *English* which had been B a great meanes before to make it flourish: and it was not so much, that the assistance was taken from the *English*, as that it was added to the *French*: for after this, the Duke of *Burgoyne* brought more assistance to the new King of *France*, then ever he had done before to the King of *England*. By which we may see, when the Divine providence hath a worke to effect, what slight occasions it oftentimes takes to effect the work.

The Duke of Bedford Regent of France dies in Paris.

Great blowes had been given before in *France*, to the English fortune by the enemy, but now a blow was given to it by Destiny, which made the Enemies blowes the more incurable; for now the wife, valiant, faithfull Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Anjou*, and *Alançon*, Earl of *Mayne*, *Harcourt*, *Drieux*, *Richmond*, and *Carlisle*, and Viscount *Beaumont*, upon the fourteenth of September 1435, ended his life at *Paris*, which was in manner the ending the life of the English fortune in C *France*: all former blowes had been upon inferiour members, but this was a blow upon the head, and therefore mortall; and indeed the English fortune in *France*, never after lifted up its head, but very weakly. He was buried in our Ladies Church at *Roan*, whereat the Nobility of *Normandy* much repined, who would have had their own Territory honored with his Sepulchre: yet see the levity of these men, who a few yeares after in the reign of *Lewis* the Son of *Charles*, would have had his Monument to have been demolished, as being dishonourable, such an Arch-enemy to *France*, should be interred in the Metropolitan City of that Province: But *Lewis* answered, God forbid, I should give way to so dishonourable an act, to disquiet his dead bones, who living would have disquieted us all, and it savours of too much basenesse to insult upon a dead Lyon.

The noble disposition of King Lewis of France.

The Duke of York is made Regent of France, which the Duke of Somerset envying hinders his proceedings all he can: Paris expells all the English and by their example many other Towns likewise.

But yet in these dysasters, there might have been some reparation by a good Successor, had not D Envy and Ambition bred disturbance: the Duke of *Somerset* desired the Succession, but the Duke of *Tork* obtained it; which bred such an envy in the Duke of *Somerset* towards him, that he laboured nothing so much as to crosse his designs, and was a meanes to hinder the Duke of *Tork*es going to his charge so long that the *Parisians* had time to think of freeing themselves from the English servitude; and thereupon the City after it had remained seventeen yeares in the possession of the English yeilds to the Constable, and upon composition expels all the English; and which was worse, many other Towns followed this example of *Paris*, for what Town would not willingly do as *Paris* did, the epitome as it were of all *France*? and which they slyck not to call *Le Monde de Paris*, as though there were upon earth no other world but *Paris*. Even the Normans, who E had alwayes been most firm to the English, yet had run the same course, if the Lord *Talbot* had not kept them in awe, with the slaughter of five thousand of them that way inclined. And now after these great losses, we must be content to play smaller game, cast at Castles and Forts, and some small Towns, like the strugling of dying men, doing acts of life, till there be no more life remaining; And this was now our case in *France*. The new Regent with eight thousand Souldiers arrived at *Harflew*, and from thence marcheth to *Roan*, where he wonne the reputation of justice and uprightnesse, notwithstanding all the calumniation of the Duke of *Somerset*: when the revolted Duke of *Burgoyne* pretending title to the Town of *Callice*, approacheth it with an Army of forty thousand men, takes the poore *Bastile* of *Oye*, and slaughters and hangs many of the defendants. The *Piccards* besieged the Castle of *St. Marke*, took it, and demolished it; from thence they begirt F *Callice* with a hege, but were repelled: Then the Duke of *Burgoyne* sent the Lord *Croy* to besiege the Castle of *Guisnes*, but were repelled there also: In the mean time *Pembroke* the Herald brought a defiance to the Duke of *Burgoyne* from the Duke of *Glocester* the Protector, that he would give him battell if he would abide it; to whom the Duke of *Burgoyne* answered, he should be sure to find him where he now was. Whereupon he calleth a Councell, and whilst they are debating what is best to be done, the *Callicians* make a sally, take the *Bastile* which they had builded, by force, and slew eightscore of the *Burgoyniens*, which so terrified them, that they upbraid the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and make both him, and the Lord *Croy* to quit their quarters, and in such hast to be gone, that they left a great part of their best Ordinance, and all their Provision for the reliefe and help of the besieged; and it seems they had reason so to doe, for the next day being the seven and twentieth of July, the Duke of *Glocester* landed at *Callice*, with five and twenty thousand good fighting men, who finding the enemy recoiled, foraged all the Country thereabout, and for the space of six weekes harrowed all the parts of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Hainault*; and then G returning by *St. Omers*, *Arde*, and *Guisnes*, arrived at *Callice*.

The Duke of Glocester the Protector sends defiance to the Duke of Burgoyne.

The Duke of Glocester Lands at Callice with 25 thousand fighting men.

And now we must look a little home, for the D. of *Tork* returning into *England*, findes the Castle of *Rokiborough* besieged by the King of *Scots*, with thirty thousand men: but he hearing of the Earl of *Northumberland* approach, and the Dukes returne, incontinently fled. And now again to

A o France, where the Town of *Harflew* was sold to the French, but the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Lord *Talbot* besetting it both by sea and land, though the Earl of *Ewe*, and the bastard of *Orleanse* and *Bourbon*, with four thousand men came to relieve it, yet upon composition, it was surrendered.

And here we may have leave to speak of a private matter; for about this time the Dutchesse of *Bedford* married Sir *Richard Woodvile*, a gallant young Gentleman, but of small meanes, which though it offended her friends, yet it seems offended not God, who made her mother of many children by him; and amongst the rest, of the Lady *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to King *Edward* the fourth. Also about this time *James* King of *Scots*, who before had been eighteen yeares Prisoner in *England*, and afterward released, with a Wife of a Noble house, a great Dower, and many honorable Presents, yet proved ungrateful, was murdered in his bed-chamber by night, whose murderers being found out, were cruelly tortured. And now again to *France*; when the Duke of *Burgoyne* could neither by force nor policie take *Callice*, he attempted a ridiculous practise, to cut a ditch that should drown both the Town and Country; but after much labour and expence, his designe like a vapour vanished into ayre. The Lord *Talbot* besieged *Tankerville*, and after foure moneths siege, hath it rendred to him: In revenge whereof, the French King in his owne person layes siege to *Monstreau*; which whilest the Duke of *Torke* was providing to rescue, he was discharged of his office, done of purpose by his enemies, to lay a blot upon him: A lamentable thing in a State, when private envy shall be suffered to undermine the publique safety; and by this means Sir *Thomas Gerard* had the more opportunity to sell the Town, for which, if he were a gainer in money, he was yet a looser in reputation, and hated both of French and English.

The Dutchesse of Bedford marries Sir Richard Woodvile.

James King of Scots murdered.

The Duke of Burgoyne attempts Callice, but without successe.

Sir Tho. Gerard betrays the Town of Monstreau to the French.

C in much discontent died. *Arthur* Constable of *France*, and *John* Duke of *Alanson* besieged the Town of *Auranches*, but were with dishonour repelled by the Lord *Talbot*: After this, *Le Hyre* sent Letters to them, that he had a promise from divers Burgers of *Roan* to let them in at any time appointed; against which time they came to *Ryze*, within four Leagues of *Roan*, but the Lord *Talbot* having notice hereof, marched covertly to *Roan*, and from thence before day to *Ryze*, where he surprizeth the French, takes the Lord *Fountaines*, Sir *Allon Geron*, and many others, and with a rich booty returneth to *Roan*. The sixth day of *November*, in the sixteenth year of the Kings reign, the Earl of *Warwick* having oftentimes been aboard, and still beaten back by tempests, landed at *Harflew* with a thousand fresh Souldiers, and from thence came to *Roan*; but in the mean time the Duke of *Burgoyne* seeing no new Regent yet come, besiegeth the Town of *Crotoy*, to

The L. Talbot doth great act.

D the relief whereof, the new Regent now come, sent the Lord *Talbot* with five thousand men, whose approach the Duke not enduring, retired to *Abbeville*, leaving only four hundred, with whom he had manned the *Bastile* by him there erected, which was soon gained, and all the souldiers either taken or slain. And there the valiant *Talbot* sent word to the Duke, that if he would save his Country from vastation, he should come to a battell, but the Duke not liking the match, conveighs himself to *Amyens*: Twenty dayes together did the Lord *Talbot* with fire and sword passe through *Piccardie*, and *Artois* without opposition, and then returned: Sir *Thomas Kyriell* seized upon the Dukes Carriages and Ordinance, and having left in *Crotoy*, victuall enough for six hundred men for a whole year, he brought the rest to the Earl of *Warwick*. And now *Henry* Earl of *Morgaine*, Son to *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, arrived with two hundred Archers, and three hundred Spears, took the Castle of *Sr. Anyon*, wherein were three hundred Scots and French; the Scots he slew all, and hanged the French, because they had sworn fealty to *England*, and broke it; he took likewise the Castle of *Algarchie*, and by meanes of an Ambush, taketh the Lord *Camerois*, coming to the rescue thereof. On the other side, the Towns of *Neux* in *Brye*, and *Susan* were sold and delivered to the French by the treacherous Burgers. In *June*, the Earl of *Huntington* with two thousand Archers, and four thousand Speares was sent into *Gascogne*, whither the Earl of *Danois* was lately come to buy Towns and Castles, but the Earl of *Huntington* upon his coming thither, changed all the Carpains and Offices, whereby he prevented all such bargains; and so farre had bribery spread it self at this time, that even in *Normandy*, the English Captaines had but small confidence in the Natives, and not much in some of their owne Nation; whereupon Sir *Richard Woodvile*, Sir *William Chamberlaine*, and *William Peto* were sent thither to stop the current of that corruption.

At this time, the Councell of *France* procured a reconciliation between the King and the Dauphin; who had been in long jealousies and dissension; which if it had not been done, the kingdome had been torne with Factions, and never been able to subsist.

Sir John Clifford gets Pontshois by a wile.

And now in a great frost and snow, the English under the conduct of Sir *John Clifford*, having covered their Armour with wite shirts, and their heads with white *Alman* skulls, came to *Pontshois*, by night, and undiscovered past the ditches, scaled the walls, slew the Guards, and took the Town; but this good luck was accompanied with a bad of more importance, for presently upon it, the Earl of *Warwick* died in the Castle of *Roan*, and conveyed into *England*, was buried in the Castle of *Warwick*. To reduce *Pontshois*, the French King in person layeth siege unto it, when *Richard* Duke of *Torke* being the second time made Regent, having with him the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Ewe*, levyes a power to raise the Siege; and arriving there, sends word to the King, that the next morning he would give him battell; but the King liked not his bidding, but leaving his Ordinance, at midnight stole away to *Possy*; thither also the Regent follows him, but with no provocations could draw him to fight.

The Earl of Warwick dies.

Richard Duke of Torke made the second time Regent of France.

About this time a treaty for Peace between the two Kings is appointed to be held at *Callice*, by the mediation of the Dutchesse of *Burgoyne*, a Portugall Lady; Commissioners meet of both sides,

but

The Duke of
Orleanse after
25. years imprisonment is
ransomed.

A stratagem of
Sir Francis the
Aragonist.

Difference be-
tween the duke
of Gloucester, &
the Cardinall

The Duke of
Gloucesters wife
accused of sor-
cery, and her
penance.

King Henry
affineth the
Earl of Armi-
niack's daughter
but is by the
K. of France
crossed.

The Earl of
Suffolk pro-
pounds another
match for the
King.

but nothing concluded, only the Duke of *Orleanse* who had been prisoner to the English five and twenty years, is by the Dutchesse mediation ransomed with three hundred thousand Crowns of the Duke of *Burgoynes* money. The Lord *Willoughby* beleaged *Deepe*, which the Dauphin with sixteen thousand men cometh to raise; and there young *Talbot* is taken prisoner, with Sir *John Peto*, and Sir *John Repley*, but are shortly after redeemed by exchange. And now another working happened to the English party, the Earl of *St. Paul* forsakes them, and is reconciled to the King of *France*. The English lay hege to *Tartu*, for the raising whereof, the French King marcheth thither with 60000 men, relieveth the Town, and then marcheth to *Saverine*, which he taketh in, and in it, Sir *John Ramston*; after which, he took in *Argues*, but then the English cutting off all convoys of Victuals from coming to him, he is forced to returne; after whose departure, the English recover all that he had taken; and to boot, take his Lieutenant prisoner, slaying or hanging all his Souldiers. In this mean while the Lord *Talbot* taketh in *Conques*, and driveth the Battard of *Orleanse* from the siege of *Gagliarda*; but the French in the Castle of *Cornhill* detained many English prisoners; for redeeming of whom, Sir *Francis* the Aragonist used this stratagem; he apparelled half a dozen lusty fellows like Peasants, carrying baskets with corne and victuals, and sends them to the Castle, while he with his company lyes in ambush, in a Valley neer the Castle; the six unsuspected are admitted, and coming to the Captaines chamber, seize upon him, and withall give the sign to the ambush, who coming readily on, entred the Castle, put the Souldiers to the sword, set the prisoners at liberty, burnt down the Castle, and with the booty and Captain of the Castle, returned to *Roan*.

Whilest these alterations passed in *France*, a more unnaturall passed in *England*, the Uncle riseth against the Nephew, the Nephew against the Uncle; The Duke of *Gloucester* Articles against the Cardinall, charging him with affecting Preheminence, to the derogation of the Kings Prerogative, and contempt of his Lawes; which Articles are delivered to the King, and by him to his Councell, who being most of the Clergie, durst not meddle in them, for offending the Cardinall. On the other side, the Cardinall finding nothing whereof directly to accuse the Duke of *Gloucester* himself, accuseth his other selfe, the Lady *Eleanor Cobham* the Dukes wife, of Treason, for attempting by sorcery and witchcraft the death of the King, and advancement of her husband to the Crown: for which, though acquitted of the Treason, she is adjudged to open Penance, namely, to goe with a wax taper in her hand, hoodlesse (save a kerchiefe) through *Londons* divers dayes together, and after to remaine in perpetuall imprisonment in the Isle of *Man*. The crime objected against her, was procuring *Thomas Southwell*, *John Hunne* Priests, *Roger Bollingbrooke* a supposed Necromancer, and *Margery Jordan* called the Witch of *Eye* in *Suffolke* to devue a picture of Wax in proportion of the King, in such sort by sorcery, that as the picture consumed, so the Kings body should consume: for which they were all condemned; the witch was burnt in *Smithfield*; *Bollingbrooke* was hanged, constantly affirming upon his death, that neither the Dutchesse, nor any other from her, did ever require more of him, then only to know by his art, how long the King should live: *John Hunne* had his pardon; and *Southwell* dyed the night before he should have been executed.

About this time, the Countesse of *Cominges* being dead, the King of *France* and the Earl of *Arminiack* are Competitors for the inheritance; The Earl takes possession; but fearing the King of *France* his greatnesse, makes offer of his daughter in marriage to the King of *England*, with a large portion in money, and besides, to deliver full possession of all such Towns and Castles as were by him or his Ancestors detained in *Aquitaine*, and had been formerly by the Progenitors of the King of *England* conquered. The Ambassadors for this businesse, were by King *Henry* graciously heard and honourably returned: after whom were sent Sir *Edward Hall*, Sir *Robert Kosse* and others, to conclude all things, and the young Lady is by Proxy affianced to King *Henry*. But the King of *France* not liking the proceeding of the match, sendeth the Dauphin with a puissant Army, who took the Earl, with his youngest sonne, and both his daughters, and gained the Counties of *Arminiack*, *Louverne*, *Rovergne*, *Montfeneois*, with the Cities of *Severac* and *Cadeack*, chasing the Battard of *Arminiack* out of the Country; by meanes whereof, the marriage was then deferred, and left in suspense.

In this distraction of Christendome, many Princes, the Kings of *Spain*, *Denmarke* and *Hungary*, became Mediators for a Peace between the two Kings of *France* and *England*: Ambassadors of both sides are sent, many meetings were had, many motions made, but in conclusion, only a Truce for eighteen moneths is agreed upon. In the mean time, the Earl of *Suffolk* one of the Commissioners for the Peace, takes upon him beyond his Commission, and without acquainting his fellowes to treat of a marriage between the King of *England*, and a kinswoman of the King of *France* Niece to the French Queen, daughter to *Rayner* Duke of *Anjou*, stiling himself King of *Sicilie* and *Naples*: In which businesse he was so intentive; that it brought an aspersio upon him of being bribed: but howsoever, an Interview betwixt the two Kings is appointed, without any warrant of King *Henries* part, to be between *Charters* and *Roan*. The Commissioners returne; the Earl of *Suffolk* sets forth the beauty of the proposed Bride, and the great benefits that would redound to the kingdome by this match. The King was easil; induced to credit the Relation; but divers of the Kings Councell, especially the Duke of *Gloucester*, opposed it; partly for the meannesse of the match, her father being only a Titular Prince & withall but poor, unable to give any portion at all; & partly, for the wrong which should hereby be offered to the Duke of *Arminiack*'s daughter, to whom the King had been in solemne manner publickly affianced. But reasons could not

prevail

A prevail againſt favour; the Earl of *Suffolke* affirmation muſt not be undervalued. And hereupon, a new creation of Lords firſt made; (*John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, made Duke of *Somerſet*; *John Lord Talbot* made Earl of *Shrewsbury*; *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, made Duke of *Exceſter*; *Humphrey* Earl of *Stafford*, made Duke of *Buckingham*; *Henry Beauchampe* Earl of *Warwick* made Duke of *Warwick*; *Edmund Beaufort* Earl of *Dorſet*, made Marqueſſe *Dorſet*; and *William de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolke*, made Marqueſſe of *Suffolke*;) this new Marqueſſe honourably accompanied; is ſent into *France* to fetch the Lady *Margaret* the propoſed Bride; who ſhortly after is married at *Southwick* in *Hampſhire*, and Crowned Queen of *England* at *Weſtmiſters*, on the 30 day of *May*, 1444. in the three and twentieth year of King *Henries* Reign. And now in ſtead of bene-
 B her perſon, the Duchy of *Anjou*, the City of *Mauntz*, with the whole County of *Mayne* (the beſt props of the Duchy of *Normandy*) are agreed to be ſurrendered into the hands of the *French*; and then the Duke of *Arminiack*, to revenge the injury offered to his Daughter, is a means to expell the *Engliſh* out of all *Aquitaine*.

Dukes and
Earls created.

King Henry
proceeds in
the match
which the Earl
of *Suffolke*
propounded.

At this time, the Duke of *Somerſets* ſpleen againſt the Duke of *Torke*, not only is revived, but is grown ſtronger; for the Duke of *Torke*, who was now after the death of the Earl of *Warwick*, made the ſecond time Regent of *France*, is ſo undermined by him, through aſſiſtance of the new Marqueſſe of *Suffolke*, who bore now all the ſway with the King and Queen; that not only he ſupplanted him in his place, but planted himſelf in it, to the great heart-burning of the Duke of *Torke* and his friends; but he wiſely diſſembled his anger, and for the preſent paſſed it over.

The Duke of
Torke displaced
of his regency,
and the Duke
of *Somerſet*
placed in it.

C And now is no man in grace but the new Marqueſſe of *Suffolke*; all favours from the King and Queen muſt paſſe by him, and the extent of his power over-reacheth all the Councell: He gets of the King the wardſhip of the body and lands of the Counteſſe of *Warwick*, and of the Lady *Margaret*, ſole daughter and heir of *John Duke of Somerſet*, afterward Mother to King *Henry* the ſeventh. And now the Kings weakneſs in judgement growes every day more apparent then other, whileſt governed by no counſell but of his Queen; and ſhe by no counſell but her own will, and the new Marqueſſe of *Suffolke*: King *Henry* is himſelf the leaſt part of the King, and ſerves but to countenance the deviſes of others, whereof he little underſtands the drift; and which proving ill, the blame muſt needs be his; if well, the benefit and honour, others. For by inſtigat[i]on of the Queen, he ſuffers the Duke of *Gloceſter*, for his care of the Common-wealth called the good Duke,

King Henry
begins to ſhew
his weakneſſe
in judgement.

D to be excluded not only from Command, but from the Councell-Table; and permits informers, ſet on by the Marqueſſe of *Suffolke*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Cardinal Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Archbiſhop of *Torke*, to come againſt him; who lay to his charge, that he had cauſed divers perſons to be executed contrary to Law: wherein though he juſtified himſelf, yet no juſtification would be heard; but to avoid tumultuary part-taking, it was concluded, he ſhould be privately convicted and condemned: and to this end, a Parliament by the procurement of his enemies, unwitting to the King, is called at *Bury*; to which the Duke of *Gloceſter* reſorting, is on the ſecond day of the Seſſion, by the Lord *Beaumont* Lord High Conſtable (aberted by the Duke of *Buckingham*) arreſted, and put in Ward, all his followers ſequeſtered from him, whereof two and thirty are committed to ſeverall priſons, and the next day after his imprifonment, he is found in

The Duke of
Gloceſter ſecretly
murdered.

E his bed murdered; yet ſhewed the ſame day as though he had died of an Impoſtume; though all that ſaw his body, ſaw plainly that he died of a violent and unnaturall cauſe: ſome ſay, ſtrangled; ſome, that a hot ſpit was put up at his fundament; and ſome, that he was ſtified between two feather-beds. His Corps the ſame day was conveyed to *St. Albans*, and there buried. Five of his meniall ſervants, *Sir Roger Chamberlain* Knight, *Middleton* *Herbert*, *Artes*, *Esquires*, and *John Needham* Gentleman, were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and hanged they were at *Tiburn*, let down quick, ſtrip naked, marked with a knife to be quartered; but then the Marqueſſe of *Suffolke*, to make a ſhew as though he had no hand in the buſineſſe, brought their Pardon, and delivered it at the place of Execution, and ſo their lives were ſaved. It is no unmemorable thing which *Sir Thomas More* writes of the pregnancy of this Duke of *Gloceſter*: It

Five Gentle-
men hanged;
but were cut
down quick;
and lived.

The Duke of
Gloceſter pregnancy
in diſ-
covering an
Impoſitor.

F happened the King coming one time in progreſſe to *St. Albans*, a Begger born blinde, as he ſaid, at the ſhrine of *St. Alban* obtained his ſight: which miracle being noiſed in the Town, the Duke of *Gloceſter* being there with the King, deſired to ſee him, whom being brought unto him, he asked if he were born blinde: who told him, Yes truly; And can you now ſee? (ſaith the Earl) Yes I thank God and *St. Alban*, ſaith the Begger; then tell me ſaith the Earl what colour is my Gown? the Begger readily told him the colour; and what colour ſaith the Earl is ſuch a mans Gown? the Begger likewiſe told him preſently, and ſo of divers others. Then ſaith the Earl, Go you counterfeit knave; if you had been born blinde, and could never ſee till now, how come you ſo ſuddenly to know this difference of colours? and thereupon inſtead of an Alms, cauſed him to be ſet in the Stocks. But in the death of this Duke, the Queen, who had a ſpeciall hand in it, was either not ſo intelligent or not ſo provident as ſhe might have been; for as long as he had lived, his Primogeniture would have kept back the Duke of *Torke* claim to the Crown, being but deſcended from the fifth ſon of *Edward* the third, where this Duke *Humphrey* was deſcended from the fourth. And here were the firſt ſeeds ſown between the two Houſes of *Lancaster*, whoſe badge was the Red-roſe, and *Torke*, whoſe badge was the White-roſe. And now upon the death of this Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Duke of *Torke* began amongſt his Familiars privily to whiſper his right and title to the Crown; but ſo politickly carried his intent, that all things were provided to further his project, before his purpoſe was any whit diſcovered.

The Duke of
Torke begins to
whiſper his
Right to the
Crown.

And

The Bishop of
Winchesters
Prophane
speech at his
death.

The Marquesse
of Suffolk is
made Duke of
Suffolk.

Fraud answered
with fraud.

The French
King recovers
many towns:
through the
demurring of
the Duke of
Somerſet.

Sir Thomas Ky-
riell defeated;
with the losse
of near 400,
men.

All Normandy
recovered from
the Engliſh.

Accuſations
laid to the
Duke of Suf-
ſolk.

And in this time the rich Cardinall and Bishop of *Wincheſter* dyes, who lying on his Death bed, as Doctor *John Baker* his privy Countellour and his Chaplain writeth, uſed ſuch like words; Why ſhould I dye, ſaith he, having ſo much riches? If the whole Realm would ſave my life, I am able either by Policy to get it, or by money to buy it: Fie, will not death be hired? will money doe nothing? and other words to ſuch purpoſe. But he being dead, there ſucceeded in his Biſhoprick a more deſerving Prelate, *William Wauleſe*, called ſo of the place in *Lincolnſhire* where hee was born, though his name was *Patterne*, of the Worſhipfull Family whereof hee was deſcended. And now to the end the Marqueſſe of *Suffolk* might not come behinde them in digniry, whom he went before in power, he is about this time made Duke of *Suffolk*.

In *France* about this time a victory was gotten, which proved no better then an overthrow; Before the Truce was expired, Sir *Francis Surgen* an *Aragonois*, a man thought worthy to be admitted into the honorable Order of the Garter; taking advantage of the ſecurity of the *French* Garrisons, ſuddenly ſurprizeth a Frontier Town called *Fongiers*, belonging to the Duke of *Britain*; the Duke advertiſeth the *French* King thereof, who by his Ambaſſadors complains both to the King of *England*, and to the Duke of *Somerſet* then Regent in *France*: Answer was made it was the fault of the *Aragonois*, who did it without warrant from either the King, or the Councell; nevertheless Commiſſioners are appointed to meet at *Louviers*, to treat of ſome courſe for ſatisfaction; but in the time of the Treaty news is brought to the Regent, that the *French* by a ſtratagem of a Cartter that with a load of Hay coming over the Draw-bridge, cauſed the Axeltree to break, and whileſt the Porter was ready to help the Cartter, the porters brains were beaten out, the Town of *Ardes* ſurprized, and the Lord *Fawconbridge* Captain thereof was taken priſoner. Reſtitution being required by the Engliſh, anſwer is made them in their own language, it was done without warrant from either the *French* King, or any of his Councell: ſo it was but one for another; and from thence forward the Truce is broken of both ſides, and all things grow worſe and worſe. The *French* King by compoſition taketh *Louviers*, *Gerbury*, and *Vernoyl*, whileſt the *Regent* ſtands demurring what were beſt to be done; if he command, not obeyed, if he counſell, not followed, as it happens to men once blemiſhed in Reputation, to have an ill contriuction made of all their actions; by which means the *French* goe on without reſiſtance, get *Conſtance*, *Guiſard*, *Gatiard*, *St. Loe*, *Pefthampes*, and many other peeces in *Normandy*; upon notice whereof, *Mauleſſon* in *Guyen* ſurrenders to the Earl of *Fois*, and by their example the City of *Roan* it ſelf takes compoſition to ſurrender, where the E. of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Butler*, heir to the E. of *Ormond*, were kept pledges till it was performed. It is true, ſuccours were provided to be ſent out of *England*, under the Conduſt of the Duke of *York*; but a Rebellion happening in *Ireland*, which was thought of more importance to be ſpeedily ſuppreſſed, diverted him and his Forces thither, where not only he ſuppreſſed the Rebels, but ſo wonne the hearts of that people, that it was no ſmall furtherance to his proceedings afterward. A freſh ſupply indeed of fifteen hundred men, under the command of Sir *Thomas Kyriell* is ſent over; but what could a handfull of men doe againſt ſuch multitudes as oppoſed them? for he marching with the reſt of the Army towards *Beaugoux*, was encountered by the Earl of *Clermont*, with ſeven thouſand *French* and *Scots*; whom yet at firſt he made to recoil, till the Conſtable of *France* with four hundred men at Armes, and eight hundred Archers came to the reſcue; and then freſh men coming upon them that were already tyred, the Engliſh loſt three thouſand and above ſeven hundred; beſides divers that were taken priſoners. After this loſſe of men, follows preſently a loſſe of Towns; *Harſlew* is aſſaulted, and though valiantly for a while defended by Sir *Robert Curſon*, yet ſurrendred at laſt upon compoſition: Then the *French* King with an Army Royall beſiegeth *Caen* in *Normandy*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *York*, defended in his abſence by his Lieutenant Sir *David Hall*; but the Duke of *Somerſet* being Regent, in commiſeration of his Dutcheſſe being in the Town, notwithstanding the ſtout oppoſition of Sir *David Hall*, ſurrenders it upon compoſition to the *French*, whereof Sir *David* giving notice to the Duke of *York*, it bred ſuch a deadly quirell between the two Dukes, that they were never after thoroughly reconciled. And thus is all *Normandy* recovered from the Engliſh, after it had been in their poſſeſſion a hundred yeares; and finally, all *France* is reduced to the obedience of *Charles* the *French* King.

And now hereafter there will be little to do abroad, but there will be the more to do at home, and more blood will be ſhed in *England* by civill diſſenſions, then was ſhed before in all the Wars of *France*. This loſſe of *Normandy* and other parts in *Normandy*, is imputed much to the Duke of *Somerſet*, at that time Regent; but the Duke of *Suffolk* muſt bear a great part of the blame, partly for having been the cauſe of the ſurrender of *Anjou* and *Mayne*, and the chief procurer of the Duke of *Gloceſters* death, and partly for having wiſfully waſted the Kings treaſure, and beene a meanes to remove the ableſt men from the Councell Boord; of all which aſperſions the Queen takes notice, and knowing how far they trench upon the Dukes deſtruction, and her own; ſhee ſo wrought, that the Parliament aſſembled at the *Black-Friers*, is adjourned to *Leiceſter*, and from thence to *Weſtminſter*; but though all meanes were uſed to ſtop theſe accuſations againſt the Duke, yet the lower Houſe would not be taken off, but exhibired their Bill of grievances againſt him: That he had traiterouſly incited the *Battard of Orleans*, the Lord *Preſigny* and others to levy war againſt the King, to the end that thereby the King might be deſtroyed; and his ſon *John* who had married *Margaret* Daughter and ſole Heir of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, whoſe title to the Crown the ſaid Duke had often declared, in caſe King *Henry* ſhould dye without iſſue, might come to be King; That through his treachery the *French* King had gotten poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of

A of Normandy, and had taken prisoners the valiant Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Fawconbridge* and others: but to these accusations, he peremptorily affirmed himself not guilty, so much as in thought. Then were further allegations made against him, that being with others sent Ambassador into *France*, he had transcended his Commission, and without privity of his fellow Commissioners, had presumed to promise the surrender of *Anjou*, and the delivery of the County of *Maine* to Duke *Rayner*, which accordingly was performed, to the great dishonour of the King, and detriment of the Crown; That he had traiterously acquainted the *French* King with all the affairs of State, and passages of secrecy, by which the Enemy was throughly instructed in all the designs of the King and Councell: That he had received rewards from the *French* King, to divert and dis-appoint all succours sent to the Kings friends in *France*. Upon these and divers other accusations brought against him, to bleare the peoples eyes, he is committed to the Tower; but the Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but he was set at liberty; which so incensed the common people, that they made an Insurrection; and under the leading of a desperate fellow, styling himselfe *Blowbeard*, they committed many outrages; but by the diligence of the Gentlemen of the Country, the Captain was apprehended, and the Rebellion ceased. And now another Parliament is called, where great care is taken in chusing of Burgesses, presuming thereby to stop any further proceeding against the Duke of *Suffolk*; but his personall appearance at the Parliament gave such a generall distaste to the House, though he came in the company of the King and Queen, that they forbore not to begin the Assembly, with Petitioning the King, for punishment to be inflicted upon such as had plotted or consented to the resignation of *Anjou*, and *Maine*, whereof C by name they instanced in the Duke of *Suffolk*, *John* Bishop of *Salisbury*, Sir *James Fynes*, Lord *Say* and others. This Petition was seconded by the Lords of the upper House: whereupon, to give some satisfaction to the Houses, the Lord *Say* Lord Treasurer, is sequestred from his place, the Dukes Officers are all discharged, and himself formally banished for five years; but with an intent after the multitude had put out of mind their hatred against him, to have revoked him: but God did otherwise dispose of him, for when he was shipped in *Suffolk*, with intent to have passed over into *France*; he was met by an *English* man of War, taken and carryed to *Dover* sands, and there had his head chopt off, on the side of the long boat, which together with the body was left there on the sands, as a pledge of some satisfaction for the death of Duke *Humphrey*.

Upon which committed to the Tower is presently upon the dissolution of the Parliament released.

An insurrection made by *Blowbeard*, is pacified.

The Duke of *Suffolk* is questioned again in Parliament: is banished for five years; but taken at sea; hath his head chopt off.

Whil't these things are done in *England*, the Duke of *York* in *Ireland* began to make his way to D the Crown, as descended from *Philippa* Daughter and heir to *Lyonel* Duke of *Clarence*, elder brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, great Grandfather to the present King *Henry* the sixth. And for a beginning; it is privately whispered, that King *Henry* was of a weak capacity, and easily abused; the Queen of a malignant spirit, and bloudily ambitious; the Privy Councell, if wise enough, yet not honest enough, regarding more their private profit then the publick good; that through their delinquencies all *France* was lost, and that God would not blesse the usurped possession of King *Henry*: with these suggestions the *Kentishmen* seemed to be taken; which being observed by an instrument of the Duke of *York* called *Mortimer*, he takes his time, and tels the multitude, that if they will be ruled by him, he will put them in a course to work a generall Reformation, and free them for ever from those insupportable burthens of taxations, so often, upon every slight occasion E obruded upon them. These promises of Reformation and freedom from impositions, so wrought with the people, that they drew to a head; and make *Mortimer*, otherwise *Jack Cade*, their leader; who styling himself Captain *Mend-all*, marcheth with no great number, but those well ordered to *Blackheath*, were between *Eltham* and *Greenwich*, he lay by the space of a moneth exercising his men, and sending for whom he pleased, and for what he pleased: Then he presents to the Parliament the complaints of the Commons: That the Queens Favourites share amongst them the Revenues of the Crown, whereby the King is enforced for the supportation of his present estate, to tax and burthen the Commons, to their utter undoing, and to the general impoverishment of the Kingdome: That the Commons have their commodities daily taken from them for the purveyance of the Kings household, for which they are not paid, nor any assurance F for payment thereof given, but onely Court promises: That upon the apprehension of any man for Treason or Felony, the Kings meniall servants, before conviction, begge the goods and lands of the impeached; whereupon indirect and unlawfull proceedings are used by subornation of witnesses, embracery of Jurours, and great mens letters to the Judges; whereby Justice is perverted, and the innocent after attainted, if not executed, yet at least imprisoned to their undoing: That the Commons have no legall proceedings in their Law-suits, so as the rightfull owners of Inheritance, dare not, (if opposed by any Courtier) maintaine their Titles, or attempt the recovery of their interest, how just so ever: That the Kings Collectors and other Accountants are much troubled in passing their Accompts by new extorted Fees, and by being enforced to procure a late invented Writ of *Quorum Nomina* for allowance of the Barons of the Cinque G Ports, and their suing out their *Quicquid* at their own charge, without allowance from the King: That the Bayliffs of Sheriffs under colour of the green wax out of the *Exchequer*, doe levy greater sums then are by the Record justifiable, yet maintained: That they cannot have the freedom of electing Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament; but by letters from the Favourites of the Court, to their friends and Retainers the Knights and Burgesses are commonly chosen: That they are too much troubled with too often coming to attend the general Sessions, being enforced in many places to make five dayes journey to the place where they are kept. These and some other, were the complaints of the Commons; but the Captain for his own particular (after protestation made: to

The Duke of *York* begins to make his way to the Crown.

Jack Cade makes an Insurrection, and an Army to *Blackheath*. He presents the complaints of the Commons to the Parliament.

The Complaints are exploded by the Kings Privy Council.

The King raiseth an Army to suppress the Rebels.

The Rebels slay Sir Humphrey and Sir William Stafford

The King flieth to Killingworth Castle.

Jack Cade cometh to London.

He commandeth horses and Furniture to be sent him.

He cuts off the Lord Say's head in Cheap-side.

Also Sir James Cromer's head.

live and dye in the quarrell of the King) required that his Majesty would be pleased to receive A again into favour, the truly noble Prince the Duke of *Yorke*, and with him the Right Honourable the Dukes of *Exceter*, *Buckingham* and *Norfolke*, and the ancient Noblemen of the Realm; by the undue practises of *Suffolk*, and his complices, commanded from his presence, and that all their opposites might be banished the Court, and put from their Offices: That there might be a general amotion of corrupt officers, an abolition of the Green Wax, and other instruments of Extortion out of the *Exchequer*; a qualification of proceeding in the *Kings-Bench*; an inhibition of unequall purveyance of provision for the Kings Household, and a present execution of the Promoters, *Slegge*, *Cromer*, *Isell*, and *East*, whom he pretended by wrongfull information to have abused the King, and wronged his subjects. These Petitions are sent from the Lower-House to the Upper, and from thence committed to the Lords of the Kings Privy Council, who having B examined the particulars, explode them as frivolous, and the Authors thereof to be presumptuous Rebels. Whereupon the King is solicited by his Privy Council, to prosecute them by force rather then intreaty; which advise is seconded by the Queen, as conceiving they secretly aimed at her: and hereupon the King drawes his Forces to *Greenwich*, and appointeth divers Lords to assail the Rebels; but the Lords could get no followers to fight against them who sought only for reformation of abuses, and for punishment of such Traitors as the Lord *Say* the Kings Chamberlain was: whereupon the Lord *Say* is presently committed to the Tower, the King and Queen retire to *London*, from whence within two dayes, the King being now fifteen thousand strong, marcheth in person towards Captain *Mend-all*, who politickly withdraweth his Forces into *Sevenock Wood*; upon notice whereof the King retireth again to *London*, but the C Queen longing for dispatch, lends the two *Staffords*, Sir *Humphrey*, and *William*, with many horse-spurs of the Court, to follow the Rebels, who were soon cooled; for they found Captain *Mend-all* in good order ready to receive them, and in the first encounter, slew Sir *Humphrey*, and afterwards his brother, and put all the rest to flight; the Kings Forces being at *Black-beath*, could neither by threats nor intreaties be gotten to go to the rescue, but rather wished the Queen and her Favorites in the *Staffords* case, or that the Duke of *York* were in *England*, to aid his Cousen *Mortimer* (now first acknowledged to be of his kindred) and many of them stole away to the Rebels, whose number from *Sussex* and *Surrey* daily increased, whom yet their Captain restraineth from foraging or taking away any thing by force, and so returneth again to *Black-beath*, where the Kings Army lay the night before, but was now fallen down to *Greenwich*. And now the Archbishop of *Canterbury* D and the Duke of *Buckingham* are sent to expostulate with the Rebels about their demands; to whom *Jack Cade* gave very good language, but directly affirming no cessation from Arms, unless the King in Person would hear the grievances of the Subject, and passe his Princely word for reformation of their wrongs. This resolution of his made known to the King, who was not sure of his own Souldiers Faith, made him march presently away to *Killingworth Castle* in *Warwick-shire*, where he fortified himself as expecting a siege, having left the Lord *Scales* only to guard the Tower. *Jack Cade* taking advantage of the Kings departure, cometh to *Southwarke*, where he quarters his men, straitly charging them to commit no outrage, nor do wrong to any; which was duly observed. The next morning he marcheth to *London Bridge*, where he caused his men to cut the Ropes of the Draw-bridge, no resistance being made against him; and so in good order E marcheth up by *London-stone*, upon which he strook his sword, saying, Now is *Mortimer* Lord of *London*. The Maior of *London*, Sir *Thomas Chalton*, standing upon the threshold of his door, bade him take heed he attempted nothing against the quiet of the City: To whom he made answer, Let the world take notice of our honest intention by our actions. And indeed this orderly carriage of himself and his company, won him a good opinion amongst the common sort of people: And now assuming to himself the place of Chief, he sendeth out his Letters of safe conduct, to such whom he pleased to make use of; amongst other, he wrote this Letter to *Thomas Cock* Draper of *London*.

By this our writing ensealed, we grant, That *Thomas Cock* of *London* Draper, shall safely come into our presence, and avoid from us again at his pleasure, with all other persons coming F in his company. *Subscribed thus.*

His Majesties loyall Subject, *John Mortimer*, Captain *Mend-all*.

Upon *Cock*s admission, he had private conference with three other that came with him; to whom at their departure he gave these instructions in writing: *You shall charge all Lombards and Merchant-strangers, Genoefes, Venetians, Florentines, and others, this day to draw themselves together, and to ordain for us the Captains, twelve Harnesse compleas of the best fashion, four and twenty Brigandines, twelve Battell-axes, twelve Glaves, six Horses with saddle and bridle compleatly furnished, and a thousand Marks in ready money: and if they shall fail herein, we shall strike off the heads of as many as we can get.* But they failed not, but sent him what he had demanded: who thereupon the next morning, being the third of *July*, returns to *London*; and presently sends to the Lord *Scales*, G

to bring his Prisoner the Lord *Say* to the *Guild-hall*, whither he had called the Lord Maior with his brethren; before whom he caused the Lord *Say* to be arraigned, who craving to be tryed by his Peers, was forthwith taken from his Keeper, carried to the Standard in *Cheap*, and there had his head chopt off; which being pitched upon a Pike, was born before him to *Mile-end*, whither he went to have conference with the Rebels of *Essex*; and by the way meeting with Sir *James Cromer* High-sheriffe of *Kent*, who had lately married the Lord *Say*s daughter, he caused his head also to be stricken off, and carryed likewise before him in derision. The next morning he came again

A again to *London*; where, after publick execution done upon some of his fellowes, and particularly upon a petty Captaine of his, named *Paris*, that had done things contrary to his Proclamation; upon a displeasure taken against Alderman *Malpas*, he sent and seized upon all his wares and goods, and fined Alderman *Horn* in five hundred Marks; whereupon, the Citizens finding him to grow every day more insolent then other, they send to the Lord *Scales* for assistance, who sendeth *Matthew Gons* an old souldier to them, with some Forces and Furnitures out of the Tower; who presently make a stand at the Bridge, where *Cade* notwithstanding forceth his passage, and then began to set fire on houses, where many aged and impotent people miserably perished; Captain *Bough*, Alderman, *Sutton* and *Robert Hayson*, valiantly fighting, were slain; yet upon a fresh supply the *Londoners* recovered the Bridge again, and drove the Rebels beyond the Scoop in *Southwark*; at which time, both sides being weary agreed of a Truce, till the next day. After the Retreat *Cade* finding he had lost many of his best men, was driven, for supply, to set at liberty all the Prisoners in *Southwark*, aswell Felons as Debtors: when now his company entereth into consideration of their danger, and of the desperate services their Captain had brought them to, began to discover by their countenances their willingness to leave this course: whereof the Archbishop of *Canterbury* having notice, he with the Bishop of *Winchester* came from the Tower by water to *Southwark*, and there shewed the Kings Generall Pardon under the Great Seal of *England*; which was so welcome to the Rebels, that without taking leave of their Captain, they withdrew themselves that night to their several habitations. *Jack Cade* with some few followers bent his journey to *Quinborough Castle*, where being denied entrance, he disguised himselfe, and privily fled; but upon Proclamation, with promise of a thousand markes to any that should bring him dead or alive, he was afterward, by one *Alexander Eden* Gentleman, attached; and making resistance, in a Garden at *Hothfield* in *Sussex*, was there slain; his body was brought to *London*, beheaded and quartered, his head set upon *London*-bridge, his quarters dispersed in divers places in *Kent*. Upon the news whereof, the King sends Commissioners into *Kent*, to enquire of the abettors of this Rebellion: whither he followeth himself in person, and though five hundred were found guilty, yet eight onely were executed. Though *London* were the chief stage of this Rebellion, yet other Countreies were not free; especially *Wiltshire*, for the Rebels there, upon the nine and twentieth day of *June*, drew *William Askot* Bishop of *Salisbury*, from the High Altar, where he was saying Masse in *Edington Church*, to the top of the hill; and there in his Priestly robes most inhumanely murdered him.

Upon the Kings General Pardon, *Jack Cades* followers leave him.

Jack Cade fleeth, and is slain.

Upon this Insurrection in *England*, the King of *France* seizeth upon all the English Territories; and leaves the English nothing but *Callice*.

The Duke of *Tork* complaines against the Duke of *Somerset*.

He raiseth an Army And the King another.

The Duke requirith to have the Duke of *Somerset* to be tried by Parliament.

D This Insurrection was not unknown to the King of *France*, who taking advantage thereof seizeth upon all places which the *English* had in *France*, leaving them nothing but only *Callice*, and the Castles of *Hames* and *Guines*; and this was the issue of the Duke of *Somerset*s Regency in *France*: whereupon coming into *England*, at a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the sixth of *November*, in the nine and twentieth year of the Kings reign, he was put under Arrest; upon notice whereof, the Commons at *London* despoiled his house at *Blackfriars*, and ceased not, till Proclamation was made to inhibit them: for disobeying whereof, there was one man beheaded, at the Standard in *Cheap*.

E At this time, the Duke of *Tork* under pretence of coming to the Parliament, comes out of *Ireland*; and at *London* had private conference with *John Duke of Norfolk*, *Richard Earl of Salisbury*, the Earl of *Devonshire* and other his assured friends; where it was resolved, to keep the chief purpose, (the claim to the Crown) secret; and onely to make shew, that his endeavours were but to remove ill Counsellors from the King; of whom they instanced in the Duke of *Somerset* as chief; and hereof, the Duke sent divers letters to the King, complaining of the wrongs the Duke of *Somerset* had done him, but withall making protestation of his own loyalty. To which the King maketh answer, that he would take his complaints into consideration; but somewhat blames him for the death of the Bishop of *Chester*, by his meanes suspected to be slaughtered, and for dangerous speeches uttered by his servants, tending to Rebellion: concluding, that notwithstanding any thing said or done to the contrary, he took and esteemed him a faithfull subject, and a loving kinsman. But the Duke of *Tork*, not herewith satisfied, departeth into *Wales*, and there

F levieth men, making his colour for the good of the Common-wealth: and the removing of bad Counsellours. The King advertised hereof, presently raiseth an Army; and with the Duke of *Somerset* (now enlarged) marcheth towards *Wales*: while the Duke of *Tork* having notice which way the King came, by another way marcheth toward *London*; but being told, the *Londoners* would not admie him entrance; he passed the River *Thames* at *Knightbridge*, marched into *Kent*, and encamped at *Burnt-beath*. The King in his pursuit came to *Blackheath*, and there pitched his Tents, from whence he sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely*, the Lord *Rivers*, and *Richard Andrews* Keeper of the Privy Seal, to know the cause of this commotion, and to make offer of reconciliation, if the Dukes demands were not unreasonable. The Duke made Answer, that nothing was intended against the Kings person, his Crown or Dignity: All that was sought, was to remove

G ill Counsellors from about the King, but especially *Edmund Duke of Somerset*; whom if the King would be pleased to commit to ward, till his legall tryall might be had in Parliament, he would then not onely dismisle his Army, but come unto his presence as a loyal subject. Hereupon the Duke of *Somerset* is committed to prison: The Duke of *Tork* dismisseth his Army, and cometh in person to the King: in whose presence; (contrary to his expectation) he found the Duke of *Somerset*, which so moved him, that he could not hold, but presently charged him with Treason: which the Duke of *Somerset*, not only denyeth,

T but

The Duke of York and the Duke of Somerset accuse each other of Treason.

The Duke of York takes his Oath of allegiance to King Henry.

Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury after many victories is at last slain.

The Inscription upon his tomb.

A difference on Bartholomew's day, between the Maior of London, and the Prior of St. Johns.

but recriminates the Duke of York, to have conspired the Kings death, and the usurpation of the Crown: whereupon, the King removeth to London, the Duke of York as a Prisoner riding before him, and the Duke of Somerset at liberty, which was not a little marvelled at by many. And now the King calleth a Councell at Westminster, where the two Dukes are earnest in accusing each other; but while the Councell are debating of the matter, there comes a flash of lightning out of France, which diverted them; for the Earl of Kendall, and the L. Espar, came Embassadors from Burdeaux, offering their obedience to the Crown of England, if they might but be assured to be defended by it: but withall, at the same time there came a report, that Edward Earl of March, son and heir to the Duke of York, with a great power was marching towards London. Here was matre: for a double consultation, and for this latter, it was resolved on, that the Duke of York, should in the presence of the King and his Nobility, at the High Altar in Pauls, take his Oath of submission and Allegiance to King Henry: which he accordingly did, and then had liberty to depart to his Castle at Wigmore. And for the former, the Earl of Shrewsbury with about three thousand men was sent into Gascoign, who arriving in the Isle of Mardre, passed forth with his power, and took Fronsack and others pieces, but having received in the night instructions from Burdeaux of certain conspirators, he makes all the speed he can thither; and was entred the Town before the French had notice of his coming: so that many of them were slain by the Lord L' Espar in their beds. Shortly after there arrived, the Earl of Shrewsbury's son, Sir John Talbot, with the bastard of Somerset, and two and twenty hundred men, by whose means Burdeaux is well manned with English, in which time the Earl was not idle, but went from place to place, to receive the offered submission of all places where he came: and having taken Chatillon, he strongly fortified it, whereupon the French King raiseth an Army, and besiegeth Chatillon, to the rescue whereof, the Earl maketh all possible speed with eight hundred horse, appointing the Earl of Kendall, and the Lord L' Espar to follow with the Foot: In his way he surpriseth a Tower the French had taken, and put all within it to the sword; and meeting five hundred French men, that had been foraging, many of them he slew, and the rest he chased to their Camp. Upon whose approach the French left the siege, and retired to a place which they had formerly fortified; whither the Earl followeth them, and resolutely chargeth them so home, that he got the entry of the Campe: where being shot through the thigh with an Harquebuse, and his horse slain under him; his son desirous to relieve his Father, lost his own life, and therein was accompanied with his bastard brother Henry Talbot, Sir Edward Hall, and thirty other Gentlemen of name. The Lord Melins with threecore other were taken Prisoners, the rest fled to Burdeaux, but in the way a thousand of them were slain. And thus on the last day of July, in the year 1453. at Chatillon, the most valorous Earl of Shrewsbury, the first of that name, after four and twenty yeares service beyond the Seas, ended his life, and was buried at Roan in Normandy, with this inscription upon his Tombe: Here lyeth the right noble Knight John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, Wexford, Waterford, and Valence, Lord Talbot of Goodrich and Orchenfeld, Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdon of Aillon, Lord Cromwell of Winkfield, Lord Lovestoft of Worsoppe, Lord Furnivall of Sheffield, Knight of the Noble Orders of St. George, St. Michael, and the golden fleece, great Marshall to King Henry the sixth, of his Realm of France. The Earl of Kendall, the Lords Montferat, Rosaine and Danglelas entred the Castle of Chatillon, and made it good against the French the space of ten dayes; but then having no hope of succour, they delivered it, upon composition to have liberty to part to Burdeaux: and now the Gascoignes were as ready to open their gates to the French, as they were before to the English; by meanes whereof, in short time, the French recovered again all Gascoign except Burdeaux, and that also at length, upon condition that both garrisons and inhabitants with all their substance, might safely depart for England or Callice, and that the Lords L' Espar and Durant, with thirty others, upon pain of death should never after be found in the Territories of France.

At this time upon St. Bartholomew's day, an ancient custome being, that the Maior of London and the Sheriffs should be present in giving prizes to the best wrestlers; It happened that at the wrestling place neer More-fields, the Prior of S. Johns was there to see the sports, when a servant of his, not b looking the disgrace to be foyled before his Maker, against the custom of the place would have welled again, which the Maior denied, whereupon the Prior fetcht Bowmen from Clarkenwell, to resist the Maior, and some slaughter was committed; the Maiors Cap was shot through with an Arrow, he nevertheless would have had the sport goe on, but no wrestlers came, yet the Maior Sir John Norman told his brethren, he would stay a while, to make triall of the Citizens respect towards him: which he had no sooner said, but the Citizens with Banners displayed came in great number to him, and fetcht him home in great triumph. Upon the neck of this began the quarrell in Holborn, between the Gentlemen of the Inns of Chancery, and some Citizens, in appeasing whereof the Queens Atturney and three more were slain.

And now the Duke of York, by all means laboureth to stir up the hatred of the Commons against the Duke of Somerset, repeating often what dishonour England sustained by Somersets giving up the strong Towns of Normandy, and how he abused the Kings and Queens favour to his own gain, and the Commons grievance; then he addresseth himself to those of the Nobility that could not well brook his too much commanding over the Kings and Queens affection: amongst others hee fastneth upon the two Nevills, both Richards, the Father and the Son, the one Earl of Salisbury, the other of Warwick; with whom he deals so effectually, that an indissoluble knot of friendship is knit betwixt them; by whose assistance, (the King lying dangerously sick

A At *Claringdon*, the Duke of *Somerſet* is arreſted in the Queens great Chamber, and ſent to the Tower; and in a Parliament now convoked, appeached of Treafon, and many heynous crimes objected againſt him: whereupon the King, though weak, is brought to *London*, of purpoſe to diſſolve the Parliament, and that diſſolved, the Duke of *Somerſet* is preſently ſet at liberty again, and not only ſo, but is made Captain of *Callice* and *Guiſnes*, the onely remainder the Engliſh had in *France*. Upon this, the Duke of *Tork* and his party, with a great power, march towards *London*: againſt whom, the King attended with the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and his ſon, both named *Humphry*, Henry Earl of *Northumberland*, James Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Jasper Earl of *Pembrook*, and two thouſand men, marcheth forwards; at *S. Albans* both Armies meet: the Duke in the morning ſends a letter to the King, proteſting his fidelity and ſincerity, onely he

The Duke of *Somerſet* is ſent to the Tower.

But ſoon ſet at liberty: and made Captain of *Callice*.

The Duke of *Tork*'s Army and the Kings have a battell, where the Duke of *Somerſet*, and other Lords are ſlain.

B deſires the Duke of *Somerſet* may be delivered, to ſtand or fall by the Judgement of his Peers; and this he would have, or dye in the purſuit. The King for answer, commands him to diſband, and ſubmit to his mercy, and not expect, that he will deliver any in his Army, who have ſhewed their loves in ſtanding to him. Herewith the Duke acquaints his friends, who hereupon fall every one to his quarter: The Earl of *Warwick* fell upon the Lord *Clifford*'s quarter, where the Duke of *Somerſet* halting to the reſcue, was ſlain, and with him the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Humphry* Earl of *Stafford*, the Lord *Clifford*, and about five thouſand others, beſides many that were hurt; the King himſelf ſhot in the neck with an arrow; the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Scates*, in the faces; the Earl of *Dorſet* ſo hurt, that he was fain to be carried home in a Cart: The Kings Army had been increaſed after his coming forth, to eight thouſand; but now they are all diſperſed or ſlain; and the King unguarded, is left in a poor thatcht houſe; whither to be freed from the danger of arrows, he had withdrawn himſelf. The Duke of *Tork* having notice where the King was, goes with *Warwick* and *Salisbury*; who all three upon their knees preſent themſelves before him, making humble petition to him for pardon of what was paſt: and now, ſeeing the common enemy was ſlain, they had what they aimed at. To whom the King throughly affrighted, ſaid: Let there be no more killing then, and I will do what you will have me. This firſt battell of *S. Albans* was fought upon the three and twentieth day of *May*, in the three and thirtieth year of King *Henries* reign. The bodies of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford* were buryed in the Chappell there. And now the Duke of *Tork*, in the Kings name, commands a ſurceafe from further hoſtility: and in all reverent manner conveyeth the King

The King ſieth.

C to *London*; where they keep the feaſt of Pentecoſt together; at which time a Parliament is ſummoned to begin at *Weſtmiſter*, the ninth day of *July*; and therein it is enacted, that the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſhould be declared publickly a loyall ſubject, and that none ſhould miſreport or diſpurre the actions of the Duke of *Tork*, or of any in his company; and moreover the Duke of *Tork* is made Protector of the Kings perſon, and of the Realm; the Earl of *Salisbury* is made Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of *Warwick* Captain of *Callice*, wherein they all carried themſelves with unblameable demeanour.

The Duke of *Tork* is made Protector of the Kings perſon and of the Realm.

D In this mean time, the Queen not well pleaſed with theſe proceedings, ſeeks all meanes to incite the Lords of her party, and they as much ſeek to incite her to make oppoſition; ſhe puts the Duke of *Buckingham* in minde that theſe Traitours had ſlain his hopefull ſon at *S. Albans*; ſhe

The Queen oppoſeth it.

E rels the now Duke of *Somerſet*, that by them his dear Father loſt his life: And they againe put the Queen in minde of the unſufferable indignity done to her, in making her husband onely a King in name, ſetting a Tutor over him, as though he were a childe, whilſt the Duke of *Tork* and his complices manage all. Upon which incitation, all the enemies of the *Yorkſhire* Faction are aſſembled by the Queen at *Greenwich*; where it is debated of ſome courſe to be taken for reſtoring the King to his former liberty and Government: at length it is concluded, that the Duke of *Tork* ſhould be commanded to give over his place of Protectorſhip, for that the King was of years and diſcretion ſufficient to rule of himſelf without a Guardian, and the Earl of *Salisbury* to ſurrender his place of being Lord Chancellor, for that the great Seal was never delivered him, ſeeing that which was now uſed, was made ſince the Kings reſtraint, and therefore not ſufficient; to which

F conſequence of theſe, the King eaſie to be wrought upon, yeelds his conſent, and thereupon they are both diſcharged from their Offices, and ſummoned to appear at the Councell Table at *Greenwich*; but the Lords were wiſer then to put themſelves into their hands, and therefore make answer, that none had power to diſplace them, nor to command their appearance in any place, but in Parliament: and ſo they continued about *London*, placing and diſplacing whom they pleaſed, and by their triumvirat authority, took *John Holland* Earl of *Exceter* out of Sanctuary, and ſent him priſoner to *Ponſſet* Caſtle. Theſe proceedings gave occaſion to the licentious multitude to riſe commotions, and the Prentices of *London* upon a very ſlight occaſion, fall upon out-landiſh Merchants; riſe and rob their houſes; and the Maior aſſembling a company of ſubſtanciall Citizens to ſuppreſſe them, the Ring-leader of the diſorder flies to Sanctuary, Commiſſioners are ſent to enquire and puniſh the offence, but when the Maior and Commiſſioners were ſet, tidings came that the Commons were up in Arms; whereupon the Commiſſioners left the buſineſs to be proceeded in by the Maior, who ſo diſcreetly ordered the matter, that many of the offenders were puniſhed, ſome by death, others by fine, and all things were quieted and appeaſed.

The Prentices of *London* make a commotion.

G At this time the French having little to doe againſt the Engliſh in *France*, would needs be doing ſomething againſt them in *England*: They ſet out two Fleets, one under the conduct of *William* Lord *Pomyers*, the other of Sir *Peter Breſſy*; the Lord fell upon *Fulney* in the *West-Country*, the Knight upon *Sandwich* in *Kent*, where ſome hurt they did, but not of importance to countervail their Voyage.

The Queen in
loving manner
invites the
three Lords of
York, Salisbury,
and War-
wick to meet
her at Coventry.

The Lords
hearing of a
plot laid a-
gainst them,
shift away.

The King
seeks an ac-
commodation
betwixt him
and the three
Lords.

An accommo-
dation is agreed
upon.

But all dissem-
bled.

The Earl of
Salisbury go-
ing to acquaint
the King, is
set upon by the
L. Audley.

Who is slain;
and his Army
defeated.

And now the Queen finding the little respect the Londoners bore to her party or the Kings, A
perswades the King, as for his health and recreation, to make a Progresse into *Warwickshire*, which
he did, by the way hunting and hawking, and the Queen making show of minding nothing but
pastimes; and this she did, with a purpose the easier to entrap the three Lords of *York*, *Salisbury*,
and *Warwick*, to whom she writ most loving letters, earnestly inviting them to be at *Coventry* by
an houre appointed; which they, not doubting any fraud, intended to have done, but hearing
by the way of the mischief plotted against them, they caused their Retinue to goe on-ward the
way to the Court, as though themselves were coming after; but they provided otherwise for their
safety, the Duke of *York* with a Groom and a Page getting him to *Wigmore* Castle, the Earl of
Salisbury to his Castle of *Middleham* in the North, and the Earl of *Warwick* to Sea side, and so to
Callice; but before they parted, they agreed upon an Alphabet, by which they might have enter- B
course of letters, yet their intentions kept undiscovered.

The King unwitting of this mischief intended against the Duke of *York* and his friends, returneth
to *London*, where he calleth a Councell; and therein of his own accord desireth that some course
might be invented for a perfect reconcilement of all parties; promising upon his salvation (an
asseveration not usfull with him) so to entertain the Duke of *York* and his friends, that all dis-
contents should be removed, and a perfect amity on all parts established: to which end messen-
gers are dispatched to the Duke of *York*, and all other of his party, commanding them upon ur-
gent affairs of the Realm, and upon Royall promise of safe conduct, to repair to his Court at *Lon-
don*, at a day appointed. The Duke of *York* accordingly came, and with 400 men well apparell- C
led, lodged at his house called *Baynards* Castle; the Earl of *Salisbury* with 500 men, lodged like-
wise at his house called the *Herbour*; The Duke of *Excester* (lately released) and the Duke of *Som-
erset* with 800 men, were lodged within *Temple-Barre*; The Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord
Egremont, and the Lord *Clifford* with 1500 men were lodged in *Holborne*; The Earl of *Warwicke*
with 600 in red jackets with ragged staves embroydered behinde and before, were lodged at the
Gray Friers in *London*. Upon the seventeenth of *March* the King and the Queen came to *London*,
and were lodged at the Bishops Palace; the Maior having five hundred well appointed men in rea-
dinesse, rode with a competent number all day long round the City, for preservation of the Kings
Peace: The Lords lodging within the City, held their Councell at *Black Friers*; the other, at
the Chapterhouse at *Westminster*: Between both, the Reverend Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the
son of *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, with some other of the most able Prelates interceded so, D
that by their mediation it was at last concluded, that all wrongs and misdemeanours on every side
should be forgotten and forgiven, that each side should be friends to the other, and both be obe-
dient to the commands of the King. Besides this in generall, there were some particular Articles
to be performed by the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*, which afterward
was ratified under the great Seal of *England*, the 24 day of *March*, in the 36. year of the reign
of King *Henry* the sixth. Upon the publication whereof, a solemn Procession was made in *Pauls*
Church, at which the King was present with his Crown on his head; before him, hand in hand
went the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Duke of *Excester* and the Earl of *War-
wick*, and so one of the one, and another of the other part, till they were all Marshalled: behind the
King came the Queen, the Duke of *York* leading her by the hand, who in going made shew of E
favourable countenance towards him: Divine Service ended, they return to the Court, in all
outward appearance truly reconciled; but all was dissembled, as will presently appeare; for
presently upon this, an affray fell out between a servant of the Earl of *Warwick*, and a Courtier,
who in the encounter is dangerously wounded; the Earls man flieth; the Kings servants seeing
their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, watch the Earls coming from the Councell Table,
and assaile him; many are hurt, but the Earl getteth a Wherry, and so escapes to *London*; the
Queen incontinently commands the Earl to be committed to the Tower, but he foreseeing the
danger, posits to *Yorkshire*, where he acquaints the Duke of *York*, and his Father the Earl of *Sal-
isbury* of all the occurrents, with the palpable discovery of the Queens canker'd disposition, advi-
sing them to stand upon their Guard, and to provide against the approaching storm. Himself F
speeds to *Callice*, and being then Lord Admirall, takes with him all the Kings ships that were in
readinesse, and scouring the Seas, meets with five great Carricks, three of *Genova*, and two of
Spain; and after two dayes fight, takes two of them, with which he returned to *Callice*, where he
unloaded their freight, and found it worth ten thousand pounds in Staple commodities, besides
the Ships and Prisoners.

In the mean time the Earl of *Salisbury*, with about five thousand men marcheth through *Lanca-
shire*, to passe that way to the King, with a purpose to acquaint him with the affront offered
to his son, and the inveterate malice discovered in the Queen against him: The Queen with the
Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Somerset*, hearing of his coming, gave order to the Lord *Audley* to use
meanes to apprehend him, who thereupon levyeth ten thousand men in *Cheshire* and *Shropshire*, G
and with them about a mile from *Draynton*, in a plain called *Bloreheath* he attended the Earl, there
being but a small brook of no great depth between them. Early in the morning the Earl made a
seeming Retrait, which the Lord *Talbot* observing, presently causeth his Troops to passe the Ri-
ver, but before they could be reduced again into order, the Earl with his whole strength falls up-
on them, and with the slaughter of the Lord *Audley*, and most of them that had passed the River,
he discomfited the rest, and slew about 24 hundred of them. Sir *John* and Sir *Thomas Nevill* knights,
the Earls sons, were sorely wounded, who with Sir *Thomas Harrington* travelling into the
North

A North Country, were apprehended and sent as prisoners towards Chester, but upon a message from the Marchmen were presently released.

And now the Duke of York thinking fit no longer to conceal his designe, makes preparation to take the Field, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick do the like; and amongst others of approved valour, whom the Earl of Warwick had brought from Callice with him, were two principall noted men, John Blunt, and Andrew Trollop. Likewise the King, with the Dukes of Somerset, and Excester, draws his Forces to Worcester, from whence Richard Beauchampe Bishop of Salisbury, is sent to offer the Yorkists a full and generall pardon, if they would lay down Armes, and become loyall Subjects. Whereunto they answered, that there was no trust to the Kings pardons, as long as the Queen had a predominant power; but if they might have assurance of safety, they would ex-

B press their loyalty, and humbly render themselves at his service. Hereupon the King advanceth nearer, and approaching the Lords Army, caused Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would abandon the Duke of York, should be received to mercy, and have Pardon. Upon this, the night following, Andrew Trollop, with all the Callicians submit to the King, and by him are all the counsels of the Duke of York discovered; which so much discouraged him, that he with his young son, the Earl of Rutland, fled first into Wales, and then into Ireland: The Earls of March, Salisbury and Warwick got into Devonshire, where by the meanes of John Dynham Esquire (the same man that afterward by King Henry the seventh was made Lord Treasurer of England) they were shipt from Exmouth, to Gernsey, and so to Callice. All the common souldiers the King pardons, onely makes exemplary punishment of some few Captains, sends the Dutchesse of York, and

C her two younger children, to the Dutchesse of Buckingham her sister to be safely kept; and then having spoiled the Town and Castle of Ludlow, he dismiss his Army. And now a Parliament is called at Coventry, wherein the Duke of York, Edward Earl of March his son, Richard Earl of Salisbury, Richard Earl of Warwick, John Lord Clifford, and many other the confederates of the Duke of York, are convict of Treason, and all their lands and goods seized on to the Kings use. Henry Duke of Somerset by the Queens meanes is made Captain of Callice, whither coming to take possession, he was, by reason of Ordinance shot at him from Rice-banks, forced to retire; which the Queen hearing, was so incensed, that in great passion she gave order to make ready all the Kings ships lying at Sandwich, to give assistance to the Duke of Somerset, but the forementioned John Dynham, out of love to the Earl of March, boarded those ships in the harbour, and

D took the Lord Rivers designed Admirall for that service, and carried both him and the ships to Callice, from whence the Earl sayled to Ireland, to the Duke of York, who having conferred and concluded what course to take, he returned to Callice, the new admirall the Duke of Excester not daring to stop his course. Sir Simon Montford was appointed to guard the Cinque Ports, having divers ships under his command to barre the Earl of Warwick's entrance; but the Earl by his espials having perfect intelligence of all passages, fell suddenly upon Sir Simon before his ships were ready, took him prisoner, ransackt the town of Sandwich, and carried him prisoner and the ships to Callice: By the way he understood how much the Kentishmen desired his return and longed for his coming; whereupon he came the second time to Sandwich, to whom presently resorted the Lord Cobham and very many Gentlemen of the Country: so as now his army was five and twenty

E thousand strong; with which he marched towards London; against whom the Lord Scales was appointed to goe, and with some convenient Troops to allure London: but the Maior directly refused to admit him; whereupon he resorted to the Tower, from whence afterward he did the Londoners no small displeasure. The Earl of Warwick having notice, that his Father the Earl of Salisbury was upon march to meet him, passeth over his men; and without impeachment, joynd with him and his friends near Excester.

The King with the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham with a great army marcheth towards them, and neer to the Town of Northampton both Armies meet: The Earl of March with the advice of the Earl of Warwick prepares for the fight: The Queen (the King more intentive to devotion then fighting) did the like, the fight continued about two houres, wherein were slain on

F both sides above tenthousand men; but upon the fall of Humphrey Duke of Buckingham, the Kings side was discomfited, and John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas L. Egremont, John L. Beaumont and some other of account were slain: The Queen with the Duke of Somerset, taking with them the young Prince, fled to the Bishoprick of Durham: The King himself was taken, and as a Prisoner conveyed to London: where the Tower is yeilded to the Earl of Warwick: The Lord Scales in disguised apparell endeavouring to escape, is taken by the watermen, and by them beheaded, and his Corps carelesly left upon the sands. Thomas Thorpe one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in the habit of a Monk, his Crown shorn, purposing to flie to the Queen, is taken and committed Prisoner to the Tower, and after by the Commons beheaded at Highgate. The Duke

of York being advertised of this good successe, leaveth Ireland and posts to London, where in the

G Kings name he summoneth a Parliament, which being assembled, he in the presence of the Lords in the upper House, placeth himselfe in the Imperiall Seat, and with great boldnesse layes open his rightfull claim to the Crown of England, as being the Son and heir of Anne daughter and heir of Roger Mortimer Earl of March, son and heir of Philippa the sole daughter and heir of Lionel Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward the third, and elder brother of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, Father of the usurper Henry the fourth, Grandfather to King Henry the Fifth, who was Father to him that at this time untruly styleth himself King Henry the Sixth. And after relating the many miseries that had befallen the Realm since the time of this Usurpation, he concluded

The Duke of York take the field.
The King doth the like.

Andrew Trollop revolts from the Duke to the King.
Whereupon the Duke of York flies into Ireland.

The Duke of York in a Parliament is convict of treason: as likewise the other Lords.

John Dynham doth the Earl of March good service;

The Earl of Warwick is received of the Londoners.

The Armies of the Earle of March, and of the King meet at Northampton. The Kings Army is defeated; divers Lords slain, the Queen flieth; the King taken prisoner, and conveyed to London.

The Lord Scales flying away in disguise, is taken by Watermen and beheaded. The Duke of York comes out of Ireland: summons a Parliament: wherein he layes open his Title to the Crown.

It is concluded in Parliament, that King Henry should remain King during his life; and the Duke of York proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown.

Good Omens for the Earl of March.

The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter with an Army out of Scotland come marching into England.

The Duke of York meets them, and in a battell on Wakefield green is slain.

The Earl of Salisbury beheaded.

The Duke of York's Issue.

The Earl of March puts the Queens forces to flight.

Owen Tewkesbury beheaded.

that he would not expect nor desire possession of the Crown, except his descent were indisputable, and his title without exception. This being a business of importance, required deliberation. In conclusion, the Duke having before-hand prepared the Lords Spiritual, and few of the Nobility being present, that were not of his part, the Burgesses were easily persuaded: and it was generally resolved, and enacted accordingly, that King Henry during his life, should retain the name and honour of a King; that the Duke of York should be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown, and Protector of the Kings person, his lands and Dominions; and that if at any time, any of King Henry's friends, allies or favourites in his behalf should attempt the dissolving of this Act, that then the Duke should have present possession of the Crown. It is not unworthy the noting, that while the Earl of March was declaring his title in the upper House, it happened in the nether House, that a Crown which hung in the middle of the House, to garnish a Branch to set lights upon, without touch or winde, fell suddenly down: as likewise at the same time fell down the Crown which stood on the top of Dover Castle: a sign, as some thought, that the Crown of the Realm should be changed. As soon as the Parliament was dissolved; the Duke dispatcheth Letters into Scotland; requiring in the Kings name, the Queen, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and all other of the Nobility, that remained in that Kingdom, with all speed to repair to his presence in London: but they had other work in hand; for having gotten together of English and Scots to the number of eighteen thousand, they came marching into England; against whom went the Duke of York with his younger Son the Earl of Rutland, and the Earl of Salisbury, (leaving the King in the custody of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Warwick;) and approaching near the Queens Army, he was certified by the Scouts, that the enemy far exceeded his power, both in number and in all warlike preparation (he not having in his Army above five thousand men) and thereupon, the Earl of Salisbury advised him to retire, and to attend the coming of the Earl of March, who was gone into Wales to raise the March men; but the pride of his former victory made him deaf to all counsell of declining the battell; and so hastened on by his destiny, from Sandall Castle he marcheth on to Wakefield green; where the Lord Clifford on the one side, and the Earl of Wiltshire on the other were placed in Ambuscado; The Duke of York supposing that the Duke of Somerset who led the battell, had no more Forces then what were with him, undauntedly marcheth towards him: but being entred within their danger, the ambushes on both sides brake out upon him, and slew him with three thousand of his men, the rest fled; the Earl of Salisbury is taken prisoner, and harmlesse Rutland not above twelve years old, who came thither but to see fashions, is made a sacrifice for his Fathers transgression, who kneeling upon his knees, with tears begging life, is unmercifully stabbed to the heart by the Lord Clifford, in part of revenge (as he swore) of his Fathers death; and the Queen most unwomanly in cold blood, caused the Earl of Salisbury, and as many as were taken prisoners, to be beheaded at Pomfret Castle, and to have their heads placed on poles, about the Walls of York. Thus dyed Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who had taken to Wife Cicely daughter of Ralph Nevill, the first Earl of Westmerland, by whom he had Issue, eight sons, and four daughters; his eldest son Henry died young, his second son Edward was afterward King of England; his third son Edmund Earl of Rutland, was slain with his father; John, Thomas, and William dyed young, his seventh son George was after Duke of Clarence, his youngest son Richard, surnamed Crouchback, was after King of England. Anne E his eldest Daughter was married to Henry Holland Duke of Exeter, his second Daughter Elizabeth was married to John de la Poole Earl of Suffolk, his third Margaret to Charles Duke of Burgaigne, his fourth Ursula dyed young. This Duke being dead, had his head crowned with a paper Crown, together with many circumstances of disgracing him: but this act of spight was fully afterwards recompensed upon their heads that did it.

The Earl of March hearing of his Fathers death, laboured now so much the more earnestly, in that he laboured for himself; and parting from Shrewsbury whose Inhabitants were most firm unto him, he increased his Army to the number of three and twenty thousand, and presently took the field; and having advertisement that Jasper Earl of Pembroke, with the Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire followed after him with a great power of Welsh and Irish: he suddenly marcheth back again, and in a plain near Mortimers Crosse, on Candlemas day in the morning gave them battell, where with the slaughter of three thousand and eight hundred, he puts the Earls to flight. Owen Tewkesbury who had married Queen Katherine, Mother to King Henry the sixth, and divers Welsh Gentlemen were taken, and at Hereford beheaded. Before the battell, it is said, the Sun appeared to the Earl of March like three Suns; and suddenly it joyned altogether in one; for which cause, some imagine, that he gave the Sun in its full brightness, for his badge or Cognizance.

The Queen in the mean time encouraged by the death of the Duke of York, with a power of Northern men marcheth towards London: but when her Souldiers were once South of Trent, as if that River were the utmost limit of their good behaviour, they fell to forrage the Countrey in most barbarous manner: Approaching S. Albans, they were advertised that the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Warwick were ready to give them battell; whereupon the Queens Vaward halseth to passe through S. Albans; but being not suffered to passe, they encountered with their Enemies in the field called Barnard heath; who perceiving the main battell to stand still, and not to move; which was done by the treachery of Lovelace, who with the Kentish men had the leading of it: they soon made the Southern men to turn their backs and fly; upon whose flight the rest in doubt of each others well meaning, shifted away; and the Lords about the King perceiving the danger, withdrew themselves: Only the Lord Bourville coming in a complementall manner to the King, and

A and laying it grieved him to leave his Majesty, but that necessity for safeguard of his life enforced it; was importuned, and Sir *Thomas Kyrrell* a Knight of *Kent* likewise, by the King to stay; he passing his Royall word, that their stay should be no danger to them; upon which promise they stayed, but to their cost: for the Queen hearing that the Commons had beheaded Baron *Thorpe* at *High-gate*; she in revenge thereof, caused both their heads to be stricken off at *St. Albans*: so as there were slaughtered at this battail the full number of three and twenty hundred, but no man of name, but only Sir *John Gray*, who the same day was made Knight, with twelve other at the Village of *Colney*.

And now the King was advised, to send one *Thomas Hoc*, (that had been a Barrister) to the Victors, to tell them; that he would gladly come to them if with convenience it might be done: B whereupon the Earl of *Northumberland*, appointed divers Lords to attend him to the Lord *Cliffords* Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met to their great joy: but it was now observed, as it were in the destiny of King *Henry*; that although he were a most Pious man, yet no enterprise of war did ever prosper, where he was present; that we may know the prosperity of the world to be no inseparable companion to men of Piety. At the Queens request, the King honoured with Knighthood thirty Gentlemen, who the day before had fought against the part where he was: the Prince likewise was by him dubbed Knight, and then they went to the Abby, where they were received with Anthems, and withall an humble Petition to be protected from the outrage of the loose souldiers, which was promised, and Proclamation made to that purpose, but to small purpose; for the Northern men said, It was their bargain to have all the spoil in every place, C after they had passed *Trent*: and so they robbed and spoiled whatsoever they could come at. The *Londoners* hearing of this disorder, seeing there was no more assurance in the Kings promise, to keep the Northern men out of their Gates; insomuch that when they were sent to, to send over to the Camp certain Cart-loads of Lenten provision; which the Maior accordingly provided: the Commons rose about *Cripplegate*, and by strong hand kept the Carts from going out of the City. Hereupon, the Maior sends the Recorder to the Kings Councell, and withall intreats the Dutchesse of *Bedford*, and the Lady *Scales* to intercede for him to the Queen; and to excuse his not using force, considering how dangerous it might be in these doubtful times, to stirre their fury, that would not easily be allayed. It was well advised to send women to intreat a woman, for by this means they prevailed, that some of the Lords of the Councell, with a guard of D four hundred good souldiers were appointed to go for *London*, to enquire and certifie of these things: when suddenly news was brought, that the Earl of *March* with a great Army was marching towards them: for the Earl of *Warwick* having gathered together his scattered troops, and joyned with the Earl of *March*, they hasted towards *London*, and were joyfully received upon the eight and twentieth day of *February*; and upon Sunday the second of *March*, the Earl of *Warwick* mustred all his Army in *St. John's* field, and having cast them into a ring, read unto them the agreement of the last Parliament, and then demanded, whether they would have King *Henry* to reign still? who all cryed No, no: then he asked them, whether they would have the Earl of *March* eldest son of the Duke of *York* (by that Parliament proclaimed King) to reign over them? who with a great clamor cryed, Yea, yea: Then went there certain Captains, and others E of the City, to the Earl of *March* at *Baynards* Castle, to acquaint him with what was passed; who at first seemed to excuse himself, as unable to execute so great a charge: but animated by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London* and *Exceter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, he at last consented to take it upon him; and thereupon, the next morning he went in Procession to *Pauls*, and offered there, and after *Te Deum* sung, he was in great state conveyed to *Westminster*, and there in the great Hall, seated in the Kings seat, with the Scepter of *St. Edward* in his hand; and then again the people, of whom there was a great concourse, were aloud demanded, if they would acknowledge him to be their King? to which with great willingnesse they all cryed, Yea, yea. Then taking Homage of divers Noblemen there present, he was with Procession and great solemnity conveyed to the Abbey, and placed in the Quire as King, whilst *Te Deum* was singing: That done, he offered at *St. Edwards* Shrine, and then returned by water to *Pauls*, and was lodged in the Bishops Palace; and upon the fourth of *March* he was generally Proclaimed F King, by the name of *Edward* the Fourth. And here in the course of all Writers, ends the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth; that it may be truly said, never any came to be King so soon after his birth, nor left to be King so long before his death; for he came to be King at eight moneths old, and he left to be King, living twelve years after. There was indeed in that space of time, a certain Vicissitude, sometimes a King, and sometimes no King; the passages whereof must be related in the following Kings Reign.

No enterprise of warre ever prospered where K *Henry* was present.

The *Londoners* keep provision from going to the King.

The Earl of *March* is elected King.

Is proclaimed King.

Of his Taxations.

IN the first year of his Reign, a Parliament was holden at *London*, where the Queen Mother with the young King in her lap came and sat amongst the Lords; and there was then granted a Subsidy of five Nobles upon every sack of Wooll that should passe out of the Land, for three years, but if carried out by Merchant strangers, then to pay three and forty shillings for every sack. In the third year of his Reign, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, wherein was granted a Subsidy of twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandize coming in, or passing out of the Realm, and three shillings of a Ton of Wine, for the term of three years. In his sixth year, in a Parliament at *Westminster* was granted a Subsidy, of every Ton of Wine three shillings, and of other Merchandize, except Wooll, Fell, and Cloth, twelve pence in the pound: Also of every Parish through the Realm (except Cities, and Boroughs) the Benefice being in value ten Marks; Ten of that Parish should pay six shillings eight pence; and of every Benefice of the value of ten pounds, ten Parishioners should pay thirteen shillings four pence, and so rateably of every Benefice, from the lowest to the highest. And for the Inhabitants of Cities and Boroughs, every man being worth twenty shillings above his household-stuffe, and the apparell of him and his wife, should pay four pence, and so after that rate to the richest.

Of Lawes and Ordinances in his time.

The Art of
Printing first
found.

When Corn
might be carri-
ed beyond Sea.

IN the 32. year of this King, the Lord Maior of *London* first began to go by water to *Westminster* to take his Oath, where before they used to go by land. Also in this Kings Reign the Art of Printing was first found at *Mogunce in Germany*, by a Knight called *John Cusenberghe*, and brought into *England* by *William Caxton* of *London* Mercer, who first practised the same in the Abby at *Westminster*, in the year 1471. In the 23 year of his Reign, in a Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, that when Wheat was sold for six shillings eight pence the quarter, Rye for four shillings, and Barley for three shillings; it should be lawfull for any man to carry the said kinds of Corn, into the parts beyond the Sea without license, so it were not to the Kings enemies or Rebels; which Act was afterward confirmed by King *Edward* the Fourth.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

The Emperor
smothered to
death in a
preas of peo-
ple.
Constantinople
won by the
Turke.
The Bishop of
Chichesters he-
refies, for
which deprived

Kings Colledge
in Cambridge
and Eaton Col-
ledge founded.
Queens Col-
ledge in Cam-
bridge founded;
All-Soules Col-
ledge and
Bernards Col-
ledge in Oxford
founded.
The Divinity
School in Ox-
ford built.
Pauls Crosse
built.
Magdalens
Colledge in
Oxford found-
ed.

A Great Schisme was in the Church in this Kings time by reason of Anti-Popes; for remedy whereof, a Councell is called at *Constance*, to which the Emperours of *Constantinople* and *Trabizond*, send their Ambassadors. In this Councell *John* the three and twentieth is convented, condemned, deposed, and imprisoned. *Gregory* the twelfth, and *Benedict* the thirteenth are deprived, and *Orto Colonna*, by the name of *Martin* the fifth, is chosen Pope. During these confusions in the Western Church, the Christians in the Eastern Church are utterly ruined: The Emperour smothered to death in a preas of people, and the great City of *Constantinople* won by the *Turke*, made ever since the seat of his Empire. In the six and thirtieth year of this King, *Reynold Peacock*, Bishop of *Chichester*, who had laboured many years in translating the holy Scripture into *English*, was accused and convicted, for holding and publishing certain opinions at that time held Hereticall, which at last openly at *Pauls Crosse* he revoked; that he had held there was no necessity to believe that Christ descended into Hell; also no necessity to believe in the Communion of Saints, or that the universall Church cannot erre in matters of Faith, or that it is necessary to believe and hold whatsoever a Generall Councell shall determine: Also that he had held, that spirituall persons ought to have no Temporall Possessions, and that personall Tythes were not due by Gods Law: These Points he openly renounced, but was notwithstanding deprived of his Bishoprick; only a certain Pension was assigned him to live on in an Abby, where soon after he dyed.

Works of Piety done by him, or others in his time.

THE King himself founded two famous Colledges, the one in *Cambridge*, to our Lady and St. *Nicholas*, called the Colledge Royall, or the Kings Colledge; the other of *Eaton* besides *Windsor*, called of our blessed Lady; to the maintenance whereof, he gave 3400 pounds by year. In the 28 year of his Reign, his Queen *Margaret* began the Foundation of *Queens Colledge* in *Cambridge*. In the time of his Reign also, *Henry Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury* founded two Colledges in *Oxford*; one called *All-Soules* Colledge, the other *Bernard* Colledge. In his time also, *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester* (but others say, *Thomas Kempe* Archbishop of *Canterbury*) built the Divinity Schoole in *Oxford*; also the said Archbishop built *Pauls Crosse* in form as now it standeth; and *William Waynflet* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellor of *England* founded *Mary Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*. In his seventeenth year, *Ralph* Lord *Cromwell*, builded the

At the Colledge of *Tatball* in *Lincolnshire*. Also this year, *William Eastfield* Maior of *London*, caused to be builded at his own charge the Water-Conduit in *Fleet-street*. In his ninth year, *John Wells* Maior of *London*, caused the Conduit commonly called the Standard in *Cheape*, to be builded. In his first year, the West Gate of *London*, sometime called Chamberlain Gate, and now *Newgate*, was begun to be new builded by the Executors of Sir *Richard Whittington* Lord Maior of *London*. In his fifth year, *John Reynwell* Maior of *London*, gave certain lands to the City of *London*, for which the City is bound to pay for ever, all Fifteens that shall be granted to the King, (so as it passe not three Fifteens in one year) for three Wards in *London*; namely, *Dowgate-Ward*, *Billinggate-Ward*, and *Algate*. Also this year, the Tower at the Drawbridge of *London* was begun by the same Maior. In his four and twentieth year, *Simon Eyre* Lord Maior of *London* builded the *Leaden Hall* in *London*, to be a Storehouse for Graine and Fewell for the poor of the City, and a fair Chappell at the East end of the same, leaving in stock a thousand pounds, which afterward King *Edward* the Fourth borrowed and never paid it again. Also in this Kings time, *William de la Poole* Duke of *Suffolke*, and *Alice* his Wife, Daughter to *Thomas Chawcer*, Son of *Geoffry Chawcer* the famous Poet; translated and encreased the Mannour place of *Ewelme* in *Oxfordshire*, and builded new the Parish Church of *Ewelme*, and an Hospitall or Almshouse for two Priests, and thirteen poor men, to which he gave three Manours, *Ramruge* in *Hampshire*, *Conocke* in *Wiltshire*, and *Mersh* in *Buckinghamshire*: They also founded the Hospitall of *Dorington* Cattle.

The Standard in *Cheapside* builded.
Newgate new builded.

Leaden-Hall in *London* builded, and to what use,

C Casualties happening in his time.

IN his Fifth year was so unseasonable weather, that it rained almost continually, from *Easter* to *Michaelmas*. In his seventh year, the eight of *November*, the Duke of *Norfolk* was like to have been drowned passing through *London-Bridge*, his Barge being set upon the piles, overwhelmed so, that thirty persons were drowned, and the Duke with others that escaped, were fain to be drawn up with ropes. In his 17 year, was so great a dearth of Come that people were glad to make them bread of Ferne roots. In his 18 year, all the Lyons in the Tower died: Also in this year, the 18 day of *July*, the *Pottern-Gates* of *London* by *East-Smithfield* against the Tower of *London* sanke by night more then seven foot in the earth. In his two and twentieth year, on *Newyears* day, neer unto *Bedford*, a very deep water, which ran betwixt the Towns of *Swellstone* and *Harlswood*, stood suddenly still, and divided it self, so that by the space of three miles the bottome remained dry: which wonder, many thought to signifie the division of the People, and falling away from the King, which happened shortly after. In the three and thirtieth year of his Reign, besides a great Blazing Starre, there happened a strange sight, a monstrous Cock came out of the Sea, and in the presence of a multitude of people at *Portland*, made a hideous crowing three times, each time turning about clapping his wings, and beckning towards the North, the South, and the West; as also many prodigious births. In his six and thirtieth year, in a little Town in *Bedfordshire*, it rained bloud, whereof the red drops appeared in sheets hung out to dry.

All the Lyons in the Tower die.

A deep river suddenly grows dry.

A prodigious Cock.

Rain of bloud.

Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married *Margaret* Daughter of *Rayner* Duke of *Anjou*, and Titular King of *Jerusalem*, *Sicilie*, and *Arragon*; by whom he had small Portion, and little strength of Alliance; yet might have been a good match, if they could have changed conditions with one another, that he might have had her active and stirring spirit, and she his soft and milde disposition; She was his Wife six and twenty yeares, and after her husbands depulsion from the Regall Throne, his Forces being vanquished at the Battell of *Tewksbury*, in a poor Religious house where she had fled for safety of her life, was taken Prisoner and carried captive to *London*, where she remained in durance, till Duke *Rayner* her Father purchased her liberty, unto whom she returned, and lastly died in her native Country. By her, King *Henry* had issue onely one Son named *Edward*, who when the day was lost at *Tewksbury*, sought to escape by flight, but being taken, was brought into the presence of King *Edward*; whose resolute answers provoked King *Edward* so much, that he dashed him on the mouth with his Gantlet, and then *Richard* the Crouchback ran him into the heart with his Dagger; his body was buried amongst the poor persons there slain, in the Monastick Church of the *Black-Friers* in *Tewksbury*.

Of his Death and Barial.

UPON Kings *Edward*s recovering the Crown, he was committed to the Tower; where the 21 of *May*, in the year 1472, he was murdered by the bloody hand of *Richard* Duke of *Gloster*; the day after he was brought to *Pauls* Church in an open Coffin bare-faced, where he bled; thence carried to the *Black-Friers*, where he also bled; from thence in a Boat to *Ghersey* Abby, without Priest or Clerk torch or taper, saying or singing, and there buried; but afterward at the appointment of King *Edward*, was removed to *Windsor*, and there interred, and a fair Monument made over him.

of

Of his Personage and Conditions.

The vertues of
King Henry.

The Canoniza-
tion of a
King more
costly then of a
private person.

He was well tall of stature, spare and slender of body, of a comely countenance, and all parts well proportioned. For endowments of his minde, he had vertues enough to make him a Saint, but not to make him a God; as Kings are said to be gods; for of that commanding power there being two parts, *Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos*; he wanted the latter. He was not sensible of that which the world calls Honour, accounting the greatest honour to consist in humility; His greatest imperfection was, that he had in him too much of the Logge, and too little of the Storke; for he would not move, but as he was moved, and had rather be devoured, then he would devour. He was not so stupid, nor to know prosperity from adversity; but he was so devout, to think nothing adversity, which was not a hindrance to Devotion: He was fitter for a Priest then a King, and for a sacrifice then a Priest; and he could not chuse but die a Martyr, who all his life had been a Confessor. He had one immunity peculiar to himself, that no man could ever be revenged of him, seeing he never offered any man injury. By being innocent as a Dove, he kept his Crown upon his head so long; but if he had been wise as a Serpent, he might have kept it on longer. But all this is not sufficient, if we express not in particular his severall vertues: So modest, that when in a Christmas, a shew of women was presented before him with their breasts laid out, he presently departed; saying, Fie, fie for shame, forsooth you be to blame. So pitifull, that when he saw the quarter of a Traytor over Cripplegate, he caused it to be taken down; saying, I will not have any Christian so cruelly handled for my sake. So free from swearing, that he never used other oath but forsooth, and verily: So patient, that to one who strooke him when he was taken prisoner; he only said, Forsooth you wrong your selfe more then me, to strike the Lords appointed: So devout, that on principall Holy-days he used to wear sackcloth next his skinne: Once for all, let his Confessor be heard speak, who in ten years confession never found that he had done or said any thing, for which he might justly be enjoyned Penance. For which causes, King Henry the Seventh would have procured him to be Canonized for a Saint, but that he was prevented by death, or perhaps because the charge would have been too great, the Canonization of a King being much more costly then of a private person.

Of Men of Note in his time.

The valour of
the Duke of
Bedford.

The valour of
The Montacute
Earl of Salisbury.

The valour of
John L. Talbot.
The valour of
Richard Nevill
Earl of Warwick.

Humphrey Duke
of Gloucester, a
wise astro-
ger.

There were men of valour in this Kings Reign, of extraordinary eminency; as first, John Duke of Bedford Regent of France, who when a French Lord upbraided, that his sword was of lead; he made his answer, and made him feeble that it was of Steele. Next him was Thomas Montacute Earl of Salisbury, whose very name was a sufficient charme to daunt a whole French Army. Then the next was John Lord Talbot, so great a terror to the French, that when the women would still their children from crying, they would use to say, Talbot comes. Then was Richard Nevill Earl of Warwick, so much greater then a King, as that which makes, is greater then that it makes; and such a one was he. Many other besides these, not much inferior to these; that we may truly say, there never was a more heroicall King of England then Henry the fifth: nor ever a King of England that had more heroicall Subjects, then Henry the sixth. And though Armes and Letters seem to be of different conditions, yet they commonly grow up and flourish together; as in this Kings Reign, were John Leland surnamed the Elder, who wrote divers Treatises for instruction of Grammarians: William White a Priest of Kent, professing the Doctrine of Wickliffe, for which he suffered Martyrdom by fire: Alexander Carpenter, who wrote a book called *Destruorium vitiorum*, against the Prelates of that time: Peter Bassett Esquire of the Privy Chamber to King Henry the fifth, whose life he wrote: John Pole a Priest, who wrote the life of St. Waltherayle an English woman: Also, Thomas Walden, alias Netter, who wrote divers Treatises against the Wickliffites: Peter Clerk a Student in Oxford, and a defender of Wickliffe's doctrine; for which he fled: and was put to death beyond sea: Thomas Walsingham born in Norfolk, a diligent Historiographer: Thomas Rinefred the younger, an excellent Preacher, who wrote divers Treatises: Thomas Rudborne a Monke of Winchester, and an Historiographer: Peter Payne an earnest professor of Wickliffe's doctrine, for which he fled into Bohemia: Nicholas Upton a Civilian, who wrote of Heraldry, of colours in Armory, and of the duty of Chivalry: John Capgrave born in Kent, an Augustine Frier, who wrote many excellent Treatises, particularly the *Legend of English Saints*: Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the Realm, well learned in Astrologie, whereof he wrote a speciall Treatise intituled *Tabula Directionum*: John Wethamstead, otherwise called *Fruementarius*, Abbot of St. Albans, who wrote divers Treatises; and amongst others, a book of the Records of things happening while he was Abbot, which book Holingshead had seen, and in some passages of his time followed: Roger Ouley accused of Treason, for practising with the Lady Eleanor Cobham by sorcery to make the King away; and thereof condemned, and died for it: he wrote one Treatise intituled *Contra vulgi Superstitiones*; and another, *De sua Innocentia*: Henry Walsingham a Carmelite Frier of Norwich, who wrote sundry Treatises in Divinity: John Ladgate a Monke of Bury, who had travelled France and Italy to learn languages, and wrote many workes in Poetry: Thomas Beckington Bishop of Bath, who wrote against the Law Salique of France: Michael Trigury

A Tricurse born in Cornwall, whom for his excellent learning, King Henry the fifth made Governor of the University of Caen in Normandy, after he had conquered it: Reynold Peacocke Bishop of Chichester, who wrote many Treatises touching Christian Religion: Robert Fleming, who wrote a Dictionary in Greeke and Latine, and a work in Verse of sundry kinds. Richard Flemming, Bishop of Lincoln, who wrote divers books, one of the Etymologie of England. Nicholas Montacute an Historiographer: John Stow a Monk of Norwich, and Doctor of Divinity in Oxford: Nicholas Bungey, born in a Town of Norfolk, of that name, who wrote an History called *Adunationes Chronorum*: Robert Balsacke, who wrote a book *De Re militari*: Thomas Dando a Carmelite Friar of Marlborough, who wrote the life of Alfred King of the West-Saxons: Robert Bale surnamed the Elder, Recorder of London, who gathered a Chronicle of the Customs, Laws, Foundations, Changes, Offices, Orders, and publique Assemblies of the City of London, with other matters touching the perfect description of the same City; he wrote other works also touching the state of the same City, and the Acts of King Edward the Third.

Maiores and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,
Sir William Walderne was Maior.
William Eastfield, Robert Tatarsal, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
William Cromar was Maior.
Nicholas James, Thomas Wasford, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
John Michell was Maior.
Simon Seman, John Bywater, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
John Coventrie was Maior.
William Milred, John Brokle, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir John Rainewell was Maior.
John Arnall, John Higham, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir John Gedney was Maior.
Henry Frowick, Robert Oseley, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir Henry Barton was Maior.
Thomas Duffhouse, John Abbot, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir William Eastfield was Maior.
William Ruffe, Ralph Holland, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Nicholas Wotton was Maior.
Walter Chertsey, Robert Large, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir John de Welles was Maior.
John Aderley, Stephen Browne, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir John Parveis was Maior.
John Olney, John Paddesley, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir John Brokle was Maior.
Thomas Chalton, John King, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir Roger Oseley was Maior.
Thomas Barnwell, Simon Eyre, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir Henry Frowicke was Maior.
Thomas Catworth, Robert Clopton, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Sir John Michell was Maior.
Thomas Morsted, William Gregorie, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Sir William Eastfield was Maior.
William Hales, William Chapman, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Sir Stephen Brown was Maior.
Hugh Dyker, Nicholas Tome, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Robert Large was Maior.
Philip Malpas, Robert Marshall, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir John Paddesley was Maior.
John Sutton, William Welinhale, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Robert Clopton was Maior.
William Combis, Richard Rich, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,
John Aderley was Maior.
Thomas Beaumont, Richard Nordon, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,
Thomas Catworth was Maior,
Nicholas Wyford, John Norman, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year,
Sir Henry Frowicke was Maior.
Stephen Foster, Hugh Wisch, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth year,
Sir Simon Eyre was Maior.
John Darby, Godfrey Fielding, Sheriffs.

In his five and twentieth year,
John Olney was Maior.
Robert Horne, Godfrey Bullem, Sheriffs.

In his six and twentieth year,
Sir John Gedney was Maior.
William Abraham, Thomas Scot, Sheriffs.

In his seven and twentieth year,
Sir *Stephen Browne*, was Maior.
William Cotlow, William Marrow, Sheriffs.

In his eight and twentieth year,
Sir *Thomas Chalton*, was Maior.
William Hulsu, Thomas Canning, Sheriffs.

In his nine and twentieth year,
Nicolas Wilford, was Maior.
John Middleton, William Deare, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
Sir *William Gregory*, was Maior.
Matthew Philip, Christopher Wharton, Sheriffs.

In his one and thirtieth year,
Sir *Geoffry Fielding*, was Maior.
Richard Lee, Richard Alley, Sheriffs.

In his two and thirtieth year,
Sir *John Norman*, was Maior.
John Walden, Thomas Cooke, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year,
Sir *Stephen Foster*, was Maior.
John Field, William Taylor, Sheriffs.

In his four and thirtieth year,
Sir *William Marrow*, was Maior.
John Tong, Thomas Oldgrave, Sheriffs.

In his five and thirtieth year,
Sir *Thomas Canning*, was Maior.
John Styward, Ralph Verney, Sheriffs.

In his six and thirtieth year,
Sir *Godfrey Bullen*, was Maior.
William Edward, Thomas Reyner, Sheriffs.

In his seven and thirtieth year,
Sir *Thomas Scot*, was Maior.
Ralph Joceline, Richard Medham, Sheriffs.

In his eight and thirtieth year,
Sir *William Hulsu*, was Maior.
John Plummer, John Stocker, Sheriffs.

In his nine and thirtieth year,
Sir *Richard Lee*, was Maior.
Richard Fleming, John Lambert, Sheriffs.

THE



THE
R E I G N
O F
KING EDWARD
THE FOURTH.

D Edward Earle of March, born at Roan in Normandy, son and heir of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, slain in the battell at Wakefield, succeeded his Father in the Right, but exceeded him in the possession of the Crown of England; and that by vertue of an Act of Parliament lately made; wherein the said Duke of York not only was declared heir apparent to the Crown, and appointed Protector of the King and Kingdome; but it was further enacted, that if King Henry, or any in his behalf, should attempt the disanulling of this Act; that then the said Duke or his heir should

1460.

have the present possession: which because his friends attempted to do, therefore justly doth Edward Earle of March his son, by vertue of this Act, take possession of the Crown: and is proclaimed King of England, by the name of Edward the fourth, through the City of London, on the fifth day of March, in the year 1460. But before he could have leasure to be Crowned,

The Earle of March is proclaimed King of England.

E he was forced once again to try his fortune in the field by battel: For King Henry in the North was raising a new Army, against whom King Edward, upon the twelfth of March, marched with his Forces from London, and by easie journeys came to Pomfret Castle, from whence the Lord Fitzwater was sent to guard the passage at Ferribridge, to stop the Enemies approach that way; King Henry likewise advanceth forward, sending his power under the conduct of the Duke of Somerset, the Earle of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford, whilst himself with his Queen and son stay at York. The Lord Clifford very early on Palm-sunday, with a troop of Northern men, falls upon those that guarded Ferribridge, and defeated them with the slaughter of the Lord Fitzwater and the Bastard of Salisbury. The Earle of Warwick hearing of this defeat, comes posting to King Edwards Camp and in his presence killing his horse, protested his resolution to stand with him to the death. Upon this resolution of the Earls, the King made presently Proclamation, that all who were afraid to fight, should at their pleasure depart; but to those that would stay, he promised good reward, adding withall, that if any that staved, should after turn his back or flee, then he that should kill him, should have double pay. After this he gave order to the Lord Fauconbridge, and Sir Walter Bunt, to lead on the Vaward; who in their march about Dandingdale, encountered with the Lord Clifford; (who formerly in cold blood had slaughtered the young Earle of Rutland) and he being stricken into the throat with an arrow (some say) without a head; and presently dying: the Lord Nevil son and heir of the Earle of Westmerland was also slain, with most of their Companies, and the rest put to flight. The next day likewise (the Duke of Norfolk being dangerously sick, to whom that place was assigned)

King Henry in the North raiseth an Army to oppose King Edward.

G Fauconbridge and Blunt continue the leading of the Vaunt-guard; and on Palm-sunday, by break of day, they came to a plain field between Torton and Saxton, from whence they made a full survey of King Hemies Army, and certified King Edward, that the Enemy was threescore thousand strong; where his Army was but forty thousand and six hundred: Whereupon a second Proclamation was made through the Camp, that no quarter should be kept, nor prisoner taken. The Armies being both in sight, the Lord Fauconbridge gave direction to the Archers (upon a signall by him given) to shoot every man a flight-arrow (for that purpose provided) and then to fall back three strides, and stand. The Northern men in the mean time plyed their bowes

Defeated by a policy of the Lord Fauconbridge.

And many
Lords slain;
and thirty
thousand other.

King Henry
flies into Scot-
land: the Queen
and her Son
into France.

King Edward
is Crowned.

John Earl of
Oxford behead-
ed.

Dukes and
Earls created.

King Henry
and his Queen
get an Army
in Scotland, and
recover many
Towns in the
North parts.

Viscount Mon-
taacute setteth
upon King
Henries armies:
takes many of
his Lords; and
King Henry
himself hardly
escaped.

The Duke of
Somerſet and
other Lords
put to death.

till all their sheaves were empty; but their arrows fell short of the Enemy by threescore yards, A and not only did no hurt to the Enemy, but did hurt to themselves; for their arrowes being spent, and coming to hand blows, their own arrows sticking in the ground, galled their shins and pierced their feet. Ten hours the battel continued doubtfull; till the Earl of Northumber- land being slain, with the Lord Beaumont, Gray, Dacres, and Wells, Sir John Nevel, Andrew Trollop; and many other Knights and Esquires; the Earls of Exeter and Somerset fled, leaving the Con- quest to King Edward, but the bloudest that ever England felt, for there fell that day six and thirty thousand seven hundred threescore and sixteen persons, no prisoners being taken but the Earl of Devonshire. The battel ended, King Edward halts to York, where he caused the heads of his Father and other friends to be taken down and buried with their bodies, setting in their places the heads of the Earl of Devonshire and three other, there at that time executed. The B Earl of Somerset acquainting King Henry with this overthrow, perswades him with his Queen and son to flee to Berwick, where leaving the Duke of Somerset, they flee further for succour to the King of Scots, who comforteth them with promise of relief, but maketh a sure bargain; for in lieu of a pension to be allowed King Henry during his abode there, the Town and Castle of Berwick were delivered to him. Queen Margaret and her son are sent into France, who obtained of Lewis the eleventh her Cousin, that all of King Edwards friends were prohibited stay or traffique in the French Kings Dominions: but all King Henries friends might live there freely. After this, King Edward comes to London; and upon his entrance to the Tower, makes four and twenty Knights, and the next day four more; and upon the 28 day of June, in the year 1461. he rode from the Tower to Westminster, and was there Crowned in the Abby- C Church.

Shortly after, a Parliament is summoned, which began at Westminster the fourth of November. In which, all Acts of King Henry the sixth prejudicial to King Edwards Title, are repealed: and therein John Earl of Oxford, a valiant and wise man, (he who in a former Parliament had disputed the question concerning the precedency of Temporall and Spirituall Barons; a bold attempt in those dayes; and by force of whose Arguments, Judgement was given for the Lords Temporal) with his Son Aubry de Vere, Sir Thomas Tiddingham Knight, William Tyrrell, and Walter Montgomery Esquires, were, without answer, convicted of Treason, and beheaded. And to en- courage others to well deserving, King Edward at this time advanced many in honour: his brother George he created Duke of Clarence; his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester; John Lord Nevil brother to the Earl of Warwick, he made first Viscount, then Marquesse Montacute; Henry Bauxchier brother to the Archbishop of Canterbury, is made Earl of Essex; and William Lord Fau- conbridge, Earl of Kent. And now their new honours are presently put into employment; the Earls of Essex and Kent, accompanied with the Lords Audely and Glinton, Sir John Howard, Sir Richard Walgrave, and others, to the number of ten thousand, are appointed to scour the Seas, who landing in Brittain, took the Town of Conques, and the Isle of Ber, and then returned. At this time Henry Duke of Somerset, Ralph Percy, and divers others came in, and humbly submitted themselves to Edwards mercy; who protested his propension of freely pardoning them, and as many other that would submit themselves as they did.

All this time King Henry was in Scotland, and Queen Margaret in France; where she obtained B of the French King, a company of five hundred men; with whom she sailed towards Newcastle, and landed at Timmouth, but suddenly again returned, and was her self by tempest beaten to Berwick, but her company was driven on the shore before Bamburg Castle; where they set their Ships on fire, and fled to an Island called Holy Island; but were so assailed there by the Bastard Ogle and John Manners Esquire, that many of them were slain, and almost four hundred taken prisoners, only their Colonel Peter Bresse happened upon a Fisherman, who brought him to Berwick to Queen Margaret, and by her was made Captain of the Castle of Alnewick, which he with his French men kept, till they were rescued. Shortly after, Queen Margaret having gotten together a great company of Scots, and other of her friends, bringing her husband with her, and leaving her son at Berwick, entred Northumberland, took the Castle of Bamburg, made Captain F thereof Sir Ralph Grey; and then came forward to the Bishoprick of Durham: whither refor- ted to her the lately reconciled, and now again revolted Duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy, and divers others, who all together made a competent Army. King Edward hearing hereof, makes preparation both by sea and land; and first he sends Viscount Montacute with some Companies into Northumberland; whom he in person followeth with his whole power: The Viscount march- eth towards King Henry, and by the way encountreth the Lord Hungerford at Hopley-moore, but he, with Lord Basse, upon the first charge ran away, leaving Sir Ralph Percy alone with his own Regiment, who there valiantly fighting, died. After this the Viscount understanding that King Henry was encamped in Levels plain, neer the river of Dowel in Hexhamshire, marcheth thither by night, and set upon him in his Camp, whose charge the Northern men receive with a despe- rate resolution, but were in the end with great slaughter overcome. Henry Beaufort Duke of Som- erset, the Lords Basse, Malins, Hungerford, Wentworth, Hussey, and Sir John Finders Knight, with many others are taken prisoners: King Henry himself by the swiftnesse of his horse escaped, but very hardly, for one of his Hench-men that followed him was taken, who had on his head King Henries Helmet, or as some say, his high Cap of Estate, called Abacot, garnished with two rich G Crowns, which was presented to King Edward at York the fourth of May. The Duke of Som- set was beheaded presently at Exam; the other Lords and Knights were had to New-castle, and there,

A there, after a little respite, were likewise put to death. Besides these, divers others, to the number of five and twenty, were executed at York, and in other places. This Duke of Somerset was never married, but had a naturall son named *Charles Somerset*, who was afterward created Earl of Worcester. Sir *Humphry Nevil*, and *William Tailbois* calling himself Earl of Kyme, Sir *Ralph Grey* and *Richard Tunstall*, with divers others that escaped from this battel, hid themselves in secret places; but yet not so closely, but that they were espyed and taken. The Earl of Kyme was apprehended in *Kiddeisdale*, and brought to *Newcastle*, and there beheaded; Sir *Humphry Nevil* was taken in *Hollerneffe*, and at York lost his head. After this battel called *Exam-field*, King *Edward* came to the City of *Durham*, and sent from thence into *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Montacute*, the Lords *Fawconbridge* and *Scrope*, to recover such Castles as his enemies there held; which they effected; and taking in the Castle of *Dunstamburg*, they found in it *John Gois* servant to the Duke of *Somerset*, who was brought to York, and there beheaded: and taking in the Castle of *Bamburg*, they found in it Sir *Ralph Grey*, whom because he had sworn to be true to King *Edward*, and was now revolted to King *Henry*; they degraded from his order of Knighthood at *Doncaster*, by cutting off his gilt Spurs, renting his Coat of Arms, and breaking his sword over his head, and then beheaded him.

His base Son *Charles Somerset*, created Earl of Worcester.

Sir *Ralph Grey* degraded: and in what manner: and then beheaded.

In this mean time, King *Henry* (upon what occasion, no man knowes; but only led by the left hand of destiny) venturing in disguise to come into *England*, and shifting from place to place, was at length discovered, and taken by one *Cantlow*; or as others say, by *Thomas Talbot*, son to Sir *Edward Talbot* of *Bashall*, who deceived him being at his dinner at *Waddington Hall* in *Lincolnshire*, and brought him towards *London*, with his legs tied under the horse belly; in whose company were also taken Doctor *Manning* Dean of *Windsor*, *D. Bedle*, and one *Elberton*, whom the Earl of *Warwick* met by the way, and brought them all to the Tower of *London*; whilest the distressed Queen with her son once again is driven to fly for shelter into *France*; whither the new Duke of *Somerset* and his brother *John* sailed also, where they lived in great misery; and the Earl of *Pembrooke* went from Countrey to Countrey little better then a Vagabond.

King *Henry* is taken in disguise: brought disgracefully to *London*, and committed to the Tower. The Queen flieth into *France*. The Earl of *Pembrook* beyond Sea little better then a Vagabond.

At this time, King *Edward* to reward his followers, distributeth the Lands and Possessions of those that held with King *Henry* amongst them, but first made Proclamation that whosoever of the contrary faction would come in and submit, should be received to Grace, and restored to their Patrimonies.

D In the fourth year of King *Edward*, in *Michaelmas* Term were made eight Serjeants at Law, *Thomas Young*, *Nicolas Geney*, *Richard Neal*, *Thomas Brian*, *Richard Pigot*, *John Catesby*, and *Guy Fairfax*; who held their Feast in the Bishop of *Elies* place in *Holborn*, where the Lord *Grey of Ruthin* then Lord Treasurer of *England*, was placed before the Lord Major of *London*, being invited to the Feast, which gave such a distaste to the Major, that he presently departed with the Aldermen and Sheriffs without tasting of their Feast: and it was registred to be a precedent in time to come.

Serjeants at Law made. The Major of *London* offended that the Lord Treasurer was placed before him.

E And now King *Edward* no lesse intentive to perform the Office of a King in peace, then he had been before of a Captain in warre, considering with himself that seditious and civil diffensions must needs breed disorders in a state, and that disorders bred by troubled times, are not like troubled waters, that will in time settle of themselves and recover clearnesse; but are rather like weeds, which once springing up and let alone, will in time over-run the whole ground where they grow: He like a good Gardiner seeks to weed them out before they grow too rank, and endeavours to make a generall reformation of abuses; and to that end in *Michaelmas* Term in the second year of his reign, three dayes together, he sate publicly with his Judges in *Westminster Hall* on the Kings Bench, to acquaint himself with the Orders of that Court, and to observe what needed Reformation in it, either at Bench or at Barre: as likewise he ordered the Officers of his Exchequer to take more moderate Fees; and to be more intentive to the benefit of the Subject, then to their own unjust gain: He also daily frequented the Councell Table; which he furnished for the most part, with such as were gracious amongst the Citizens, whom he imployes about references and busineses of private consequence; whilest mysteries of State were intimated only to such whom he selected to be of his more private Cabinet Counsaile; by whom he being now of the age of three and twenty years, was advised that it was now time to provide for posterity, by taking a Wife, and to provide also for the present time, by taking a fit Wife, which they conceived to be no where so fitly found as in *France*; both thereby to bury old grudges between the two Nations, and also to avert assistance from Queen *Margaret*, the only disturber of the State; and this being concluded, it only remained to make choice of a fit man for that employment, for which none was thought so fit as *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*; he therefore is presently sent into *France*, to treat of a Marriage to be had between King *Edward* and the Lady *Bona*, daughter to *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*, and sister to the Lady *Carlote* then Queen of *France*; a Lady, no lesse for beauty and virtuous qualities, then for Nobility of blood, worthy to be a Queen. The Proposition is in *France* readily embraced, and willingly assented unto on all parts. But in the mean time King *Edward* being hunting in *Wichwood* Forrest besides *Stony-stratford*; he chanced to come to the Manour of *Grafton*, where the Dutchesse of *Bedford* then lay, and where her daughter by Sir *Richard Woodville*, the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, Widow of Sir *John Gray* of *Groby*, slain at the last battell of *St. Albans*; became a suitour to him for some lands which her husband had given her in Jointure; with whose beauty and gracefull behaviour, King *Edward* was so taken, that he presently became a Suiter to her; and when he

King *Edward* sits three dayes together in the Kings Bench.

The Earl of *Warwick* sent into *France* to treat of a marriage with the Lady *Bona*.

In the mean time King *Edward* marries the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*.

could not obtain his suit by terms of wanton love, he was forced to seek it by terms of Marriage. A

And here we may well think there was no small conflict in King Edwards minde, between the two great Commanders, Love and Honour, which of them should be most potent; Honour put him in minde that it was against his Law to take to wife a meaner person then himself; but Love would take no notice of any difference of degrees, but took it for his Prerogative to make all persons equall: Honour perswaded him that it stood him much upon to make good the Ambassage, in which he had sent the Earl of Warwick to a great Prince; but Love perswaded him, that it stood him more upon to make good the Ambassage sent to himself from a greater Prince: In conclusion, it appeared to be true which one observes, *Improbe amor quid non mortalia pectora regit*? What is it that Love will not make a man to doe? Whether it be, that Love brings upon B the minde a forgetfulness of all circumstances but such as tend to its own satisfaction; or whether it be that Love is amongst passions, as Oyl amongst Liquors, which will alwayes be supreme and at the top; Honour may be honoured, but Love will be obeyed: And therefore King Edward though he knew no Superior upon earth, yet he obeyes the summons of Love; and upon the first day of May marries the said Lady Gray at *Grafton*; the first of our Kings since the Conquest that married his Subject: At which marriage none was present but the Dutchesse of Bedford, the Priest, two Gentlewomen, and a young man to help the Priest at Masse: The year after with great solemnity she was Crowned Queen at *Westminster*. It is not unworthy the relating the speech which King Edward had with his Mother, who sought to crosse this match: "Where you say, (saith he) that she is a Widow, and hath already Children, by Gods blessed Lady, I am a C
"Batchelour, and have some too, and so each of us hath a proof, that neither of us is like to be
"barren: And as for your objection of Bigamy, (for his Mother had charged him with being
"contracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucie) Let the Bishop (saith he) lay it to my charge when I
"come to take Orders, for I understand it is forbidden a Priest, but I never wist it was forbidden
"a Prince. Upon this marriage, the Queens Father was created Earl Rivers, and made High-
Constable of England; her Brother the Lord Anthony, was married to the sole Heir of the Lord
Scales, and by her had that Barony; her Son Sir Thomas Gray was created Marquesse Dorset, and
married Cicelie, Heir to the Lord Bonville. It may be thought a happy fortune for this Lady to
be thus matched; but let all things be considered, and the miseries accrewing to her by it, will
be found equivalent; if not over-weighing all the benefits: For first, by this match she drew D
upon her self the envy of many, and was cause that her Husband fled the Realm, and her self in
his absence glad to take Sanctuary, and in that place to be delivered of a Prince, in a most un-
principely manner. After which, surviving her Husband, she lived to see her two Sons most cruelly
murthered; and for a conclusion of all, she lived to see her self confined to the Monastery of Ber-
mondsey in Southwarke, and all her goods confiscate by her own Son in Law.

The Queens
Father created
Earl Rivers,
and her son Sir
Thomas made
Marquesse of
Dorset.

The Earl of
Warwick at his
return finding
the King mar-
ried grows dis-
contented.

Cosfall Ewes
sent to the
King of Aragon
for a Present.

The Earl of
Warwick and
other Lords
joyn against
King Edward.

The Duke of
Clarence mar-
ries the Earl
of Warwick's
Daughter.

And now the Earl of Warwick at his return, found that knot tied in England, which he had laboured to tie in France: His Ambassage frustrated, the Lady Bona deluded, the King of France abused, and himself made a stale, and the disgracefull instrument of all this; which although he resented in a high degree, yet he had not been a Courtier so long, but in that time he had sufficiently learned the Art of dissembling; he passed it over lightly for the present, but yet carried E
it in his minde till a fit opportunity; and thereupon procures leave to retire himself to his Castle of Warwick.

King Edward in the mean time, having just cause to suspect he had made the French his enemies, seeks to make other Princes his friends: He enters into a League with John King of Aragon; to whom he sent for a Present a score of Cosfall Ewes, and five Rams, a small Present in shew, but great in the event; for it proved of more benefit to Spain, and of more detriment to England then could at first sight have been imagined. And to secure himself at home, he took truce with the King of Scots for fifteen years. And where he had married before his two Sisters, Anne the eldest to Henry Holland Earl of Exeter; and Elizabeth to John de la Pool Duke of Suffolk, he now matched Margaret his third Sister, to Charles Duke of Burgoigne; which proved a greater assistance to him, F
then that which he had lost in France.

By this time the Earl of Warwick's spleen began so to swell within him, that he could no longer contain it; and having with much adoe drawn to his party his two Brothers the Archbishop of York, and the Marquesse Montacute; he seeks also to draw in the Kings two Brothers, the Duke of Clarence and the Duke of Gloucester; but he found Gloucester so reserved, that he durst not close with him; the Duke of Clarence he found more open, and to him he addresseth himself, complaining of the disgrace he had sustained by the King in his employment into France, and other wrongs: to whom the Duke presently made answer, in as great complaint of his Brothers unkindnesse to himself; saying, he had married his Wives Brother Anthony to the Heir of the Lord Scales, and her Son Thomas to the Heir of the Lord Bonville, but could finde no match of prefer- G
ment for him being his own Brother: And upon this agreement in complaints, they agree to joyn against King Edward; and to make the knot the firmer, the Duke of Clarence takes to Wife Isabel the Earl of Warwick's Daughter, and with her hath assured unto him half of the Lands the Earl held in right of his Wife, the Lady Anne, Daughter of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick deceased. Upon this marriage the Earl of Warwick discovered to him what hitherto he had concealed, concerning his project for the restoring of King Henry; to which Clarence gave approbation, with promise to assist him in it to his uttermost.

A At this time Sir *Thomas Cooke* late Major of *London*, was by one *Hawkins* appeached of Treason, for the which he was sent to the Tower, and his place in *London* seized by the Lord *Rivers*. The case was this, the said *Hawkins* came to Sir *Thomas*, requesting him to lend a thousand Marks upon good surety; who answered, he would first know for whom it should be, and for what intent; and understanding it should be for the use of *Queen Margaret*, he refused to lend a penny. The matter rested two or three years, till the said *Hawkins* was laid in the Tower, and brought to the Brake, called the *Tuke of Exeters Daughter*; by means of which pain, he confessed amongst other things, the motion he had made to Sir *Thomas Cooke*, and accused himself so farre, that he was put to death. Sir *Thomas Cooke* lying in the Tower from *Whitsunide* till *Michaelmas*, had his place in *Essex* named *Gyddihall*, spoiled, his Deer in his Park destroyed; and though arraigned upon life and death, he were acquitted of the Indictment; yet could not be delivered till he had paid eight thousand pounds to the King, and eight hundred to the Queen.

Sir Thomas Cooke could not tell what cause.

B And now the Earl of *Warwick* sendeth to his Brothers the Archbishop and the Marquesse, to prepare all things ready to set on foot the intended revolt from King *Edward*, and to procure some rebellious commotion in the North, whilst he and his new Son in Law would provide to go forward with the work; which they accordingly did in *Tork-shire*, an occasion being taken for the breach of an ancient custome there, to give to the poor people of *St. Leonards* in the City of *Tork*, certain quantities of Corn and Grain. This Commotion the Archbishop and the Marquesse underhand fomented; yet to colour the matter, the Marquesse opposed the Rebels, and cut off the head of *Robert Huldorn* their Captain; but his head being cut off, the Rebels got them other

The Earl of Warwick causeth a commotion to be raised in *Tork-shire*.

C Captains; *Henry*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Fitzbugh*, and Sir *Henry Nevil* Son to the Lord *Lattermer*; the one the Nephew, the other a Cousen germane to the Earl of *Warwick*, with whom they joyn the valiant Captain Sir *John Conyers*: These when they could not enter *Tork*, came marching towards *London*, all the way exclaiming against King *Edward* as an unjust Prince, and an Usurper. King *Edward* hearing of this Commotion, sends Sir *William Herbert*, whom of a mean Gentleman, two years before he had made Earl of *Pembrook*, and his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, together with the Lord *Stafford of Southwick*, to suppress the Rebels; and they with an Army of seven thousand, most Welchmen, march towards them; but the Lord *Stafford* being put from his Inn where he used to lodge, by the Earl of *Pembrook*, took such a distaste at it that he withdrew his Archers, and gave over the business; yet the Earl of *Pembrook* though thus forsaken,

King Edward sends the Earl of *Pembrook* to suppress it; who is with divers others slain.

D with his own Regiment encountered the Rebels, slew Sir *Henry Nevil*, and divers others; when being upon the point of victory, one *John Clappam* a servant of the Earl of *Warwick*, coming in with five hundred rascally fellows, and crying aloud a *Warwick*, a *Warwick*; the Welchmen supposing the Earl had been come, turned presently their backs and fled; five thousand of them were slain, the Earl of *Pembrook* himself, and his much lamented Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, a most goodly personage, were taken prisoners, brought to *Bantury*, where both of them, with ten other Gentlemen, were put to death. And now the *Northamptonshire* men joyning with the Rebels in this fury, made them a Captain named *Robert Hiliard*, but they named him *Robin of Riddefdale*, and sodainly came to *Grafton*, where they took the Earl *Rivers* Father to the Queen, and his Son Sir *John Woodville*; brought them to *Northampton*, and there without Judgement beheaded them. King *Edward* advertised of these mischances wrote to the Sheriffs of *Staffordshire* and *Devonshire* to apprehend the Lord *Stafford of Southwick*, (who had treacherously forsaken the Earl of *Pembrook*) and if they could take him, to put him to death: who being soon after found in a Village within *Brentmarsh*, was brought to *Bridgewater*, and there beheaded. After this battell fought at *Hedgecote*, commonly called *Bantury* field, the Northern men resorted to *Warwick*, where the Earl with great joy received them; and hearing that King *Edward* with a great Army was coming thither, he sent for his Son in Law the Duke of *Clarence*, with all speed to repair unto him; who joyning together, and using means cunningly, by having some communication of Peace, to make the King secure, and to take little heed of himself; they took advantage of his security, and in the dead of night set on his Camp, and killing the Watch, before the King was aware, at a place called *Wolney* four miles from *Berwick*, they took him prisoner in his bed, and presently conveyed him to *Middleham Castle* in *Tork-shire*, to be there in safe custody with the Archbishop of *Tork*. And now they had the prey in their hand, if they had as well looked to keep it, as they had done to get it: But King *Edward* whether bribing his Keepers, or otherwise winning them by fair promises, got so much liberty, sometimes for his recreation to go a hunting; by which he caused Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Thomas of Burgh*, and divers of his friends at a certain time to meet him, who took him from his Keepers, and set him again at liberty: whilst the Earl of *Warwick* nothing doubting his Brother the Archbishops care in safe keeping him, and thinking the brunt of the wars to be now past, dismissed his Army, and intended only to finde out King *Henry*, who was kept a prisoner, but few men knew where.

Robin of Riddefdale beheaded the Earl *Rivers*.

The Lord *Stafford* beheaded.

The Earl of *Warwick* surpriseth King *Edward*, and commits him to custody.

King *Edward* gets at liberty.

The Earl of *Warwick* dismisseth his Army.

E King *Edward* being now at liberty posteth to *Tork*, and from thence to *Lancaster*; where his Chamberlain the Lord *Hastings* had raised some Forces, with which he marcheth to *London*, and is there joyfully received: The Earl of *Warwick* likewise sends to his friends, and makes preparation for a new Army; whilst in the mean time, by the mediation of divers Lords, an interview in *Westminster Hall*, is agreed upon, and solemn Oath taken on both sides for safety, between King *Edward*, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*; but each party standing strictly upon tearms tending to their own ends; they parted as great enemies as they met: and so from thence the King went to *Canterbury*, the Duke and the Earl to *Lincoln*; whither they had pre-

The King and Lords have a meeting, but to no purpose.

The Lord Wells
beheaded.

Sir Robert
Wells his son
taken and put
to death.

The Earl of
Warwick fleeth
to Callice;
where not re-
ceived; and by
what subtilty.

The Earl of
Warwick hono-
rably received
by the King of
France.

Prince Edward
marries a
Daughter of
the Earl of
Warwick.

appointed their Forces to repair, under the conduct of Sir Robert Wells, son and heir of the Lord Wells a man of great valor and experience in the wars: King Edward to take off so able a man from the Earls part, sends for his Father the Lord Wells to come unto him; who taking with him his son in Law Sir Thomas Dymock, and coming to attend the Kings pleasure, was told by his friends how wonderfully the King was incensed against them: whereupon for their safety, they take Sanctuary at Westminster. But upon the Kings Princely word, they come unto him, who commandeth the Lord Wells to write to his Son, to desist from adhering to the Earl of Warwick, which the Lord Wells accordingly did: but Sir Robert Wells notwithstanding his Fathers Letters, continuing firm to the Earl still, so much incensed King Edward, that he caused both his Father and Sir Thomas Dymock to be beheaded. He supposed perhaps, that the Lord Wells was himself underhand a friend to the Earl, and had not dealt sincerely with him, in procuring his son to leave that party. But now Sir Robert Wells seeing the King draw near to Stamford, where he had pitched his tents, and hearing of his Fathers beheading, was much distracted what to doe: to decline battell with the King, he thought would shew too much fear; and to give him battel before the Earl of Warwick were come with his Forces, would shew too much boldnesse: But his veins were so filled with a desire of revenging his Fathers death, that he thought he could never shew boldnesse enough; and thereupon encountering with the Kings Army, far greater then his own, oppressed with multitude was taken prisoner, together with Thomas de land, and divers others; who presently in the place were put to execution: as soon as Sir Robert Wells was taken, the Lincolnshire men, to make themselves the lighter to run away, threw off their Coats, for which cause, this battel was afterward called Lose-coat-field, in which, it is reported, C were slain above ten thousand men.

The Earl of Warwick hearing of this defeat, and not having present means to raise an Army sufficient to oppose King Edward: when he could by no means draw the Lord Stanley to his party, he determined to sail into France, and hiring ships at Dartmouth in Devonshire, he with his son in Law the Duke of Clarence, and their Wives, took to Sea; and thinking to land at Callice, of which Town he himself was Captain, he was by the Lord Vawcleere a Gascoigne, whom he had left his Deputy there, repelled; and with so great inhumanity, that the Dutchesse of Clarence, who was then in labour, was fain to be delivered in the Ship, (all the courtesie in that distresse shewed, was only to send a flaggon or two of wine,) which fact of Vawcleers when King Edward heard of, he was so well pleased with it, that he presently sent him a Patent to be Captain of D the Town himself: and the Duke of Burgoigne for the same service, sent unto him Philip de Comines (who hath written the History of these times) with a grant of one thousand Crowns pension during his life. Never man was better paid for one act of dissembling; for the truth was, *Pro amore exclusit foras*, it was out of his love that he suffered him not to enter the Town, for he knew there were many great ones in it so addicted to King Edward, and so maliciously bent against the Earl, that if he or any of his company should have come, they would in all likelihood have done them some mischief: And hereof he made a good proof soon after: for when the Earl took to sea again, the Lord Vawcleere sent him word, he should take heed where he landed; for that the Duke of Burgoigne lay in wait to take him; which advertisement did the Earl more good, then the keeping him out of Callice did him hurt. The Earl upon this advertisement, E landed at Diepe in Normandy, whereof when King Lewis heard, he sent and invited him to come to his Court at Ambois, where he received him with no lesse honour then if he had been a King. In the mean time King Edward made enquiry for all such as were aiders to the Earl of Warwick; of whom some were apprehended as guilty, some fled to Sanctuary, and some submitted to the Kings mercy; as John Marquesse Montacute, whom he courteously received. Queen Margaret, who at this time sojourned with Duke Rayner her Father, hearing of the Earl of Warwicks arrival, with her Son Prince Edward, came to Ambois, and with her also came Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and John Earl of Oxford, lately escaped out of prison, and fled into France; between whom a new Combination is made; and for a foundation of a firm amity, King Henries Son Prince Edward, marries Anne the Earl of Warwicks second Daughter: After which marriage, the Duke of Clarence and the Earls took a solemn Oath, never to leave the warre till either King Henry or his Son Prince Edward were restored to the Crown; but now about this time comes a Gentlewoman out of England, to the dissembling Lord Vawcleere at Callice; and payes him in his own coyn: For she made a shew of intending great good to the Earl of Warwick, but had a purpose indeed to work his ruine; and by this shew she passed unsuspected to the Duke of Clarence, whom she perswaded to forsake the Earl of Warwick, as one that intended wholly the rooting out of the House of York, and only the advancing of the House of Lancaster; which he might well perceive by his marrying his second Daughter to Prince Edward, King Henries only Son; and this reason with some other was so urged by the Gentlewoman, that it sank deeply into the Duke of Clarence his minde. So fit Agents of State are women sometimes; that can transact a businesse in covert: which if men should attempt, they would soon be discovered. And from this time forward the Duke of Clarence, as if the Gentlewoman had taught him the Art of dissembling, sought secretly to reconcile himself to his Brother King Edward: but made a fair shew still to the Earl of Warwick.

And now the Earl of Warwick having been six moneths in France, in this time he had procured from the King of France, both Ships, and men, and money, and receiving Letters out of England, that many Lords and others were ready to adventure their lives in his quarrel, if he would come, (for

- A (For the people generally held him in such admiration, that they thought the Sun was taken from the World, when he was abient: And this in great part for his great Hospitality, who it is said, used to spend six Oxen at a breakfast) he with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Pembroke* took to Sea; and though the Duke of *Burgoyne* had a Fleet at Sea, to intercept him, yet his Fleet being by tempest scattered, and King *Edward* trusting to that Fleet, having provided no other; the Earl had a quiet passage to land at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, where being landed, he made Proclamation in King *Henry* the sixth's name, that all good Subjects should prepare to fight against King *Edward*, who contrary to the right had usurped the Crown: Upon which Proclamation, it is scarce to be beleev'd, how many thousands of men resorted to him; with which Forces he made towards *London*: Upon notice of whose approach, on the Sunday next after *Michaelmas* day, one
- B Doctor *Goddard* a Chaplain of his, preaching at *Pauls Crosse*, did so set forth his Earls pious intention, that many of his auditory were moved to favour the Earls proceeding: insomuch, that the *Marquess Montacute*, who had in King *Edward's* behalf levied six thousand men about *London*, found them all inclinable to goe with him to the Earl of *Warwick*, and accordingly went and joyned with him. King *Edward* hearing of the great flocking of people to the Earl, sent forth Letters into all parts of the Realm for raising an Army; but few came, and those few with no great good will: which when he perceived, he began to doubt his case; and thereupon accompanied with the Duke of *Glocester* his Brother, the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlain, (who having marryed the Earl of *Warwick's* Sister, yet continued ever true to King *Edward*) and the Lord *Seales* Brother to the Queen; he departed into *Lincolshire*, and coming to *Lyn*, he found there an *English* Ship, and two Hulks of *Holland* ready to make sail: whereupon he, with the forenamed Lords, and about seven or eight hundred persons entred the Ships, having no provision with him but only the apparel they wore; and so bare of money, that he was faine to reward the Master of his Ship with one of his garments: and thus making course toward the Duke of *Burgoyne's* Countrey, they were presently chased by eight great Ships of *Easterlings*, open enemies both to *England* and *France*; which drove him before a Town in the Countrey called *Alquemare*, belonging to the Duke of *Burgoyne*; where by chance the Lord *Grunture* Governour of that Countrey, at that time was, who defended them from the *Easterlings*, and brought them to the *Hague* in *Holland*, where they had all things ministred to them, by order from the Duke of *Burgoyne*.

The Earl of *Warwick* assisted out of *France*, lands at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, to whom much people resorted

King *Edward* hereupon flies into the Duke of *Burgoyne's* Countrey.

- At this time, upon newes of the Earl of *Warwick's* approach, Queen *Elizabeth* forsaketh the Tower, and secretly taketh Sanctuary at *Westminster*, where in great penury forsaken of all her friends, she was brought a bed of a Son called *Edward*, who like a poor mans childe was Christened; the Godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of *Westminster*, and the Lay *Scrope* Godmother.

Kings *Edward's* Queen taketh Sanctuary: where she is brought to bed.

- And now the Earl of *Warwick* entring the Tower, removes King *Henry* out of his hold of durance, where he had been almost nine years, into his own lodging, where he was served according to his estate; which the Earl did more congratulate then the King himself. Upon the sixth day of *October*, King *Henry* accompanied with the Archbishop of *Tork*, the Prior of *S. Johns*, the Bishop of *London*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Warwick* and other Noblemen, apparelled in a long Gown of blew Velvet, was conducted through *London*, to the Bishops Palace, where he rested till the thirteenth of that moneth, on which day he went in solemn procession about *Pauls* Church, wearing his Imperial Crown; the Earl of *Warwick* bearing up his train; and the Earl of *Oxford* the Sword before him. The next day in all usual places about *London*, King *Edward* was proclaimed an Usurper, and all his partakers Traitors to God and the King; whereof *John* Lord *Tiptoft* Earl of *Worcester*, as a partaker with King *Edward*, was made the first example. This Lord had been Lieutenant for King *Edward* in *Ireland*, where having done something for which he fled, he was afterward found on the top of a high tree, in the Forrest of *Waybridge*, in the County of *Huntington*; and being there taken, was brought to *London*, attainted, and beheaded on the Tower-hill, and after buried at the *Black-fryers*.

The Earl of *Warwick* removes King *Henry* out of prison: where he had been held almost nine years.

King *Edward*, proclaimed an Usurper.

- About this time happened an accident not unworthy to be related: Sir *William Hawksword* Knight, one of the chief Justices at the Law, who dwelt at *Annory* in *Devonshire*, a man of great possessions, and having no Son; the Lord *Fitzwarren*, Sir *John Sentleger*, and Sir *William Bolleyn* married his Daughters, and were his Heirs: This man grew into such a degree of Melancholy, that one day he called to him the Keeper of his Park, charging him with negligence in suffering his Deer to be stollen: and thereupon commanded him, that if he met any man in his circuit in the night-time, that would not stand or speak; he should not spare to kill him whosoever he were. The Knight having thus laid his foundation, and meaning to end his dolefull dayes; in a certain dark night secretly conveyed himself out of his house, and walked alone in his Park. The Keeper in his night-walk hearing one stirring, and coming towards him, asked, who was there? but no answer being made, he willed him to stand, which when he would not do, the Keeper shot, and killed him, and coming to see who it was, found him to be his Master.

The extreme melancholy of Sir *John Hawksword* or *Hankford*.

- On the twentieth day of *November*, a Parliament is held at *Westminster*, wherein King *Edward* and all his partakers are attainted of high Treason, and all their Lands and Goods seized on to King *Henries* use. *George Plantagenet* Duke of *Clarence*, is by authority of this Parliament, adjudged Heir to *Richard* Duke of *Tork* his Father, and that Dutchy settled upon him and his Heirs, notwithstanding the Primogeniture of *Edward*: Upon him also was entailed the Crown of *England*, in case Heirs males of the body of King *Henry* failed. *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, are fully restored to their Lands and Honour: and *Warwick* and *Clarence* are made Governors of

of the King and Kingdom. To this Parliament came the Marquesse *Montacute*, excusing himself, A that for fear of death he had taken King *Edward's* part, which excuse was excepted. Queen *Margaret* is sent for into *France*, but by reason of contrary windes was kept back all that Winter.

King *Henries*
prophetical
speech of *Henry*
afterward
King *Henry* the
seventh.

About this time, *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, going into *Wales* to view his land in *Pembroke shire*, found there the Lord *Henry*, born of *Margaret*, the only Daughter and Heir of *John* the first Duke of *Somerset*, not being then full ten years of age, kept in manner like a Captive, but honourably brought up by the Lady *Hebert*, him he brings with him to *London*, and presents him to King *Henry*; whom when the King had a good while beheld, he said to the Lords about him: Lo, this is he, to whom both we and our adversaries leaving the possession of all things, shall hereafter give place. Which if it be true, it shews a very Propheticall Spirit to have been in King *Henry*; that could so long before, foretell a thing so unlikely to happen: for this was he that was afterward King *Henry* the Seventh, before whom at that time there were many lives in being, of both the Houses of *Tork* and *Lancaster*.

King *Edward*
assisted by the
Duke of *Bur-*
goign takes to
sea and lands
in *Tork-shire*.
He swears
deeply that he
came but only
to recover his
own inheri-
tance.

Shortly after this, by the Duke of *Burgoyne's* means, King *Edward* is furnished with eighteen tall Ships, two thousand *Dutchmen*, and fifty thousand *Florens* of Gold; and thus furnished, he took to Sea, and landed at *Ravenspurre* in *Tork-shire*, where he found but cold entertainment; nevertheless he made a wary march to *Tork*, where likewise he found no great expression of well-come, so as he was forced to change his pretence, swearing deeply and receiving the Sacrament upon it, that he came not to disturb King *Henry*, but only to recover his own inheritance; and for the more shew thereof, wearing an *Esrich* leather, *Prince Edward's* Livery; which proposition seemed so reasonable, that many who resisted him before, were as ready to assist him now: And if he be blamed for breaking his Oath; it must be considered, it was *Keene causa*, to recover his Kingdom, which perhaps was the Inheritance he meant, when he took his Oath, that he intended nothing, but to recover his Inheritance: and so he brake not his Oath neither. From *Tork* he marched towards *Wakefield* and *Sendall*, leaving the Cattle of *Pomfret* upon his left hand, where the Marquesse *Montacute* with his Army lay, but did not offer to stop him: from *Wakefield* he came to *Dorchester*, and from thence to *Nottingham*, where there came to him Sir *William Parre* and Sir *James Harrington* with six hundred men; also Sir *Thomas Burgh* and *Thomas Montgomery* with their aids, who caused him to make a Proclamation in his own name: affirming they would serve no man but a King. From *Nottingham* he came to *Leicester*, where three thousand able men, and well armed came unto him: From *Leicester* he came before the walls of *Coventry*; into which City the D Earl of *Warwick* had withdrawn himself, keeping himself close therein with his people, being about six or seven thousand men, three dayes together King *Edward* provoked him to come forth to battell; but he stayed for more forces, and would not do it: whereupon King *Edward* marched forward to *Warwick* eight miles from *Coventry*, thinking thither at least he should have drawn the Earl of *Warwick*, but neither would that doe it: Indeed the Earl looked for the coming of the Duke of *Clarence*, with twelve thousand men to joyn with him, but that expectation proved vain, for the Duke was now fully reconciled to his Brother King *Edward*, and brought all his Forces to joyn with him, only he sought to make amity between King *Edward* and the Earl: But though King *Edward* offered generall Pardon, and other fair conditions; yet none would please the Earl without restoring of King *Henry*. But now to repair the defection of the Duke of *Clarence*, there came to the Earl of *Warwick* at *Coventry*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Marquesse *Montacute*, by whose coming that side was not a little strengthened; yet all this aid would not make the Earl of *Warwick* to come to battell: whereupon King *Edward* marched forward towards *London*: Both sides seek to make *London* their friend; the Earl of *Warwick* sends to his Brother the Archbishop of *Tork* to labour in it; who thereupon caused King *Henry* to mount on Horseback, and to ride from *Pauls* through *Chiswick* down *Walbrook*, supposing that this shewing of the King would have allured the Citizens to assist him; but this device prevailed little, brought not in above seven or eight thousand men, a small proportion to withstand King *Edward*; and when the Archbishop of *Tork* saw this backwardnesse in the Citizens, or rather indeed an inclination to King *Edward*, he secretly sent to him to receive him into grace; which F upon promise to continue faithfull hereafter, he obtained. The eleventh of *April* in the year 1471. and the eleventh of his reign, King *Edward* made his entry into the City of *London*, riding first to *Pauls* Church, and from thence to the Bishops Palace, where the Archbishop of *Tork* presented himself unto him, and having King *Henry* by the hand delivered him to King *Edward*, (six moneths after his re-adeption of the Crown) and then King *Edward* being seized of his person, went from *Pauls* to *Westminster*, and there gave God most hearty thanks for his safe return. The reasons alleadged here by *Philip Comines* for the Citizens receiving of King *Edward*, seem scarce worthy of so good an Author: One cause (saith he) was, because King *Edward* being extremely indebted in the City, if they had not received him, they should have lost their debt: Another, because he had won the love of many Citizens wives, who importuned their husbands to receive him. G

He comes to
Coventry, where
the Earl of
Warwick lay;
but would not
come forth to
battell.

King *Edward*
makes his en-
try into *London*,
and is joyfully
received.

King *Henry* is
delivered into
his hands.

The Earl of
Warwick comes
with his Army
to *Barnet*.

The Earl of *Warwick* having intelligence that King *Edward* was received into *London*, and King *Henry* delivered into his hand, marched out, and encamped at *St. Albans*, and after some refreshing of his Army, removed towards *Barnet*, and in a large plain there, called *Cladmores heath*, pitched his Camp; which King *Edward* hearing, on *Easter Eve* the thirteenth of *April*, he marched forth; and came that evening to *Barnet*, where he would not suffer a man of his Army to stay in the Town, but commanded them all to the field, and lodged with his Army more neer to the Enemy then

A then he was aware, by reason of a Mist, (raised some say by one *Bungey* a Conjuror) which made it so dark, that it could not well be observed where they were encamped. In taking his ground he caused his people to keep as much silence as was possible, thereby to keep the enemy from knowing of their approach. Great Artillery they had on both parts, but the Earl more than the King; and therefore in the night-time, they shot from his Camp almost continually, but did little hurt, because they still overshot them, as lying nearer then was conceived. On Easter day, early in the morning, both Armies are ordered for battail; the Earl of *Warwick* appointed the Command of the Right wing, which consisted of Horse, to his Brother the *Marquesse Montacute*, and the Earl of *Oxford*; the Left wing consisting likewise of Horse, was led by himself and the Duke of *Exeter*; and the main battel consisting of Bills and Bows was conducted by the Duke of *Somerset*. On the Kings part, the Vaward was commanded by the Duke of *Gloucester*; the battel (in which was King *Henry*) was led by King *Edward* himself; and the Lord *Hastings* brought on the Reer. After exhortations for encouragement of their Souldiers, the fight began; which with great valour was maintained by the space of six hours, without any apparent disadvantage on either side; only the Earls Vaward, by the valiancy of the Earl of *Oxford* seemed somewhat to overmatch the Kings, which made some flying towards *London*, to carry newes, that the Earl of *Warwick* had won the field; and he had perhaps done so indeed, but for a strange misfortune which happened to the Earl of *Oxford* and his men; for they having a Star with streams on their Liveries; as King *Edwards* men had the Sun, the Earl of *Warwick*'s men, by reason of the Mist not well discerning the badges so like, shot at the Earl of *Oxford*'s men that were on their part: whereupon the Earl of *Oxford* cried, Treason! and fled with eight hundred men. At length after great slaughter made on both sides, King *Edward* having the greater number of men, (as some write, though other say the contrary) caused a new power of fresh men (which he had kept of purpose) to come on: which the Earl of *Warwick* observing being a man of an invincible courage, nothing dismayed, rushed into the midst of his Enemies, where he adventured so far, that amongst the presse he was stricken down and slain. (Though some write, that the Earl seeing the desperate estate of his Army, leapt on a Horse to flee; and coming to a Wood where was no passage, one of King *Edwards* men came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked skin.) The *Marquesse Montacute*, thinking to succour his Brother, lost likewise his life, and left the victory to King *Edward*. On both sides were slain, as *Hall* saith, ten thousand at the least; *Fabian* saith, but fifteen hundred, but then he means only of the Kings side. Upon the Kings part were slain the Lord *Cromwell*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Montjoie* Son and Heir, Sir *Humphry Bourchier* Son and Heir to the Lord *Berners*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. On the Earls part, were slain the Earl himself, the *Marquesse Montacute*, and three and twenty Knights, of whom Sir *William Tirrell* was one. The Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Oxford* fled into *Wales*, to *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*. The Duke of *Exeter* being stricken down, and so wounded that he was left for dead, amongst other the dead bodies, because he was not known; but coming to himself, he got up, and escaped to *Westminster*, and there took Sanctuary. The dead bodies of the Earl and *Marquesse* were brought to *London* in a Coffin, and by the space of three dayes lay open faced in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*; and then buried with their Ancestors in the Priory of *Bisam*. This Earl of *Warwick* was *Richard Nevil*, Son and Heir of *Richard Nevil*, Earl of *Salisbury*, who married the Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp* the sixth Earl of *Warwick*, and in her right was Earl of *Warwick*; in his own, of *Salisbury*: He was also Lord *Montbermer*, great Chamberlain, and high Admirall of *England*, Lord Warden of the North Marches towards *Scotland*, and High Steward of the Duchy of *Lancaster*: He had issue two Daughters, *Isabell* married to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and *Anne*, first married to Prince *Edward* King *Henry* the sixths Son, and after to *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*.

The two Armies meet.

Where the Earl of *Warwick* with many other Lords is slain.

Th: Honour he enjoyed; and of his issue.

We may here observe a Constellation of dyastrous influences, concurring all to the overthrow of this great *Warwick*; whereof if any one had been missing, the wheel of his Fortune had not perhaps turned: For if the City of *York* had not too credulously beleaved King *Edwards* Oath, not to disturb King *Henry*; or if the *Marquesse Montacute* had stopped (as he might) his passage at *Pomfret*; or if the Duke of *Clarence* had not at the very point of the battell at *St. Albans*, deserted his party and joyned with King *Edward*; or if Queen *Margaret* had not by tempest been kept from coming into *England* in time; or if the *Londoners* had not been retrograde and deceived his expectation, he had never perhaps been overthrown as he was: But *Fata viam invenient*; destiny will finde wayes that were never thought of, will make way where it findes none; and that which is ordained in Heaven, shall be effected by means of which Earth can take no notice.

Queen *Margaret* when it was too late, accompanied with *John Longstrother* Prior of *Saint Johns*, and the Lord *Wenlock*, with divers Knights and Esquires, took shipping at *Harflew*, the four and twentieth of *March*, but by tempest was kept back till the thirteenth of *April*; and then with her son Prince *Edward*, she landed at *Weymouth*, and from thence went to an Abby hard by called *Ceern*, and then to *Bewly* in *Hampshire*, whither there came unto her *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, and *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, with divers others; amongst whom it is resolute more to try their fortune in the Field; but then the Queen would have had her Son Prince *Edward* to be sent into *France*, there to remain in safety, till the next battell were tryed; but they being of a contrary mind, and specially the Duke of *Somerset*, she at length consented, though afterward she repented it. From *Bewly* she with her Son and the Earl of *Somerset* passeth on

Queen *Margaret* cometh over and gets two Armies.

But is over-
thrown by
King Edward.

The Queen is
taken prisoner.

Her son Prince
Edward is
murdered.

The Duke of
Somerset, and
others behead-
ed.

Queen Marga-
ret is kept in
durance, till her
Father ransomed
her away.

The Bastard
Fauconbridge
makes distur-
bance about
London.

King Henry is
murdered by
the Duke of
Glocester.

to *Bristow*, intending with what power they could raise in *Glocestershire*, to march into *Wales*, A
to joyn with *Jasper* Earle of *Pembrook*, who was there making preparation of more Forces. King
Edward hearing of these things resolves to crosse this conjunction, and followes Queen *Margaret*
with a great power so close, that neer *Tewkesbury* in *Glocestershire* he overtakes her Forces, who
resolutely turn and make head against him; where *Somerset*, on the Queens part, leading the
Vaunt-guard, performed the part of a valiant Commander; but finding his Souldiers through
wearinesse begin to faint, and that the Lord *Wenlock*, who had the conduct of the battail on the
Queens part, moved not, he rode unto him, and upbraiding him with cowardise or treachery,
never staid, but with a Pollaxe beat out his brains; and now before he could bring in his men
to the rescue, their Vaward was routed, and *John* Earle of *Devonshire*, with above three thousand
of the Queens part were slain: The Queen her self, *John Beaufort* the Duke of *Somersetts* Brother; B
the Prior of *Saint Johns*, *Sir Jarvis Clifton*, and divers others were taken prisoners; all which ex-
cept the Queen, were the next day beheaded. At which time *Sir Richard Crofts* presented to King
Edward King *Henris* Son *Edward*, whom he had taken prisoner; to whom King Edward at first
shewed no uncourteous countenance; but demanding of him how he durst so presumptuously
enter into his Realm with Arms? And he answering, though truly, yet unseasonably, *To recover*
my Fathers Kingdom and Heritage; King Edward with his hand thrust him from him, or (as some
say) struck him with his Gantlet, and then presently *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richard* Duke of
Glocester, *Thomas Grey* Marquesse *Dorset*, and *Will-Lord Hastings* standing by, fell upon him in the
place, and murdered him. His body was homely interred with other ordinary CorpSES, in the
Church of the Monastery of the *Black-fryers* in *Tewkesbury*. After the victory thus obtained, C
King Edward repaired to the Abbey Church of *Tewkesbury*, to give God thanks for his good suc-
cesse; and finding there a great number of his enemies that were fled thither to save themselves,
he gave them all free pardon; only *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, *John Longstrother* Prior of *Saint*
Johns, *Sir Thomas Tresham*, *Sir Jarvis Clifton*, and divers other Knights and Esquires, who were ap-
prehended there, and brought before the Duke of *Glocester*, sitting that day as Constable of
England, and the Duke of *Norfolk* as Marshall, were all arraigned, condemned and judged to die,
and accordingly upon the Tuesday being the seventh of *May*, they were all, and twelve other
Knights more, on a Scaffold set up in the middle of the Town, beheaded; but not dismembred,
and permitted to be buried. The same day Queen *Margaret* was found in a poor house of Reli-
gion, not far from thence, into which she was fled for safeguard of her life; but she was after D
brought to *London*, and there kept a prisoner, till her Father ransomed her with great sums of
money. This was the last pitch battell that was fought in *England*, in King Edward the fourths
dayes, which happened on the fourth of *May*, being Saturday, in the eleventh year of his reign,
and in the year of our Lord 1471.

King Edward being assured, that as long as any partakers of King *Henry* lived and were at li-
berty, he should never be free from plots against his life; sent *Roger Vaughan*, a Gentleman much
reckoned of in his own Countrey, to entrap *Jasper* Earle of *Pembrook*, who had escaped from the
last encounter: but he having notice of the plot before, prevented it by striking of *Vaughans* head.

After these great clouds were thus dispersed, there arose a little cloud, which gave the Realm,
at least the City of *London*, no small disquiet. For now, *Thomas* Bastard *Fauconbridge*, who had E
been employed by the Earle of *Warwick* to scour the Seas, hearing of these defeats; having in-
riched himself by Piracy, gathered together an Army of seventeen thousand men; and coming
to *London*, imperiously commanded admision into the City, and releasement of King *Henry* out
of prison: but being denyed entrance, and hearing that King Edward with a great power was
coming towards him, he brings up his Shipping to *Saint Katherines*, and taking with him his
most desperate men, with them he marcheth to *Kingston-bridge*, but finding that Bridge broken
down, and all the places of passage guarded, he withdrew his Forces into *Saint Georges* field,
from whence he prepared to assault the City of *London*, for the effecting whereof, he landed
all his Ship Ordinance, and planted them all alongst the Banks-side, with which he battered down
many houses, and much annoyed the City; but the Citizens on the other side lodged their great F
Artillery against their Adversaries, with which they so galled them that they durst not abide in any
place alongst the water side, but were driven even from their own Ordinance: Then he appointed
his men to set fire on the Bridge, and withall caused three thousand to passe over the *Thames*,
and some of them to assault *Aligate*, and some *Bishopsgate*, but were in all places by the industry of
the Citizens repelled, and chiefly by *Robert Basset* and *Ralph Jocelyne* Aldermen: Upon this he re-
tired to *Black-beath* and there encamped by the space of three dayes, but then hearing that King
Edward was coming with a great Army, he got him to his Ship, but the rest fled some one way,
some another. The one and twentyeth of *May*, the King coming to *London*, thanked the Citizens
for their pains and care, and dubbed the Major, the Recorder *Urswick*, and *Basset* and *Jocelyne*
Aldermen, Knights.

And now the time was come for King *Henry* to be delivered out of all his troubles, for the
bloody Duke of *Glocester* entring the Tower, where he found King *Henry* nothing at all troubled
with all his Crosses, struck him into the heart with his Dagger, and there slew him. And now we
have had within the space of half a year, one Parliament proclaiming King *Edward* an Usurper, and
King *Henry* a lawfull King; and another proclaiming King *Edward* a lawfull King, and King *Hen-*
ry an Usurper: That we may know in humane affairs there is nothing certain, but uncertainty;
nothing stable, but instability.

A King Edward presently after the interment of King Henry, drawes his Forces towards Sandwich in Kent, where some of the followes of Fauconbridge, to the number of eight or nine hundred, had in the Castle there strongly fortified themselves, but upon their asking pardon, and submitting themselves to the King, with promise to be faithfull subjects ever after, they had their pardon granted them, and then they delivered up both Castle and Ships, to the number of thirteen, to the Kings use. But how this Composition was observed, may be imagined; when Fauconbridge who was comprised in the same pardon, was afterward taken and executed at Southampton, Spicing and Quintine the Captains that assailed Aldgate and Bishopsgate, and were in Sandwich Castle, at the surrender thereof, were presently beheaded at Canterbury; and their heads placed on poles, upon those Gates: and by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, many both in Essex and Kent were arraigned and condemned for this Rebellion, and more fined.

Fauconbridge
executed.

B And now King Edward, desiring to be secured from all suspected persons, sent the Archbishop of York, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, over to Guisnes, there to be kept in safe custody; and there he remained a long time, till at length by friendship he was delivered, and shortly after dyed. Likewise John Earl of Oxford, who after Barnet Field yeilded himself to King Edward, had his life pardoned; but yet was sent over Sea to the Castle of Hammes, where for the space of twelve years he was shut up in a strong prison, and narrowly looked to; whose Lady all that time was not suffered to come unto him; nor had any thing to live upon, but what people of their charities gave her; or what she could get by Needle or other work. As for the Earls of Pembroke and Richmond, who were fled out of the Realm, to the Duke of Britain, King Edward sent to the Duke, requiring to have them delivered up to him, upon promise of great rewards; to which the Duke made answer, that he could not with his honour deliver them up, whom he had taken into his Protection; but that for King Edwards sake, he would take such care of them, that he should need to take no care for them; and to that end, he sequestred their own servants from them, and appointed Britains to attend upon them.

King Edward
seeks to get the
Earls of Pem-
brook and
Richmond into
his hands.

C It was now the thirteenth year of King Edwards reign; in which a Parliament was called at Westminster: wherein all Acts formerly made by him, are confirmed or revived; and all their Lands and Goods confiscated, that had taken part against him and were fled, and all their Lands and Goods restored to such as had taken part with him.

D King Edward being destin'd to be alwayes in troubles; now that he had quietnesse at home, was drawn into new broyls abroad; for the Duke of Burgoyne at this time having wars with France, thought he could no way make a better harvest to himself, then by sowing seeds of disension between France and England: and to this end, he sends Ambassadors to King Edward, to solicit him to set on foot his Title to the Crown of France; making great offers with protestation to assist him in it, both with Purse and Person. This proposition being seriously debated by the Kings Privy Councell, is at last approved of, as being both lawfull and behovefull, for the honour of the King, and good of the Kingdome. Only means to bear the charges of the war, were wanting; to supply which by a Parliamentary course, would ask too much time: A new course therefore is devised, to procure money from the Subject by way of Benevolence; and this course was taken.

King Edward
is moved by
the Duke of
Burgoyne to
make war up-
on France.

A Benevolence
to raise money.

E About this time Henry Holland Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntington, disinherited by Act of Parliament, in the fourth year of this King, (though he had married King Edwards Sister) yet grew to so great misery, that passing over into Flanders, I there saw him (saith Commynes) running bare legged after the Duke of Burgundies train, begging his bread for Gods sake; whom the Duke of Burgundy at that time not knowing (though they had married two Sisters) but hearing afterward who he was, gave him a small Pension to maintain him; till not long after he was found dead upon the shoar of Dover, and tripped all naked, but how he came to his death, could never by any inquiry be brought to light.

Henry Holland
Duke of Exeter
his miserable
life and death.

F Provision for this French expedition being thoroughly made, and order taken for the quiet Government of the Kingdome in his absence, and the stop of incursions, if any by the Scots should be made: King Edward with an Army of fifteen hundred men at Arms, all of the Nobility and Gentry, fifteen thousand Archers on horseback, eight thousand common Souldiers, and three thousand Pioners, came down to Dover; whither the Duke of Burgoyne had sent five hundred flat bottom'd Boats, to transport the Horse to Calice; yet for all that help, it was two and twenty dayes before the Kings Forces were all past over. Before the Kings departure from Dover, (to the end he might not seem to surprize him) he sent an Herald named Garter, a Norman by birth, with a Letter of Defiance to the French King, (so well written, saith Commynes, that he thought it not of any English mans enditing; as though English-men could not endite as well as the French) requiring him to yeeld unto him the Crown of France, his unquestionable Inheritance; which if he should dare to deny, he would then endeavour to recover it by the Sword.

King Edward
with an Army
passeth over
into France.

He sends a He-
rald to the
King of France
to demand the
Crown.

G This Letter the French King read, and thereupon withdrawing himself, caused the Herald to be brought to his presence, to whom in private he gave this answer: That the Duke of Burgoyne, and the Earl of Saint Paul the Constable, (by whose instigation he knew the King of England was drawn to this design) would but delude him, for that they were Dissemblers and Impostors; and therefore said it would conduce more to the honour of the King of England to continue in League with him, though an old Adversary; then to hazard the fortune of the wars, upon the promised assistance of new-come Deceivers: And so commend me (saith he) to the King thy Master, and say what I have told thee; and then with an honourable reward of three hundred Crowns.

The French
Kings answer
to the Herald.

The Herald
adviseeth the
King of France
what to do.

The Duke of
Burgoyne and
the Constable
of France fail
King Edward
in perfor-
mance of their
promises.

The King of
France sends a
counterfeit
Herald to
King Edward
to propound
conditions of
Peace.

The condi-
tions of a Peace
between the
two Kings.

The Duke of
Burgoyne re-
proacheth
King Edward
for making
the Peace.

Crowns, dismiss him: The Herald promised to do all that in him lay, and (beyond his Commission) A shewed the French King wayes, (by working upon the Lords Howard and Stanley) by which he might enter into a Treaty for Peace, which he doubted not would sort to a good Conclusion. The French King glad to hear it, gave the Herald, besides the other reward, a piece of Crimson Velvet of thirty yards long; and withall sent to King Edward the goodlyest Horse he had in his Stable, as also an Ass, a Wolf, and a wilde Bore, Beasts at that time rare in England: And then the Herald returning to Calice, delivered to King Edward the French Kings answer.

And now to make good the French Kings allegation to the Herald; the Duke of Burgoyne, who had promised in the word of a Prince, to bring to Calice by this time two thousand Launces, and four thousand Stradiots or light Horse, failed to come: Whereupon the Lord Scales is by King Edward sent to the Duke, to put him in minde of his promise, and to hasten his coming B with his promised Forces: But the journey was to little purpose; only it occasioned the Duke with a small troop of Horse to come to the King; formally to excuse himself for having been so backward; but the cause (he said) was, for that having been imbroyled in the siege of Nuz, he could not depart thence, without infinite disgrace, if neither composition nor submission were enforced; which now notwithstanding, because he would not too much trespass upon his patience, he was enforced to do, by the obstinacy of the besieged: but promised to supply all defects, both with his presence and power, and that speedily. The Constable likewise by his Letter perswades the King of England to proceed in the action, and not to doubt both from the Duke and himself, to be sufficiently every way accommodated.

King Edward thus encouraged, passeth on, but in his way found no performance of promises, C either on the Dukes or Constables part: for the Duke did not accommodate the Souldiers at their coming to Peronne, with Victuals or Lodging in such manner as was requisite and expected; and the Constable in stead of surrendring up St. Quintins according to agreement, made a sally out upon such as were sent from the King of England, to take possession, and plaid upon them with his great Ordinance; whereupon King Edward began to suspect the truth of the French Kings description of the Dukes and Constables conditions; and from thence forward stood upon his own guard, and gave no further credit to their Protestations; which the Duke of Burgoyne resenting, pretended occasions for the hastning forward his Forces, and promising speedy return together with them, taketh his leave and departeth, which did not a little increase the Kings suspicion. D

The French King having intelligence of the Duke of Burgoynes departure; forecasting the danger, if they should unite their Forces; resolved with himself, to assay what might be done to mediate a Peace in the Dukes absence; and yet so to treat, that if it took not effect, he might disclaim the knowledge of the overture: Whereupon he privately dispatcheth a messenger, in shew an Herald; but was indeed a fellow of no office or estimation, and not known to any of the Kings household, but to Villiers the Master of the Horse, who only was acquainted with the plot and party. This counterfeit Pursuivant at Arms, with a Coat made of a Trumpets Banner-rowl, addressed himself to the King of England, and upon admission to his presence, insinuates the French Kings desire, which was, to have Commissioners on both parts assigned, to conferre of the means to reconcile the differences between the two Kings; or at least to conclude a cessati- E on from Arms for some time: And so well this Messenger delivered his errand, that it was credited, and the Kings requests granted; and thereupon Letters of safe conduct, are sent of both sides, for such Commissioners as to this purpose should meet at Amiens. For King Edward, came the Lord Howard, Sir Anthony Semler, and Doctor Morton, after made Lord Chancellour of England. For King Lewis, came the Admirall of France, the Lord Saint Piers, and Heberg Bishop of Evreux.

After long Conference, Articles of Peace were concluded on to this effect: That the French King should pay presently to the King of England, threescore and fifteen thousand Crowns, and from thence forth, annually, fifty thousand Crowns, during the life of King Edward: That within one year, the French King should send for the Lady Elizabeth the King of Englands Daughter, and joyn her in marriage to the Dauphin: That the Lord Howard, and Sir John Chey- F ney Master of the Horse, should remain in hostage there, till the English Army had quitted France, and a general Peace for nine years; wherein the Dukes of Burgoyne and Britain, are included, if they will except thereof: This Conclusion was the more easily compassed, by the King of France his following the Heralds counsell; for he distributed sixteen thousand Crowns amongst King Edwards Counsellors and Favorites; two thousand Crowns to the Lord Hastings the Kings Chamberlain; and to the Lord Howard, Sir John Cheyney, Sir Anthony Semler, and Montgomery, the residue; besides great store of Plate and Jewels, distributed amongst inferiour Officers of the Court. The Duke of Gloucester only opposed this accord, as not suiting with his design; nevertheless it proceeded, and notice thereof is presently sent to the Duke of Burgoyne; who thereupon only with fifteen Horse, comes posting to the English Camp, whom King Edward per- G swades to enter into the Peace, according to the reservation; but he in a great chafe, reproacheth King Edward for entering into it himself; saying, that his Predecessors had by many brave exploits gotten fame and reputation upon the French; and now he had brought his Souldiers only to shew them the Countrey, and return as they came; adding withall, that to make it appear he was able without help of the English to subsist of himself, he utterly disclaimed any benefit by that Truce, untill three moneths after the English were returned to their own Countrey; and so in a great sauffe returned home.

- A For the better confirmation of what was agreed upon between the two Kings, an interview is desired; but before the same is effected, the French King sends to the English Army an hundred Tonne of *Gascoigne* wine, to be drunk out amongst the private Souldiers, and therewithall, free license for Commanders and Gentlemen to recreate themselves in *Amyens*, where they were lovingly entertained by the Burgers of the Town, by the Kings expresse command. The place of interview of these two Kings, is agreed on to be at *Picquiney*, a Town three miles distant from *Amyens*, seated in a bottom, through which the River of *Some* runneth; over which a strong Bridge was built, and in the midlt thereof a grate made overthwart with barres, no wider asunder then a man might well thrust in his arm; covered with boards over head, to avoid the rain: four of the Bed-chamber on both sides, are appointed to search the rooms, to prevent traps or Instruments of treachery: and being by them certified that all was cleer, the Kings advance themselves. King Edward being come in sight of the place, made a stand; being told, that the circumstance of coming first to the place, was a matter of great disparagement in point of State: but the French King more regarding substance then circumstance, gave the King of *England* the advantage to come at his pleasure, and went first to the bar appointed for conference, and there did attend King Edwards leisure. He had in his company *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, with his Brother the Cardinall, and eight hundred men at Arms. King Edward had with him, his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords Chamberlain and Chancellour, and at his back his whole Army in battell. The Kings lovingly salute each other, and complements of courtesie reciprocally passe: which finished, they, with their Noblemen there present, take all their Oaths upon the holy Evangelists, in all to their power, to observe the Articles of Accord agreed on. After which, in private the French King importunes King Edward that the Duke of *Brittain* might be left out of these Articles: but after much urging to that purpose, King Edward gave this resolute answer, that if King *Lewis* desired the friendship of *England*, he should not molest the Duke of *Brittain*: for that he was resolved, at any time to come in person to relieve him, if he were disturbed: King Edward pretended the many kindneses he had formerly received of the Duke of *Brittain*; but it was conceived, that the desire of compassing the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*, now in the Duke of *Brittains* Countrey, were the greatest motives of his standing so firmly for him. After more serious discourse, King *Lewis* told King Edward, that he would one day invite him to *Paris*, there to court his French Ladies, with whom, if he committed any sin, he merrily told him, that Cardinall *Bourbon* should be his Confessour, who (he might be sure) would assign him an easie penance; as one that loved to kisse fair Ladies himself: but when King Edward seemed not unwilling to accept his offer, he was then glad to put it off with other discourse, for that (as he told *Commines*) too many English Princes had been there before.

An interview between the two Kings is agreed upon.

The place and manner of their interview

The money to be paid to King Edward by the Articles, is accordingly paid; and thereupon the French Hostages are delivered, and the English Army retires to *Calice*, and from thence is transported into *England*: and then the English Hostages are likewise delivered. This Peace was said to be made only by the Holy Ghost; because on the day of meeting, a white Dove came and sate upon the King of *Englands* Tent: though the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Burgoigne* thought it was made by no good spirit.

- E King Edward being returned into *England*, had his minde running still upon the danger that might grow from the Earl of *Richmond*: he therefore dispatched *D. Stillington* and two other his Ambassadors to the Duke of *Brittain*, to send him over to him, under this subtle pretence, that he meant to match him in marriage with the Lady *Cicilie* his younger Daughter; and withall, sent also no small store of Angels to speak for him: which so prevailed with the Duke, that he delivered the Earl of *Richmond* to the Ambassadors, who conducted him thence to *Saint Malos*, where whilst they stayed for a winde, the young Earl by the cunning plotting of *Peter Landois* the Dukes Treasurer (more out of scorn that he was not gratified by the English Ambassadour to the proportion of his place, then for any love to the Earl) escapes into Sanctuary; from whence neither prayers nor promises could get him out: Neverthelesse upon *Peter Landois* his promise he should be safely kept there, the Ambassadors departed, and returned home, acquainted King Edward with the Duke of *Brittains* courtesie in delivering him, and their own negligence in suffering him to escape, only making amends with the promise of *Peter Landois*; which might be to King Edward some contentment, but was no satisfaction.

King Edward sends to the Duke of *Brittain* to deliver the Earl of *Richmond* to him.

The Earl is delivered, but makes escape; and how.

F At Christmas following, being the sixteenth year of his Reign, he created his eldest Son Edward, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*: his second Son he made Duke of *York*; giving the order of Knighthood to the Son and Heir of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and many others. He created also four and twenty Knights of the Bath, whereof *Brian* Chief Justice, and *Littleton* a Judge of the Common Pleas, were two.

King Edwards Son Edward created Prince of *Wales*, &c.

- G About this time, there were two examples of severity seen; not unworthy the relating, if but only to make us see how dangerous a thing it is *Ludere cum sanctis*, to speak words that may be taken as reflecting upon the King. The first was of one *Walter Walker*, a wealthy Citizen, dwelling at the Sign of the Crown in *Cheapside*: This man one day when his childe cryed, bid him be quiet, and he would make him Heir of the Crown: which words being subject to interpretation, he was called in question about them, arraigned, condemned, and put to death. The other was of *Thomas Burdet* of *Arrow* in *Warwick-shire* Esquire: It happened that King Edward hunted in his Park, he being from home, and there killed a white Buck, whereof *Mr. Burdet* made speciall account: so as coming home, and finding that Buck killed, he wished it horns and all in his belly

Two great examples of severity: one upon *Walter Walker*;

The other upon *Mr. Burdet*,

belly that had counselled the King to kill it: and because none counselled the King to kill it A but himself; it was thought those words were not spoken without a malignant reflecting upon the King: and thereupon *Burdet* was arraigned and condemned, drawn to *Tiburn*, and there beheaded: thourh *Markham* then Chief Justice, chose rather to lose his place, then assent to the Judgement.

The Duke of Gloucester plots to take away his elder Brother the Duke of Clarence.

And now began ambition to boyl in *Richard* Duke of Gloucester; whereof the first heat fell upon his Brother the Duke of Clarence, how to rid him out of the way; to which end, he seeks to raise jealousies in King Edwards head against him, telling him, that some of Clarence his followers were Sorcerers and Necromancers, and had given forth speeches, that one whose name begun with G. should disinherit his Children and get the Crown: and for a colour of this suggestion, one of the Duke of Clarence his Servants, who came with him out of Ireland from Dublin, where the Duke was born; is in his Masters absence by the procurement under hand of the Duke of Gloucester, indicted, arraigned, condemned, and executed at *Tiburn* for a Conjuror, and all within the space of two dayes: and the Duke of Gloucester, to make shew that he had no hand in this fellowes death, set on the Duke of Clarence to complain of it to King Edward; and in the mean time findes matter, at least colour of matter, to make him be committed to the Tower; and then again, to make shew he had no hand in his imprisonment, bids him be of good cheer, for it should not be long ere he would see him released: and he kept his word; for not long after, by his procurement, he was drowned in a But of Malmesey, (and this was his releasement) and then laid in his bed, to make the people believe that he died of discontent; whose death King Edward though perhaps consenting to it, so much repented, that afterwards when he was sued unto for any mans C Pardon, he would sighing break out into such words; Oh unfortunate Brother! for whose life not one man would open his mouth. Being dead, he was buried at *Tewkesbury* in Gloucester-shire, by the body of his Dutchesse, who great with childe, dyed of Poyson a little before.

He procures him to be drowned in a But of Malmesey.

A match treated on between the K. of Scots eldest Son and a Daughter of K. Edward.

It was now the two and twentyeth year of King Edwards Reign, when James King of Scotland sent Ambassadors to treat of a marriage between his eldest Son James Duke of Rothsay, and Cisely King Edwards second Daughter. This overture for a Match, was by the King and his Councell readily embraced, and a great part of the Portion was delivered to the Scots, with this Proviso, That if the marriage did not proceed, the Provost and Merchants of *Edenburgh* should be bound to repay it again. But the Scottish King who had other fantasies in his head, and would take counsell of none but his own will, and diverted also perhaps by the King of France; not only D dallyed the proceeding in the match, but affronted those of the Nobility that perswaded him to it; infomuch that his Brother the Duke of Albany was enforced to abandon the Country, and to flee for refuge into England: by whom King Edward being informed of King James his fickle disposition, was so much incensed, that under the conduct of the Duke of Gloucester, accompanied with the Duke of Albany, he sent an Army of twenty thousand against Scotland; who in their way took in *Barwick*, and besieged the Castle; which being resolutely defended by the Earl *Bothwell*, the Duke left the Lord *Stanley* to continue the siege, whiles he with the rest of the Army, marcheth towards *Edenburgh*; where within the Castle of *Maydens*, King James had immured himself. But the Nobility of Scotland, seeing the danger they were in, endeavoured by humble submission to procure a peace, at least a cessation from war; which with much importunity they obtained, upon these conditions: That full satisfaction should be presently given, for all dammages sustained by the late incursions: That the Duke of Albany should be fully restored to grace and place, with an abolition of all discontents between his Brother King James and him: That the Castle of *Barwick*, (which had been now out of the possession of the English, one and twenty years) should immediately be surrendered into the Generals hands; and from thence no reduction of that or the Town attended: That all such sums of money as upon proposition of the marriage had been delivered, should be repaid. All which except the first Article were accordingly performed.

But dallyed by the K. of Scots.

Whereupon K. Edward enters Scotland with an Army.

And brings the Scots to submission.

Causes of King Edwards discontents.

When this businesse with Scotland was indifferently accommodated; King Edward receives intelligence from his Ambassadour *Leiger* in France, that the French King not only denied the payment of the annual Tribute of fifty thousand Crowns, agreed upon and sworn to upon the ratification of the late concluded Peace; but had also marryed the Dauphin of France to the Lady *Margaret* Daughter of *Maximilian* Son of the Emperour; which so much incensed King Edward, that he resolves to revenge it; and by the advice of his Councell, open war was presently Proclaimed against France: But whilest King Edward is making preparation, and intentive to the businesse, he is attached by the hand of death; and upon the ninth of April, in the year 1483. at Westminster ended his mortall life.

He falls sick and dies.

Of his Taxations.

IN his second year, he sent his privy Seal through England, to move men to give him a certain sum of money towards resisting the Scots, which was granted and given liberally. In his seventh year, in a Parliament at Westminster, were resumed all manner of gifts, which the King had given, from the first day he took possession of the Realm, to that time. In his eighth year, at a Parliament, were granted two Fifteens and a Demy. In his thirteenth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein a Subsidy was granted; and the year following, towards war to be undertaken in

A in France, a new way of raising of money is devised, called a Benevolence, by which great sums of money were gotten of the Subject: And it is not unworthy the relating, what an old rich Widow at this time did; whom King Edward amongst others having called before him, merrily asked, what she would willingly give him towards his great charges? By my troth (quoth she) for thy lovely countenance, thou shalt have even twenty pounds. The King looking scarce for half that sum, thanked her, and lovingly kist her; which so wrought with the old Widow, that she presently swore, he should have twenty pound more; and paid it willingly. Not long before his death, he was by ill Counsellors put upon a distastefull course for raising of money; which was, by fining men for delinquencies against Penall Statutes, by which course some money was gathered; but before it came to full execution, he dying, that also dyed with him.

A merry passage between King Edward and an old Widow.

Money gathered upon Penall Statutes.

B

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

In his fourth year, he newly devised the Coyn both of Gold and Silver, as at this day it is; the Gold, he named Royals and Nobles; the Silver, Groats, and half Groats: the new Groat weighing scanty three pence; and the Noble of six shillings eight pence, appointed to go for eight shillings four pence. In his fifth year it was proclaimed in England, that the Beaks or Pykes of Shooes and Boots should not passe two Inches. upon pain of Curfing by the Clergy, and forfeiting twenty shillings, to be paid one Noble to the King, another to the Cordwayners of London, and the third to the Chamber of London; and for other Countreys and Towns the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the year 1382. the Pykes of Shooes and Boots were of such length, that they were fain to be tied up to the knees with Chains of Silver and gilt, or at least with silken laces.

New Coyn ordained.

The length of Beaks and Pykes of Shooes limited.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

In this Kings time, the Jubile which was before but every fiftieth year, was by Pope Sixtus the fourth, brought to be every five and twentieth year. Also, where before this time, the Scottish Bishops had no Metropolitane, but the Bishop of York was Metropolitane and Primate of Scotland; now in this Kings time, Pope Sixtus appointed the Bishop of Saint Andrews to be Metropolitane of Scotland, who had twelve Bishops under his obedience.

The year of Jubile brought from fifty, to five and twentieth.

Of Works of Piety done in his time.

This King laid the foundation of the new Chappel at Windsor, and his Queen Elizabeth founded the Queens Colledge in Cambridge, and endowed it with large Possessions. About his fifteenth year, Doctor Woodlark Provost of Kings Colledge in Cambridge, founded Katherine hall there. In his seventeenth year, the Wall of the City of London, from Cripplegate to Bishopsgate, was builded at the charges of the Citizens, also Bishopsgate it self was new built by the Merchants Almshouses of the Steelyard. Also in this year dyed Sir John Crosby Knight, late Maior of London; who gave to the repairing of the Parish Church of St. Helens in Bishopsgatestreet where he was buried, 500 Marks: to the repairing of the Parish Church of Henworth in Middlesex, forty pounds: to the repairing of London Wall, an hundred pounds: to the repairing of Rochester Bridge, ten pounds: to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Grocers in London, two large Pots of silver chased half gilt, and other Legacies. About this time also, Richard Rawson one of the Sheriffs of London, caused an house to be builded in the Church-yard of St. Mary Hospitall without Bishopsgate, where the Maior and Aldermen use to sit and hear the Sermons in Easter Holy-dayes. In his nineteenth year, William Tailour Maior of London, gave to the City certain Tenements; for which the City is bound to pay for ever, at every Fifteen granted to the King, for all such as shall dwell in Cordwainers-street-ward, sessed at twelve-pence apiece, or under. And about the same time, one Thomas Ilam Sheriff of London, builded at his own costs the great Conduit in Cheapside. In his three and twentieth year, Edward Show Goldsmith, who had been Maior of London, at his own costs re-edified Cripplegate in London, which Gate in old time had been a Prison.

Queens Colledge in Cambridge founded. Katherine-hall in Cambridge founded.

The great Conduit in Cheapside builded. Cripplegate re-edified.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

In his third year, the Minster of York, and the Steeple of Christs Church in Norwich were burnt. In his seventeenth year, so great a Pestilence reigned in England, that it swept away more people in four moneths, then the Warres had done in fifteen years past. Also in his nineteenth year was another Pestilence; which beginning in the latter end of September, continued till the beginning of November twelve-moneths following; in which space of time innumerable people dyed.

Two great Plagues.

Of his Wife and Issue.

King Edward had been contracted to *Eleanor* Daughter to *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, married after to *Sir Thomas Butler* Baron of *Sudely*: but he married *Elizabeth* the Widow of *Sir John Grey*, daughter of *Richard Woodville* by his Wife *Jaqueline* Dutchesse of *Bedford*: she lived his Wife eighteen years and eleven moneths; by whom he had three Sons and seven Daughters. *Edward* his eldest Son, born in the Sanctuary at *Westminster*: *Richard* his second Son, born at *Shrewsbury*: *George* his third Son born also at *Shrewsbury*, but died a child. *Elizabeth* his eldest Daughter, promised in marriage to *Charles* Dauphin of *France*; but married afterward to *King Henry* the seventh: *Cicely* his second Daughter promised in marriage to *James* Duke of *Rothsay*, Prince of *Scotland*; but was married afterward to *John* Viscount *Wells*, whom she outlived, and was again remarried, but by neither Husband had any Issue: she lyeth buried at *Quarrenden* in the Isle of *Wight*. *Anne* his third Daughter was married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marshall and high Treasurer of *Edward*; by whom she had two Sons, both dying without Issue: she lyeth buried at *Framingham* in *Norfolk*. *Bridget* his fourth Daughter, born at *Eltham* in *Kent*, became a Nunne in the Nunnery of *Dartford* in *Kent*, which *King Edward* had founded. *Mary* his fifth Daughter, was promised in marriage to the King of *Denmark*, but died in the Tower of *Greenwich*, before it could be solemnized: she lyeth buried at *Windfor*. *Margaret* his sixth Daughter, dyed an Infant: *Katherine* his seventh Daughter, was married to *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*; to whom she bare Lord *Henry*, who by *King Henry* the eight was created Marquesse of *Exeter*.

King Edwards
three speciall
Concubines.

Shores Wife.

The late Lord
Lumley, from
whom de-
scended.

Concubines he had many, but three specially; and would use to say, that he had three Concubines, who in their severall properties, excelled: One, the merryest; another, the wyldest; the third, the holiest Harlot in his Realm; as one whom no man could lightly get out of the Church to any place, unlesse it were to his bed: The other two were greater personages then are fit to be named: but the merriest was *Shores* Wife; in whom therefore he took special pleasure: This woman was born in *London*, worshipfully descended, and well married: but when the King had abused her, anon her Husband (as he was an honest man, and did know his good, not presuming to touch a Kings Concubine) left her up to him altogether.

By these he had natural Issue; *Arthur* surnamed *Plantagenet* (whose mother, as is supposed, was the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*) created Viscount *Lisle*, by *King Henry* the eight, at *Bridewell* in *London*: and *Elizabeth*, who was married to *Sir Thomas Lumly* Knight; to whom she bare *Richard*, afterward Lord *Lumley*, from whom the late Lord *Lumley* did descend.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was (saith *Comines*) the goodlyest personage that ever mine eyes beheld; exceeding tall of stature, fair of complexion, and of most Princely presence: and we may truly say, he was of full age before he came to one and twenty; for being but eighteen years old when his Father died, he sued out his Livery presently: so as he began the race of his fortune just like *Augustus Caesar*, each of them at the same age succeeding an Ancestour after a violent death; and each of them left to set on a roof, where but only a foundation was laid before. For his conditions, he was of an erected composure both of body and minde, but something sagging on the Flethes side; and never any man that did marry for love, did so little love marriage; for he took as much pleasure in other mens Wives as in his own. He was never more confident, then when he was in danger, nor ever more doubtfull then when he was secure. Of the four Cardinall vertues, Fortitude and Prudence were in him naturally; Temperance and Justice, but to serve his turn. He was politick even to irreligion; for to compasse his ends he would not stick to swear what he never meant. Yet he was Religious beyond Policy; for before Battails, he used to make his Prayers to God; after Victories, to give him Thanks. He was farre from being proud, yet very ambitious; and could use familiarity, and yet retain Majesty. He was a great Briber; and what he could not get by Force, he would by Rewards; as much as what he could not get by Battery, he would by Mines. He was too credulous of Reports, which made him be in error, sometimes to the hurt of himself, oftentimes of others. He had made the White Rose to flourish as long as *Henry* the fourth made the Red, if he had not made it change colour with too much blood. He had been fortunate in his Children, if he had not been unfortunate in a Brother: But he was well enough served, that would think a Wolf could ever be a good Shepheard. He had an excellent art in improving his favours; for he could do as much with a small courtesie, as other men with a great benefit: And that which was more, he could make advantage of disadvantages; for he got the love of the *Londoners* by owing them money; and the good will of the Citizens by lying with their Wives.

A

Of his Death and Buriall.

W Hether it began from his minde, being extremely troubled with the injurious dealing of the King of France; or from his body by intemperance of diet, to which he was much given; he fell into a sicknesse, (some say a Catarrhe, some a Fever) but into a sicknesse whereof he died. In the time of which sicknesse and at the very point of his death, Sir Thomas More makes him to make a speech to his Lords; which I might think to be the speech of a sick man, if it were not so sound, and of a weak man, if it were not so long: But it seems Sir Thomas More delivers rather what was fit for him to say, then what he said; the Contents being only, to exhort his Lords, whom he knew to be at variance, to be in love and concord amongst themselves; for that the welfare of his Children, whom he must now leave to their care, could not otherwise be preserved but by their agreement. And having spoken to this purpose as much as his weaknesse would suffer him, he found himself sleepy; and turning on one side, he fell into his long sleep, the ninth of April, in the year 1483. when he had lived one and forty years; reigned two and twenty and one moneth, and was buried at Windsor, in the new Chappel, whose foundation himself had laid.

His speech to
his Lords at
his death.

C

Of Men of Note in his time.

M EN of valour in his time were many, but himself the chiefest, the rest may be observed in reading his story. For men of letters, we may have leave at this time to speak of some strangers, having been men of extraordinary fame; as *Jobannes de Monte Regio*, *Purbachius* and *Blanchinus*, all great Astronomers; *Ludovicus Pontanus*, *Paulus Castrensis*, and *Antonius Rossellanus*, all great Lawyers; *Servianus*, *Savonarola*, and *Barzizius*, all great Physicians; *Bassarian* and *Cusanus*, both great Cardinals; *Argyropole*, *Philolphus*, *Datus*, *Leonardus*, *Aretinus*, and *Poggius*, all great men in humane Literature. And of our Countrey-men; *John Harding* an Esquire, born in the North parts, who wrote a Chronicle in English Verse, and among other special points therein touched, hath gathered all the Submissions and Homages made by the Scottish Kings, even from the dayes of King *Abelstan*: whereby it may evidently appear, how the Scottish Kingdom, even in manner, from the first establishing thereof here in Britain, hath been appertaining unto the Kings of England, and holden of them as their chief and superior Lords. *Julian Barnes*, a Gentleman of excellent gifts, who wrote certain Treatises of Hawking and Hunting; also a book of the Lawes of Arms, and knowledge appertaining to Heralds. *John Fortescue* a Judge, and Chancellor of England, who wrote divers Treatises concerning the Law and Politick Government: *Rebus*, a Charter-house Monk, born in London, who wrote divers Epigrams. *Walter Hunt* a Carmelite Fryer, who for his excellent learning, was sent from the whole body of the Realm, to the Generall Councell holden first at *Ferrara*, and after at *Florence*, by Pope *Eugenius* the fourth; where he amongst others disputed with the *Greeke*, in defence of the Order and Ceremonies of the Latine Church. *William Caxton*, who wrote a Chronicle called *Fructus Temporum*, and an Appendix unto *Trevisa*, besides divers other Books and Translations. *John Milverton*, a Carmelite Fryer of *Bristow*, and Provinciaall of his Order, who because he defended such of his Order as preached against endowments of the Church with Temporall possessions, was committed to prison in the Castle of Saint *Angelo* in *Rome*, where he continued three years. *David Morgan* a Welchman, who wrote of the Antiquities of *Wales*, and a description of the Countrey. *John Tiptoft*, a Nobleman born, who wrote divers Treatises, but lost his head in the year 1471. *Robert Huggon* born in *Norfolk*, who wrote certain vain Prophecies. *Thomas Norton* born in *Bristow*, an Alchymist. *Scogan* a learned Gentleman, and a Student for a time in *Oxford*; who for his pleasant wit and merry conceits, was called to Court. But most worthy of all to be remembered, *Thomas Littleton* a reverend Judge of the Common Pleas, who brought a great part of the Law into Method, which lay before confusedly dispersed; and his Book called *Littletons Tenures*.

William Caxton
who wrote a
Chronicle.

Scogan was this
time lived.

Thomas Littleton,
who wrote
the *Tenures*, at
this time lived.

Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his First year,
Sir Hugh Witch was Maior.
George Ireland, John Lock, Sheriffs.

In his Fourth year.
Sir Ralph Joceline was Maior.
John Tate, John Stone, Sheriffs.

In his Second year,
Sir Thomas Cook was Maior.
William Hampton, Bartholomew James, Sheriffs.

In his Fifth year,
Sir Raph Varney was Maior.
Henry Weaver, William Constantine, Sheriffs.

In his Third year,
Sir Matthew Philip was Maior.
Robert Bassett, Thomas Muschamp, Sheriffs.

In his Sixth year,
Sir John Young was Major.
John Brown, Henry Brice, John Darby, Sheriffs.

In his Seventh year,
Sir Thomas Oldgrave was Maior.
Thomas Stalbrook, Humphrey Heyford, Sheriffs.

In his Eighth year,
Sir William Taylor was Maior.
Simon Smith, William Harriot, Sheriffs.

In his Ninth year,
Sir Richard a Lee was Maior.
Richard Gardner, Robert Drope, Sheriffs.

In his Tenth year,
Sir John Stockton was Maior,
John Crosby, John Ward, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year,
Sir William Edwards was Maior.
John Allen, John Shelley, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year,
Sir William Hampton was Maior.
John Brown, Thomas Bledlow, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year,
Sir John Tate was Maior.
Sir William Stocker, Robert Belisdon, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year,
Sir Robert Drope was Maior.
Edmund Shaa, Thomas Hill, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year,
Sir Robert Basset was Maior.
Hugh Brice, Robert Cotwich, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year,
Sir Ralph Joceline was Maior.
Richard Rawson, William Horn, Sheriffs.]

In his Seventeenth year,
Sir Humphrey Heyford was Maior.
Henry Collet, John Stocker, Sheriffs.

In his Eighteenth year,
Sir Richard Gardner was Maior.
Robert Harding, Robert Bifield, Sheriffs.

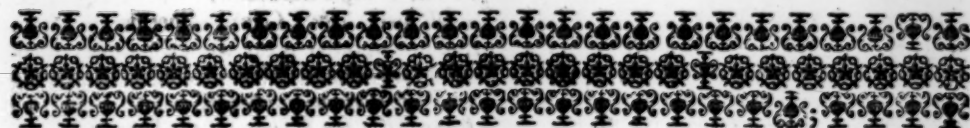
In his Nineteenth year,
Sir Bartolomew James was Maior.
Thomas Ilam, John Ward, Sheriffs.

In his Twentieth year,
Sir John Brown was Maior.
Thomas Daniel, William Bacon, Sheriffs.

In his one and Twentieth year,
Sir William Heriot was Maior.
Robert Tate, Rich. Ckawrey, Will. Wiking, Sheriffs.

In his two and Twentieth year,
Sir Edmund Shaa was Maior.
William White, John Matthew, Sheriffs.]

THE



THE
R E I G N
O F
KING EDWARD
THE FIFTH.



King Edward the fourth being dead, his eldest Son *Edward*, scarce yet eleven years old, succeeded in the Kingdome, but not in the Crown; for he was Proclaimed King, but never Crowned: And indeed it may not so properly be called the Reign of *Edward* the Fifth, as the Tyranny of *Richard* the Third; for from the time of King *Edward*'s death, though not in name, yet in effect, he not only ruled as King, but raged as a Tyrant. Prince *Edward* when his Father died, was at *Ludlow* in *Wales*, where he had lived some time before, the better by his presence to keep the Welsh in awe; he had about him of his Mothers kindred many; but Sir *Anthony Woodville*, the Earl *Rivers* his

King *Edward*
Proclaimed
King, but ne-
ver Crowned.

Uncle, was appointed his chief Counsellor and Director. The Duke of *Glocester* was at this time in the North, but had word presently sent him, from the Lord *Hastings* Lord Chamberlain, of his Brother King *Edward*'s death; who acquainted him withall, that by his Will, he had committed the young King, his Queen and other children to his care and government; and thereupon putting him in minde, how necessary it was for him speedily to repair to *London*: But the Duke of *Glocester* needed no spur to set him forward, who was already in a full careere; for he had long before projected in his minde, how he might come to attain the Crown; and now he thought the way was made him. For as it is said, the very night in which King *Edward* died, one *Misselbrooke*, long ere morning, came in great haste to the house of one *Potter* dwelling in *Red-crosse-street* without *Grippegate*; where he shewed unto *Potter*, that King *Edward* was departed: to whom *Potter* answered, By my troth man, then will my Master the Duke of *Glocester* be King: What cause he had so to think, is hard to say; but surely it is not likely he spake it of nought. And now the young King was coming up to *London* with a strong guard, partly to make a first expression of his greatnesse, and partly to oppose any disorders that might be offered. But the Duke of *Glocester* finding this proceeding like to be a rub in his way, at least not fit for his designs, he presently falls to undermining; writes most loving Letters to the Queen, protesting all humble and faithfull service to the King and her, but withall perswading her, that this great guard about the King might be presently dismissed; which did but minister matter of suspicion, and would be apt to breed new jealousies in them who were now thoroughly reconciled. The Queen of a nature easie to be wrought upon, gives credit to his glozing Letters; and thereupon sends in all haste to her Son, and to her Brother the Lord *Rivers*; requiring them by all means, for some causes to her known, to dismisse their guard, (not mentioning by whose advise she writ them; which if she had done, they would never have done) but now upon her Letters, they presently did; and came forward with only a sober company. And now is *Glocester*'s first work done; but he knowing that the work yet behinde was too great to be done by himself alone gets the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings*, two of the greatest men of power at that time in the Kingdome, to joyn with him in opinion, that it was not fit the Queens kindred should be so wholly about the King; and others of better blood and desert, to be estranged from

The Duke of
Glocester hear-
ing of his bro-
thers death,
poles out of
the North to
London.

He perswades
the Queen, that
her Son may
dismisse his
guard.

from

And thereupon
seiz'd upon
the Kings Un-
kle and other
friends.

from him, and therefore by all means, fit to endeavour to remove them: To which the Duke A
of *Buckingham* is easily wrought, upon a promise to have the Earldome of *Hartford* conferred
upon him: and the Lord *Hastings* not hardly, upon a hope by this means to cut off many, whom
in King *Edwards* dayes he had justly offended. And now another great work was done; it re-
mains in the next place to put it in execution, which was presently thus effected: The young
King had been at *Northampton*, and from thence was gone to *Stony-stratford*, whither the two
Dukes of *Glocester* and *Buckingham* arrived; but pretending the Town to be too little for the
entertainment of their Companies, they went back to *Northampton*, and alighting at the same
Inne where the Earl *Rivers* had taken up his lodging for that night, intending the next morn-
ing early to overtake the King. Upon this their accidentall meeting, great shews of courtesie
passed between them; and supper ended, the Dukes pretending wearinesse, retire to their B
lodgings, the Earl to his; but the Dukes being entred into their Chambers, enter into consul-
tation with their private friends, in which they spent a great part of the night, and then se-
cretly get the keyes of the Inne gates, suffering none to passe either in or out; whereof the
Earl having notice by his Host, though he suspected the worst, yet setting a good counte-
nance upon the matter, and trusting to his own Innocency, he boldly went to the Duke of *Glo-*
cesters Chamber, where he found the Duke of *Buckingham* and the rest closely set in counsell;
with whom he expostulates the reason of this course, to imprison him in his Inne against his will:
But they in stead of answer, command presently to lay hands on him, charging him with many
crimes, whereof themselves were only guilty: And then taking order for his safe imprison-
ment, they speedily took horse, and came to *Stony-stratford*, at such time as the King was taking C
horse, whom in all reverent manner they saluted: But presently in the Kings presence, a quar-
rel is pickt against the Lord *Richard Gray*, the Kings half Brother: The Duke of *Buckingham*
making relation to the King, that he and the Marquesse his Brother, with the Earl *Rivers* the
Queens Brother, had endeavoured and almost effected to draw to themselves the whole ma-
naging the affairs of the Kingdom, and to set variance between the Peers of the Realm: and
particularly, that the Lord Marquesse without any Warrant, had taken out of the Tower of
London both Treasure and Armour, to a great quantity; but to what purpose though they were
ignorant, yet there was just cause to suspect it was to no good end: And therefore it was
thought expedient by the advice of the Nobility, to attach him at *Northampton*, to have him
forth coming to make his answer for these and many other his over bold actions: The King D
unable to sound the depth of these plots, mildly said unto him: What my Brother Marquesse
hath done, I cannot say; but for my Uncle and Brother here, I dare answer, that they are igno-
rant of any unlawfull practises either against me or you. Oh (saith the Duke of *Buckingham*)
that hath been their cunning to keep their treachery from your Graces knowledge: And there-
upon instantly in the Kings presence, they arrested the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*,
Sir *Richard Hall*, and brought the King and all his company back to *Northampton*, putting away
all his old Servants, and placing in their rooms creatures of their own, whom they had power
to command. At which dealing, the young King wept, but it booteth nothing; and to colour
the matter, the Duke of *Glocester* at dinner lent a dish from his own Table to the Lord *Rivers*,
bidding him be of good cheer, for all shortly should be well: but the Lord *Rivers* thanking E
the Duke, prayed the Messenger to carry it to the Lord *Richard*, with the same message for his
comfort, as one to whom such adversity was strange; but as for himself, he had all his dayes
been acquainted with it, and therefore could the better bear it. But for all this comfortable
courtesie of the Duke of *Glocester*, he sent the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Tho-*
mas Vaughan into the North Countrey, into divers places to prison, and afterward to *Pomfret*,
where in conclusion they were all beheaded.

The Earl Ri-
vers and other
Lords behead-
ed at *Pomfret*.

The Duke of
Glocester gives
out colours for
these Lords
Imprisonment.

And now the Duke of *Glocester* having thus gotten the custody of the King, set forwards to-
ward *London*, giving out by the way that the Marquesse and the Queens kindred had plotted the
destruction of the King, and of all the ancient Nobility of the Realm, and to alter the Go-
vernment of the Common-wealth; and that they were only imprisoned to be brought to their
tryall according to Law: And the better to settle these suggestions in the apprehension of the
Vulgar, they brought along with them divers Carts laden with Armour, (of their own provid-
ing) with Dryfats and great Chefts, wherein they reported to be Treasure for the payment of
Souldiers; with which they so posselt the Common-people, that all was believed for truth
which was thus rumored: But the finest devise of all was, to have five of the Duke of *Glo-*
cesters instruments manacled and pinioned like Traitors; and these in every place where the King
lodged, to be disperfed and given out to be men of great birth, drawn into this vile plot of Treason
by the Queens Brother; who must seem to be penitent for their offence, and to confesse
their own guilt: And this devise continued acting till the King came to *London*, where their
Vilars were pulled off; and the disguise was soon discovered.

The Queen
with her young
son and daugh-
ters takes San-
ctuary.

The Queen in the mean time having intelligence of these dolefull accidents, and fearing there
were worse to follow; with her second Son and five Daughters takes Sanctuary at *Westminster*;
and the young King hearing of these things, with tears and sighes expressed his grief; but the
Dukes making Protestation of their fidelity, and care of his safety, seemed only to marvel why
he should be melancholy.

At this time a messenger came from the Lord Chamberlain, to the Archbishop of *York* Lord
Chancellour of *England*, to signifie to him, that there was no fear of any thing, for that he
assured

A assured him all should be well. Well (quoth the Archbishop) be it as well as it will; I assure him, it will never be so well as we have seen it. And thereupon, presently after the messengers departure, he calleth up his Servants (being then in the night) and taking the great Seal with him, came before day to the Queen, whom he found sitting alone on the Rushes, all desolate and dismayed; whom he comforted the best he could, assuring her that if they Crowned any King but her Son whom they had with them, he would presently after Crown his Brother whom she had with her, and therewithall delivering to her the great Seal, departed: but soon after, bethinking himself better, he thought he had done too rashly, to deliver the great Seal to the Queen; and therefore sent for it again, and had it delivered him; yet shortly after reproved for delivering it by the Councill Table, he had it taken from him, which was then delivered

The L. Chancellor delivers the great Seal to the Queen, and after fetcheth it from her again.

B to Doctor Ruffell Bishop of Lincoln, the most learned man of that time.

And now the Duke of Gloucester so respectively carries himself towards the King, with so much shew of care and faithfulness, that by a generall consent of the Councill he is appointed and established Protector of the King and Kingdom; and by this means he hath the King in his custody: It remains now how to get his Brother the Duke of York, for without having both, he were as good (as to his purpose) have neither: And to effect this, he makes the effect to become a cause: for where by his undue dealings he had made the King melancholy, he now makes that Melancholy a cause to require his Brothers company to make him merry; and therefore wishes some course may be taken, either by perswasion or otherwise, to procure the Queen to send the Duke of York to keep his Brother the King company: Here the Archbishop of York

The Duke of Gloucester is appointed Protector of the K. and Kingdom.

C the Lord Cardinall, the man thought most fit to be sent in this employment, riseth up and saith, he would do his best endeavour to perswade her; but if he could not, he then thought it was not to be attempted against her will, for that it would turn to the high displeasure of God: if the priviledge of that holy place should now be broken, which had so many years inviolably been kept, which both Kings and Popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed; and which holy ground was more then five hundred years ago, by Saint Peter in his own person, accompanied with great numbers of Angels, by night so specially hallowed and dedicated to God; and for proof whereof, there is yet in the Abby Saint Peters Cope to shew: that from that time hitheward, there never was so undevout a King that durst violate that sacred place, nor so holy a Bishop that durst presume to consecrate it: and therefore (saith he) God forbid, that

The Archbishop of York is sent to perswade the Q. to send her young Son to keep his brother company.

D any man for any earthly thing, should enterprize to break the immunity and liberty of that sacred Sanctuary; and I trust with Gods grace, we shall not need it, at least my endeavours shall not be wanting; if the Mothers dread and womanish fear be not the let. Womanish fear, nay womanish frowardnesse, (quoth the Duke of Buckingham) for I dare take it upon my Soul, she well knoweth there is no need of any fear, either for her Son or for her self: and prosecuting his discourse, declareth at large, that as there was no just cause for the Queen to keep her Son, so there was great cause for them to require him; and that for breach of Sanctuary in this case there could be none; for that he had often heard of Sanctuary men, but never heard of Sanctuary children. And to this purpose having spoken much, it was all assented to by the Lords that were present, and with this Instruction is the Archbishop (upon whom the

The Duke of Buckingham viliifies the priviledge of Sanctuary.

E Queen specially relyed) sent unto her; who after humble salutations, acquaints her with his message, earnestly perswading her not to oppose the Lord Protectors request, and giving her many reasons, first that she ought not, and then that she could not keep him in Sanctuary: she answered all his reasons, though with great mildnesse, yet with great earnestnesse; so as the Archbishop finding little hope to prevail with her by perswasion, turns the tenor of his speech another way; telling her plainly that if she did not consent to send her son, he doubted some sharper course would speedily be taken. This warning sank so deep into the Queens minde, that after a little pausing, taking her Son by the hand, she said, My Lord Archbishop, here he is, for my own part I will never deliver him; but if you will needs have him, take him, and at your hands I will require him: and therewith weeping bitterly, Dear childe (saith she)

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F let me kisse thee before we part, God knows whether ever we shall meet again; and so the childe weeping as fast as she, went along with the Archbishop to the Starchamber, where the Lord Protector and other Lords had stayed all the while looking for his coming back: and as soon as he was entred the room, the Protector spying the childe, riseth up and embraceth him, saying, Dear Nephew, now welcome with all my heart: next to my Sovereign Lord your Brother, nothing gives me so much contentment as your Presence: and we may believe him; he spake as he thought; for now he had the prey which he so much desired. A few dayes after, pretending to have them lodged in a place of more security, untill the distempers of the Common-wealth might better be quieted; he caused them in great pomp and state to be conveyed through London to the Tower, there at pleasure to remain, till the time of Coronation; whereof

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The L. Hastings firm to the Princes, and therefore is first made away, and in what manner.

man-

And thereupon
seiz'd upon
the Kings Un-
kle and other
friends.

from him, and therefore by all means, fit to endeavour to remove them: To which the Duke A
of *Buckingham* is easily wrought, upon a promise to have the Earldome of *Hartford* conferred
upon him: and the Lord *Hastings* not hardly, upon a hope by this means to cut off many, whom
in King *Edward's* dayes he had justly offended. And now another great work was done; it re-
mains in the next place to put it in execution, which was presently thus effected: The young
King had been, at *Northampton*, and from thence was gone to *Stony-stratford*, whither the two
Dukes of *Glocester* and *Buckingham* arrived; but pretending the Town to be too little for the
entertainment of their Companies, they went back to *Northampton*, and alighting at the same
Inne where the Earl *Rivers* had taken up his lodging for that night, intending the next morn-
ing early to overtake the King. Upon this their accidentall meeting, great shews of courtesie
passed between them; and supper ended, the Dukes pretending wearinesse, retire to their B
lodgings, the Earl to his; but the Dukes being entred into their Chambers, enter into consul-
tation with their private friends, in which they spent a great part of the night, and then se-
cretly get the keyes of the Inne gates, suffering none to passe either in or out; whereof the
Earl having notice by his Host, though he suspected the worst, yet setting a good counte-
nance upon the matter, and trusting to his own Innocency, he boldly went to the Duke of *Glo-*
cesters Chamber, where he found the Duke of *Buckingham* and the rest closely set in counsell;
with whom he expostulates the reason of this course, to imprison him in his Inne against his will:
But they in stead of answer, command presently to lay hands on him, charging him with many
crimes, whereof themselves were only guilty: And then taking order for his safe imprison-
ment, they speedily took horse, and came to *Stony-stratford*, at such time as the King was taking C
horse, whom in all reverent manner they saluted: But presently in the Kings presence, a quar-
rel is pickt against the Lord *Richard Gray*, the Kings half Brother: The Duke of *Buckingham*
making relation to the King, that he and the Marquesse his Brother, with the Earl *Rivers* the
Queens Brother, had endeavoured and almost effected to draw to themselves the whole ma-
naging the affairs of the Kingdom, and to set variance between the Peers of the Realm: and
particularly, that the Lord Marquesse without any Warrant, had taken out of the Tower of
London both Treasure and Armour, to a great quantity; but to what purpose though they were
ignorant, yet there was just cause to suspect it was to no good end: And therefore it was
thought expedient by the advice of the Nobility, to attach him at *Northampton*, to have him
forth coming to make his answer for these and many other his over bold actions: The King D
unable to sound the depth of these plots, mildly said unto him: What my Brother Marquesse
hath done, I cannot say; but for my Uncle and Brother here, I dare answer, that they are igno-
rant of any unlawfull practises either against me or you. Oh (saith the Duke of *Buckingham*)
that hath been their cunning to keep their treachery from your Graces knowledge: And there-
upon instantly in the Kings presence, they arrested the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*,
Sir *Richard Hall*, and brought the King and all his company back to *Northampton*, putting away
all his old Servants, and placing in their rooms creatures of their own, whom they had power
to command. At which dealing, the young King wept, but it booteth nothing; and to colour
the matter, the Duke of *Glocester* at dinner lent a dish from his own Table to the Lord *Rivers*,
bidding him be of good cheer, for all shortly should be well: but the Lord *Rivers* thanking E
the Duke, prayed the Messenger to carry it to the Lord *Richard*, with the same message for his
comfort, as one to whom such adversity was strange; but as for himself, he had all his dayes
been acquainted with it, and therefore could the better bear it. But for all this comfortable
courtesie of the Duke of *Glocester*, he sent the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Tho-*
mas Vaughan into the North Countrey, into divers places to prison, and afterward to *Pomfret*,
where in conclusion they were all beheaded.

The Earl Ri-
vers and other
Lords behead-
ed at *Pomfret*.

The Duke of
Glocester gives
out colours for
these Lords
Imprisonment.

And now the Duke of *Glocester* having thus gotten the custody of the King, set forwards to-
ward *London*, giving out by the way that the Marquesse and the Queens kindred had plotted the
destruction of the King, and of all the ancient Nobility of the Realm, and to alter the Go-
vernment of the Common-wealth; and that they were only imprisoned to be brought to their
tryall according to Law: And the better to settle these suggestions in the apprehension of the
Vulgar, they brought along with them divers Carts laden with Armour, (of their own provid-
ing) with Dryfats and great Chests, wherein they reported to be Treasure for the payment of
Souldiers; with which they so posselt the Common-people, that all was believed for truth
which was thus rumored: But the finest devise of all was, to have five of the Duke of *Glo-*
cesters instruments manacled and pinioned like Traitors; and these in every place where the King
lodged, to be dispersed and given out to be men of great birth, drawn into this vile plot of Trea-
son by the Queens Brother; who must seem to be penitent for their offence, and to confesse
their own guilt: And this devise continued acting till the King came to *London*, where their
Visards were pulled off, and the disguise was soon discovered.

The Queen
with her young
son and daugh-
ters takes San-
ctuary.

The Queen in the mean time having intelligence of these dolefull accidents, and fearing there
were worse to follow; with her second Son and five Daughters takes Sanctuary at *Westminster*;
and the young King hearing of these things, with tears and sighes expressed his grief; but the
Dukes making Protestation of their fidelity, and care of his safety, seemed only to marvel why
he should be melancholy.

At this time a messenger came from the Lord Chamberlain, to the Archbishop of *York* Lord
Chancellor of *England*, to signifie to him, that there was no fear of any thing, for that he
assured

A assured him all should be well. Well (quoth the Archbishop) be it as well as it will; I assure him, it will never be so well as we have seen it. And thereupon, presently after the messengers departure, he calleth up his Servants (being then in the night) and taking the great Seal with him, came before day to the Queen, whom he found sitting alone on the Rushes, all desolate and dismayed; whom he comforted the best he could, assuring her that if they Crowned any King but her Son whom they had with them, he would presently after Crown his Brother whom she had with her, and therewithall delivering to her the great Seal, departed: but soon after, bethinking himself better, he thought he had done too rashly, to deliver the great Seal to the Queen; and therefore sent for it again, and had it delivered him; yet shortly after reproved for delivering it by the Councill Table, he had it taken from him, which was then delivered

The L. Chancellor delivers the great Seal to the Queen, and after fetcheth it from her again.

B to Doctor *Ruffell* Bishop of *Lincoln*, the most learned man of that time.

And now the Duke of *Glocester* so respectfully carries himself towards the King, with so much shew of care and faithfulness, that by a generall consent of the Councill he is appointed and established Protector of the King and Kingdom; and by this means he hath the King in his custody: It remains now how to get his Brother the Duke of *York*, for without having both, he were as good (as to his purpose) have neither: And to effect this, he makes the effect to become a cause: for where by his undue dealings he had made the King melancholy, he now makes that Melancholy a cause to require his Brothers company to make him merry; and therefore wishes some course may be taken, either by perswasion or otherwise, to procure the Queen to send the Duke of *York* to keep his Brother the King company: Here the Archbishop of *York*

The Duke of *Glocester* is appointed Protector of the K. and Kingdom.

C the Lord Cardinal, the man thought most fit to be sent in this employment, riseth up and faith, he would do his best endeavour to perswade her; but if he could not, he then thought it was not to be attempted against her will, for that it would turn to the high displeasure of God: if the priviledge of that holy place should now be broken, which had so many years inviolably been kept, which both Kings and Popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed; and which holy ground was more then five hundred years ago, by Saint *Peter* in his own person, accompanied with great numbers of Angels, by night so specially hallowed and dedicated to God; and for proof whereof, there is yet in the Abby Saint *Peters* Cope to shew: that from that time hitherto, there never was so undevout a King that durst violate that sacred place, nor so holy a Bishop that durst presume to consecrate it: and therefore (saith he) God forbid, that any man for any earthly thing, should enterprise to break the immunity and liberty of that sacred Sanctuary; and I trust with Gods grace, we shall not need it, at least my endeavours shall not be wanting; if the Mothers dread and womanish fear be not the let. Womanish

The Archbishop of *York* is sent to perswade the Q. to send her young Son to keep his brother company.

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The L. *Hastings* firm to the Princes, and therefore is first made away, and in what manner.

man-

manner: All the Lords of the Privy Councill, in the Protector's name, are convoked to the Tower; where fitting preparations for the Coronation of the young King are proposed, untill the Protector came in; who taking his chair, very affably saluted them, merrily jesting with some, and more then ordinarily pleasant with them all: when after a little talk, he said to the Bishop of Ely; My Lord, I hear you have very good Strawberries at your Garden in Holborn; I pray let us have a messe of them. Most gladly (said the Bishop) and presently sent for some: and then the Protector rising up, prayed the Lordsto spare his absence a little; and so departed. Within the space of an hour he returned; but so changed in countenance, and with such inward perturbations, which with sighings and other passionate gestures he expressed so, that it made them all to marvel. After long silence (the better to prepare them to the more attention) he confusedly interrogates, What they deserved that nefariously had practised his destruction? This unexpected interrogation struck such amazement amongst the Lords, that they all sat gazing on one another, and were, as it were, stricken dumb: At length the Lord Hastings, by Buckingham's instigation, as one presuming of his intimacy with the Protector, boldly answered, that they deserved the punishment of Traytors; which all the rest by their silence approved: Whereat the Protector riseth up, and with a stern look upon the Lord Hastings, replied: Why it is the old Sorceresse my Brothers Widow, and her partner that common Strumpet Jane Shore, that have by incantation conspired to bereave me of my life: and though by Gods grace I have escaped the end of their malice, yet see the mischief they have done me; for behold (and then he bared his left arm to the elbow, and shewed it) how they have caused this dear limb of mine to wither, and grow uselesse; and so should all my body have been served, if they might have had their will a little longer. Those to whom the Queens religious courses were not unknown, and who knew his withered arm to have been such from his birth, sat gazing one upon another, not knowing what to think or say; untill the Lord Hastings, thinking thereby to leave all blame upon the Queen, and excuse his Paramour Mistis Shore, (whom ever since the death of King Edward, he had entertained for his bed-fellow, and had but that morning parted from her) with a sober look submissively said, *If the Queen have conspired*—: which word was no sooner out of the Lord Hastings mouth, then the Protector clapping his hand upon the board, and frowningly looking upon him, said: Tellest thou me of If and And? I tell thee, They, and none but they have done it; and thou thyself art partaker of the villany. Who I my Lord, quoth he? Yea thou Traytor, quoth the Protector; and therewith, upon a watch-word given, those prepared before for that purpose, in the outer Chamber, cryed, Treason, Treason! when presently a great number of men in arms came rushing in as it were to guard the Protector, one of which with a Pollax strook a main blow at the Lord Stanley and wounded him on the head; and had slain him outright if he had not avoided the stroke by slipping backward, and falling down to the ground. Forthwith the Protector arrested the Lord Hastings of high Treason; and wisht him to make haste to be Confessed, for he swore by S. Paul (his usuall Oath) that he would not touch bread nor drink till his head were off. It booteth not to ask, why; for he knew the Protector's actions were not to be examined. So he was led forth unto the Green before the Chappell within the Tower, where his head was laid down upon a long logge of Timber, and there stricken off. His body afterward with his head were interred at Windsor, besides the body of King Edward. In this mans death we may see how inevitable the blowes of Destiny are: for the very night before his death, the Lord Stanley sent a secret Messenger to him at midnight, in all haste to acquaint him with a Dream he had, in which he thought that a Boar with his tusks so goared them both by the heads, that the blood ran about their shoulders: and forasmuch as the Protector gave the Boar for his Cognisance, this Dream made so fearfull an impression in his heart, that he was thoroughly resolved to stay no longer: and had made his Horse ready, requiring the Lord Hastings to go with him, and that presently, to be out of danger, before it should be day. But the Lord Hastings answered the messenger: Good Lord! leaneth your Master so much to such trifles, to put such faith in Dreams, which either his own fear fantasieth, or else do rise in the nights rest, by reason of the dayes thoughts? Go back therefore to thy Master, and commend me to him, and pray him to be merry, and have no fear; for I assure him, I am as sure of the man he wotteth of, as of my own hand. The man he meant, was one Catesby well learned in the Lawes of the Land; who by his favour was grown into good authority in Leceister-shire, where the Lord Hastings estate lay. Of this man he made himself so sure, that he thought nothing could be plotted against him, which he would not presently reveal unto him. But this man deceived him; and was grown so inward with the Protector, that being set by the Protector to draw him to be a party in his designs, and finding he could not do it, was himself the first mover to rid him out of the way. Another warning the Lord Hastings had: the same morning in which he was beheaded, his Horse twice or thrice stumbled with him, almost to falling; which though it often happen to such to whom no mischance is toward, yet hath it of old been observed as a token foregoing some great misfortune. Also at the Tower-wharf, near to the place where his head soon after was stricken off, he met with one Hastings a Pursuivant of his own name; to whom he said, Ah, Hastings, dost thou remember I met thee here once with a heavy heart! Yea my Lord, saith he, I remember it well; and God be thanked that time is past. In faith, man, said the Lord Hastings, I never stood in so great dread of life, as I did when thou and I met here: and lo how the world is changed! now stand my Enemies in the danger, as thou mayst hap to hear hereafter; (for the Enemies he meant, were the Lord Rivers,

The L. Hastings
is beheaded.

His neglect of
Presages and
Warnings.

A Rivers, and other of the Queens kindred, who that very day were beheaded at Pomfret) and I never so merry, nor in so good surety as now I am. That we may know, there is not a greater Omen or sign of ill fortune, then to presume of good. And indeed, such is the uncertainty of our estate in this life, that we seldom know when we are in a tempest at Sea, nor when we are in a Calm on shore; thinking our selves often times most safe, when we are most in danger; and often times to be in danger, when we are most safe: He only is in the true Haven that can say as Christ teacheth us, *Thy will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven.*

But this Lord being thus put to death; the Lord Protector, to colour the matter, immediately after dinner, in all haste sent for many substantiall Citizens; at whose coming, himself with the Duke of Buckingham stood harnessed in old rusty Brigandines, to make a shew they were forced by the sudden danger to take such as they could first come by: and withall, a Herald of Arms is sent with a Proclamation in the Kings name, signifying that the Lord Hastings with some others had conspired the same day to have slain the Lord Protector and the Duke of Buckingham, as they sate in Councell; and after to have taken upon them to rule the King and Kingdom at their own pleasures. Now was this Proclamation made within two hours after the Lord Hastings was beheaded; and was so curiously indited, and so fair written in Parchment, and withall so long, that every childe might perceive it was prepared before: which one that was Schoolmaster of Pauls, standing by when the Proclamation was read, to say, *There is a gay goodly Cast, foul cast away for haste: To whom a Merchant answered, It was written by Prophecie.* And now by and by, as it were in revenge of her offence, the Protector sent the

How the Lord Protector colours the death of the Lord Hastings.

C Sheriffs of London into the house of Shores Wife, and spoiled her of all her goods, above the value of three thousand Marks; and then conveying her through London to the Tower, there left her prisoner: where he laid to her charge, that she went about to bewitch him; and was of counsell with the Lord Hastings to destroy him. In conclusion she was laid into Ludgate, and by the Bishop of London put to open Penance for incontineny; going before the Crosse in Procession, upon a Sunday, with a Taper in her hand: in which, although she were out of all array, save her Kirtle only; yet went she so fair and lovely, and withall so womanly and demurely, that many who hated her course of life, yet pityed her course usage, and were not a little grieved to see her misery. And indeed, this may be said in her behalf, that being in extraordinary favour with King Edward, yet she never used it to the hurt of any, but to the relief of many; and was ever a Mediator, an Oppressor never.

Shores Wife how punished.

Now it was so contrived by the Protector, that the very day in which the Lord Hastings was beheaded at London, and about the very same hour, there were beheaded at Pomfret, the Lord Rivers and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at Northampton and Stonystratford; which was done in the presence, and by the order of Sir Richard Ratcliffe Knight, whose service the Protector specially used in that businesse; who bringing them to the Scaffold, and not suffering them to declare their innocency, lest their words might have inclined men to hate the Protector, caused them hastily without Judgement or Order of Proceffe to be beheaded.

When these were thus rid out of the way, then thought the Protector that now was the time to put himself in possession of the Crown, but all the study was, by what means this matter being so hainous in it self, might be broken to the people, in such wise as that it might be well taken: for which purpose, it was thought fit to call to this Counsel Edmund Shaw Knight the then Maior of London; who upon promise of advancement, should frame the peoples inclination to it. And because Spiritual men are best hearkned to for matters of Conscience, some of them were used also; amongst whom, choice was made of John Shaw Clerk, Brother to the Maior; Fryer Penker, Provinciaall of the Order of the Augustine Fryers: both great Preachers, both of more learning then vertue, of more fame then learning. These two were appointed to preach, the one at Pauls Crosse, the other at the Spittle, in praise of the Protector: Penker in his Sermon so lost his voice, that he was faine to leave off and come down in the midst: Shaw by his Sermon lost his reputation, and soon after his life, for he never after durst come abroad, for very shame of the world.

Shaw Maior of London is made an instrument for bringing the Duke of Gloucester to the Crown.

F But now was all the labour and study, to finde out some convenient pretext, for which the people should be content to have the Prince deposed, and the Protector be received for King; to which purpose many things were devised; the chief was to alleadge Bastardy either in King Edward himself, or in his children, or in both. To lay Bastardy to King Edward, sounded openly to the reproach of the Protectors own Mother, who was Mother to them both; he would therefore that point should more favourably be handled: but the other point concerning the Bastardy of his children, he would have enforced to the uttermost: The ground whereof was, that King Edward had been formerly contracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucie, by whom he had a Childe; though the said Lady, having been examined about it, confessed plainly, they were never assured. Yet upon this pretext, Doctor Shaw taking for his Text, *Bastard Plants shall take no deep root*; in his Sermon declared, that King Edward was never lawfully married to the Queen, but was before God, Husband to the Lady Elizabeth Lucie, and so his Children Bastards. And besides that, neither King Edward himself, nor the Duke of Clarence were reckoned very sure for the Children of the noble Duke Richard, as those that by their favours more resembled other known men; but the Lord Protector (saith he) is the Fathers own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the plain expresse likenesse of that noble Duke. Now, it was before devised, that just at the speaking of these words, the Protector should have come, to the end that these

Causes devised to make the two Princes illegitimate.

words

words meeting with his presence, might be taken among the hearers, as though the Holy Ghost A had put them in the Preachers mouth, and so should move the people even then to cry, King Richard, King Richard! that it might be after said, he was specially chosen by God, and in a manner by Miracle: But this device failed; for whether by the Protector slackness in coming, or the Doctors haste in preaching, he had passed those words, and was gone clean to another matter before the Protector came; so as afterward seeing him come, he was faine to leave the matter he had in hand, and out of all order and frame begin to repeat those words again: This is the very noble Prince, the Fathers own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the plain expresse likenesse of that noble Duke. While these words were in speaking, the Protector accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, passed through the people into the place where the Doctors sit; and there sate to hear the Sermon: But the people were so far B from crying King Richard, that they cryed shame on the Preacher, for abusing his sacred function with so shamefull a Sermon.

The Duke of *Buckingham* at *Guild-hall*, propoundeth the Duke of *Glocester* for the rightfull Heir to the Crown.

The Tuesday following this Sermon, the Duke of *Buckingham* with divers Lords and Knights came to the *Guildhall* in *London*; and there before the Maior and whole assembly of Citizens, made a very solemn and long Oration, wherein he recited many grievances of the late King *Edwards* Government, his many unnecessary Taxations and unjust severities; thereby to bring Children into hatred: and then remembered them of the late Sermon made at *Pauls Crosse* by a learned Doctor; who cleerly shewed the Bastardy of King *Edwards* Children; and that *Richard* Duke of *Glocester* was the only rightfull and indubitate Heir to the Crown of *England*: which the Lords of the Kingdom having taken into their consideration, had thereupon agreed to accept him for their King; and now himself was come to acquaint them with it, and to require their consents. Which Oration ended, all men stood wondring at the motion, but no man offered to speak a word. At which the Duke marvelling, as supposing the Maior had prepared them before; he asked the Maior privately, what this silence meant? who answered, that perhaps they had not heard or understood what it was he said. Whereupon the Duke with a more audible voice repeated the same matter again, in a more earnest and plain expression; yet neither did that move them to shew any inclination to the motion. Then the Duke whispering with the Maior, It was thought that the Citizens being used to have such motions made them by their Recorder, they would better hear it from him; and thereupon the Recorder is commanded to move them in it: but the Recorder (called *Fitzwilliams*) being an honest man, and newly come D to his place; repeated only as neer as he could the words of the Duke, but added nothing of his own; so as neither did this move the people to break their silence. At last, the Duke seeing their resolved fullness, told them plainly, that all the Nobility and Commons of the Realm were agreed to choose the Protector for their King, as the true and undoubted Heir; so as he needed not to have moved them to it, but only for the great respect they all bear to this Honourable City; and therefore required them plainly to speak their mindes, whether they would joyn with them in this choice or no. At this, certain servants of the Dukes, and other of their procuring, standing at the lower end of the Hall, cast up their Caps, and cryed aloud, King Richard, King Richard; whereat, though the whole multitude of Citizens marvelled what they meant; yet the Duke taking advantage of it, as of an unanimous consent: A goodly cry (saith E he:) and thanked them all for their universall approbation; promising he would acquaint the Protector with the great love they shewed toward him: and then requiring the Maior and chief Citizens to meet him the next morning at *Baynards Castle*, where the Protector then lay; there to joyn with him, in petitioning the Protector to accept of this their freely proffered subjection; he took his leave and so departed.

The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Maior of *London* make suit unto the Protector, to take the Crown upon him.

The next morning according to appointment, they all meet at *Baynards Castle*; where the Duke of *Buckingham* sends up word to the Lord Protector, that himself with the Lord Maior and his Brethren, were come to present a supplication to him, concerning a businesse of great importance: But the Protector (though preacquainted with all passages, yet) made it strange what their supplication should be; and answered, that though he suspected nothing which the Duke of *Buckingham* presented to him, yet he desired at least some slight intimation to what it might tend. To this it was answered, that the businesse they came about was to be made known to himself in Person; and therefore humbly besought him of admission in his presence: Upon this, as if not yet well assured of their well meaning towards him; he appears unto them in an upper Gallery, making semblance as though he would prevent all danger, by standing something aloof and in his Fort: To whom the Duke of *Buckingham*, in behalf of the Maior and Nobility there present; in most respective and reverent manner makes request, that his Grace would pardon what he should deliver to him: and much circumstance he used, before he would discover their cause of coming: but though long first, yet at last, he told it: That in respect of the urgent necessities of the Common-wealth, they all humbly intreated him to take upon him G the Government of the Kingdom, as in his own Right, to whom they all tendered their Allegiance. At which words, the Protector starting back, as if he had heard something most unpleasant to him, passionately answered: I little thought good Cousen, that you of all men would have moved me to a matter which of all things in the world I most decline: Far be it from me to accept of that, which without apparent wrong to my dear deceased Brothers sweet Children, and my own upright Conscience, I cannot well approve of. And then being about to proceed in his premeditated dissimulation; the Duke in a seeming abrupt passion, kneeling upon his knee,

The Protector started at their motion.

A'knee, said: Your Grace was pleased to give me free liberty to deliver unto you in the name of this worthy assembly, the tender of their dutifull obedience to you: but I must further adde, that it is unanimously resolved on, that your late Brother King *Edward's* Children, as being generally known to be Illegitimate, shall never be admitted to the Crown of *England*; and therefore if your Grace shall neither regard your self, nor us so much, as to accept it, we are directly determined to conferre it upon some other of the House of *Lancaster*, that will be more sensible of his own and our good: These words wrought so powerfully upon the Protector's passions, But yet accepts it. that with some change of Countenance, and not without a seeming reluctance, he said: Since I perceive the whole Realm is so resolved, by no means to admit my dear Nephews, being but Children, to reign over you; and seeing the Right of succession belongs justly to me, as the indubitate Heir of *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, my Illustrious Father; We are contented to condescend to your importunities, and to accept of the Royall Government of the Kingdom, and will to the uttermost of my power endeavour to procure and maintain the welfare thereof. And having so said, he came down from his Gallery, and very formally saluted them all: which so pleased the giddy multitude, that presently they fell to acclamations, Long live King *Richard* our dread Sovereign Lord! and then every man departed.

Y

THE



THE
REIGN
OF
KING RICHARD
THE THIRD.



T was now the eighteenth day of *June*, in the year 1483: when *Richard* Duke of *Glocester* took upon him the Crown: so as the imaginary Reign of *Edward* the fifth, continued but just ten weeks. The next day, *King Richard* with a great train went to *Westminster Hall*, and placed himself in the Court of the Kings Bench, saying, he would take the Crown upon him in that place where the King himself sitteth and minnistrh the Law; because he considered that it is the chiefeft duty of a King to administer the Lawes: And here to get the love of the people by a feigned clemency; he sent for one *Fogge* out of Sanctuary, who for fear of his displeasure was fled thither; and there in the sight of all the people, caused him to kisse his hand.

King Richard marries the relict of Prince Edward, Son to Henry the sixth.

After his return home, he took to wife the Lady *Anne*, youngest Daughter of the great *Warwick*, and the relict of Prince *Edward*, Son of *Henry* the sixth; though she could not be ignorant, that he had been the Author both of her Husbands and Fathers death. But womens affections are Eccentrick to common apprehension; whereof the two Poles are Passion and Inconstancy.

Lords created.

Against his Coronation he had sent for five thousand men out of the North; and these being come under the leading of *Robin* of *Riddesdale*, upon the fourth of *July*; together with his new Bride, he went from *Baynards Castle* to the Tower by water, where he created *Edward* his Son a childe of ten years old, Prince of *Wales*; *John* Lord *Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, his Son Sir *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*; *William* Lord *Berckley* Earl of *Nottingham*, *Francis* Lord *Lovell* Viscount *Lovell*, and his Chamberlain, and the Lord *Stanley* (who had been committed prisoner to the Tower, in regard his Son the Lord *Strange* was reported to have levied Forces in *Lancashire*) not only that day was released out of prison, but was made Lord Steward of his Household. The Archbishop of *Tork* was likewise then delivered; but *Morton* Bishop of *Eli* (as one that could not be drawn to the disinheriting of *King Edwards* children) was committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who sent him to his Castle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*, there to be in custody. The same night were made seventeen Knights of the Bath, *Edmund* the Duke of *Suffolks* Son, *George* Gray the Earl of *Kents* Son, *William* the Lord *Zauches* Son, *Henry* *Aburgaveny*, *Christopher* *Willoughby*, *Henry* *Babington*, *Thomas* *Arundell*, *Thomas* *Boleign*, *Gervie* *Clifton*, *William* *Say*, *Edmund* *Bedingfield*, *William* *Endersby*, *Thomas* *Lewknor*, *Thomas* of *Urmond*, *John* *Brown*, and *William* *Berckley*. The next day, being the fifth of *July*, the King rode through the City of *London* to *Westminster*, being accompanied with the Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Buckingham*, and *Suffolk*; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Arundel*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Wiltshire*, *Huntington*, *Nottingham*, *Warwick*, and *Lincolne*; the Viscounts, *Lisle*, and *Lovell*; the Lords, *Stanley*, *Audley*, *Dacres*, *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Powis*, *Scroope* of *Upsale*, *Scroop* of *Bolton*, *Gray* of *Colner*, *Grey* of *Wilton*, *Sturton*, *Cobham*, *Morley*, *Burgaveny*, *Zouch*, *Ferrers* of *Croby*, *Wells*, *Lumley*, *Matrevers*, *Herbert* and *Beckham*, and fourscore Knights. On the morrow, being the sixth of *July*, the King with *Queen Anne* his Wife, came down out of the Whitehall,

Morton Bishop of *Ely* committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

King Richard and his Queen in great state are Crowned, and the manner of it.

A hall, into the great Hall at Westminster, and went directly to the Kings Bench; and from thence, going upon Ray-cloth, bare-footed, went to S. Edwards Shrine, all his Nobility going with him, every Lord in his degree. The Bishop of Rochester bore the Crosse before the Cardinall: Then followed the Earl of Huntington, bearing a pair of gilt Spurs, signifying Knighthood: Then followed the Earl of Bedford, bearing S. Edwards Staffe for a Relique: After him came the Earl of Northumberland bare-headed, with the pointlesse Sword in his hand, signifying Mercy: The Lord Stanley bare the Mace of the Constableness: The Earl of Kent bare the second Sword, on the right hand of the King, naked, with a point; which signified Justice to the Temporality: The Lord Lovell bore the third Sword on the Kings left hand, with a point, which signified Justice to the Clergy: The Duke of Suffolk followed with the Scepter in his hand, which signified Peace: The Earl of Lincoln bore the Ball and Crosse, which signified Monarchy: The Earl of Surrey bore the fourth Sword before the King, in a rich Scabbard; which is called the Sword of Estate: Then went three together; in the midst went Garter King of Arms, in his rich Coat; and on his right hand went the Maior of London, bearing a Mace; and on his left hand went the Gentleman-Usher of the Privy Chamber: Then followed the Duke of Norfolk, bearing the Kings Crown between his hands: Then followed King Richard in his robes of Purple-velvet, and over his head a Canopy, borne by four Barons of the Cinque-Ports: and on each side of the King went a Bishop; on one side, the Bishop of Bath; on the other, of Durham: Then followed the Duke of Buckingham, bearing the Kings train, with a white Staffe in his hand, signifying the office of High Steward of England: Then followed the Queens train; before whom was borne the Scepter, the Ivory Rod, with the Dove, (signifying innocency) and the Crown: her self apparelled in robes like the Kings, under a rich Canopy, at every corner thereof a Bell of Gold: On her head she wore a Circlet, set full of precious Stones, the Countesse of Richmond bearing her train; the Dutchesse of Norfolk and Suffolk in their Coronets, attending; with twenty Ladies of estate most richly attired: In this order they passed the Palace into the Abbey: and going up to the High Altar, there shifted their Robes; and having other Robes open in divers places from the middle upward, were both of them Anointed and Crowned: and then after the Sacrament received, (having the Host divided betwixt them) they both offered at St. Edwards Shrine; where the King left St. Edwards Crown, wherewith he had been Crowned, and put on his own: and this done, in the same order and state as they came, they returned to Westminster Hall, and there held a most Princely Feast: at the second course whereof, there came into the Hall Sir Robert Dymock the Kings Champion, making Proclamation, that whosoever would say that King Richard was not lawfull King of England, he was there ready to prove it against him; and thereupon threw down his Gantlet: and then all the Hall cryed, King Richard, King Richard. And thus with some other Ceremonies, the Coronation ended; and the King and Queen returned to their lodgings.

Presently after this, King Richard sent a solemn Ambassage to Lewis King of France, to conclude a League and Amity with him: but the French King so abhorred him and his cruelty, that he would not so much as see, or hear his Ambassadors; but sent them away with shame, in disgrace of their Master.

King Richard sends to make amity with the King of France, but he rejects it.

E At this time, with his Queen, he made a Progresse to Gloucester, under colour to visit the place of his old Honour; but indeed to be out of the way, having a speciall villany to be acted: for though he had satisfied his Ambition, by depriving his dear Nephewes of their livelihoods; yet it satisfied not his Fear, if he deprived them not also of their lives. For effecting whereof, his old friend the Duke of Buckingham was no fit instrument; it must be one of a baser metall: and to finde out such a one he needed not go farre; for upon inquiry, he was told of two that lay in the next Chamber to him: Sir Thomas and Sir James Tyrrell, two Brothers like Jacob and Esau, not more neer in blood, then different in conditions; of equall goodnesse of personage both, but not of equall goodnesse of minde; Sir Thomas a man of an honest and sober disposition; but Sir James of a turbulent spirit, and one who gaping after preferment, would not stick to make a fortune out of any villany. Being told of this man as he was sitting at the Close stool, he presently rose and went to him: where being met, the match is soon made up between them; for he found Sir James more ready to undertake the work, then he was himself to set him about it. It only remained, to procure him free passage to the place where the work was to be done: for King Richard had formerly sent a trusty Privado of his, named John Green, to Sir Robert Brackenbury then Lieutenant of the Tower; thinking that he, having been raised by him, would not have refused to do the deed himself: but when he heard how averse he was from it, Good Lord (saith he) whom may a man trust? Once he saw plainly, that whilest he was Lieutenant, there was no possibility to effect it. To remove therefore this Rub, he sends his Letters Mandatory to Brackenbury, to deliver presently the Keyes of the Tower to Sir James Tyrrell, who being now

King Richard sets Sir James Tyrrell to murder the two Princes.

F Lieutenant for the time, and having the two innocent Princes under his custody; gets two other, as very Villains as himself, the one Miles Forrest, the other James Digbton his Horse-keeper, a big sturdy Knave: and these he makes his under-agents; who coming into the childrens chamber in the night, (for they were suffered to have none about them, but one Black Will, or William Slaughter, a bloody Rascal) they suddenly lapped them up in their clothes, and keeping down by force the feather-bed and pillowes hard under their mouths, so stifled them, that their breath failing, they gave up their innocent soul to God: whom when the Murtherers perceived, first by their struggling with the pains of death, and then by their long lying still, to be thoroughly

The Princes are murdered.

But where buried not known.

The Murderers miserable ends.

King Richard and the Duke of Buckingham fall at variance.

The Duke of Buckingham plots with Morison Bishop of Ely, to put down King Richard, and to bring in the Earl of Richmond.

dead; they laid their bodies out upon the bed, and then fetched Sir James to see them; who presently caused their bodies to be buried under the stairs, under a heap of stones: from whence they were afterward removed to a place of Christian buriall, by a Priest of Sir Robert Brackenburtes; who dying within a few dayes after, and none knowing the place but himself, was cause that it hath not been known to this day: and gave occasion afterward to the Imposture of Perkin Warbeck in King Henry the Sevenths Reigne. Some report, that King Richard caused their bodies to be taken up, and closed them in lead, and then to be put in a Coffin full of holes, hooked at the ends with Iron; and so cast into a place called the Black Deeps, at the Thames mouth; to be sure they should never rise up, nor be seen again. And now see the Divine revenge upon the Actors of this execrable murder: Miles Forrest, at S. Martins le Grand, piece-meal rotted away: Digbton lived at Calice a long time after; but detested of all men, dyed in great misery: Sir James Tyrrell was beheaded afterward on the Tower-hill for Treason: and King Richard himself, after this abominable fact done, never had a quiet minde; troubled with feartull Dreams, and would sometimes in the night start out of his bed, and run about the Chamber in great fright, as if all the Furies of Hell were hanging about him: that it was verified in him, *Ultrix Tisiphone vocat agmina sua sororum.*

Confederacies in evil are seldome long-lived; and commonly end in a reciprocall destruction: and so was it now with King Richard and the Duke of Buckingham: They had confederated together to the destruction of many; and now their confederacy dissolves in both their ruins: but what the cause was of their dissolving, is not so certain: whether it were that the Duke thought not himself so well rewarded, as his great services had deserved; or whether it were, that King Richard thought not himself absolute King, as long as the Duke, by whose means he came to be King, was in such a height of greatnesse; or whether it were (as was rather thought) that the Duke being a man ambitious and of an aspiring spirit; though he had himself been the means to bring King Richard to the Crown; yet when the Crown was put upon his head, so envied at it, that he turned his head another way, as not enduring the sight; and for the same cause, was willing not to have been present at the Coronation, pretending sicknesse in excuse of his absence; but that King Richard sent him a sharp message, requiring him to come or he would fetch him: whereupon the Duke went, but with so ill a minde, that he bore it in minde ever after. Whatsoever it was, certain it is, that presently after the Coronation, there grew great jealousies between them, and the Duke retired himself to his Castle at Brecknock, where he had the Bishop of Ely in custody. And here we may observe the unsearchable depth of the Divine Providence; the bottom whereof, the soundest judgement of man can never sound, as working effects by contrary causes; for where King Richard had committed the Bishop to the Duke, as to one that would have a most watchfull eye over him; this, which the King did for the Bishops greater punishment, proved a means afterward of the Bishops greater advancement, and a means at the present of King Richards ruin. For the Duke being retired home, and having his head so full of thoughts, that of necessity it required vent; for his own recreation, would sometimes fall in talk with the Bishop; with whose discourse (as he was a man of great wit and solid judgement) the Duke was so taken, that he grew to delight in nothing more then to be conferring with him. One time it happened, that the Duke had opened his minde something freely to him; and the Bishop following him in his own way, and cunningly working upon that humour of the Duke; which he found most working in the Duke; which he conceived to grow out of envy to King Richard; he said to this purpose; My Lord, you know I followed first the part of King Henry the sixth, and if I could have had my wish, his Son should have had the Crown, and not King Edward: But after that God had ordained King Edward to reign; I was never so mad, that I would with a dead man strive against the quick. And so was I to King Edward also a faithfull Chaplain, and glad would have been that his childe had succeeded him: Howbeit, if the secret Judgement of God have otherwise provided; I purpose not to labour to set up that which God pulleth down. And as for the Lord Protector, and now King; — and even there he left: saying, he had already meddled too much with the world; and would from that day meddle with his Books and his Beads, and no further. Then longed the Duke exceedingly to hear what he would have said; because he ended with the King, and there suddenly stopped: and thereupon intreated him to be bold to say whatsoever he thought; whereof he faithfully promised there should never come hurt; and peradventure more good then he would think; and withall, that himself intended to use his secret Counsel; which (he said) was the only cause for the which he had procured of the King to have him in his custody. The Bishop humbly thanked him, and said: In good faith my Lord, I love not to talk much of Princes, as a thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault, for so much as it shall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And ever I think on *Esop*s Tale, that when the Lyon had proclaimed on pain of death, that no horned beast should abide in a certain Wood; one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh, fled away a great pace: the Fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whither he made all that haste? who answered, in faith I neither wot nor reck, so I were once hence, because of the Proclamation made of horned beasts: Why fool, (quoth the Fox) thou mayest abide well enough, the Lyon meant it not by thee, for it is no be in that is in thy head: No marry (quoth he) that wot I well enough; but what if he call it a horn, where am I then? The Duke laughed at the Tale, and said: My Lord, I warrant you, neither the Lyon nor the Boar shall pick any matter at any thing here spoken; for it shall never come near their ear. Then said the Bishop, In good faith Sir, if it did,

A did, the thing I was about to say, taken as well as afore God I meant it, could deserve but thanks; and yet taken as I ween it would, might happen to turn me to little good, and you to lesse. Then longed the Duke much more, to hear what it was: whereupon the Bishop said, My Lord, as for the late Protector, sith he is now King in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title; but for the weal of the Realm I could wish he had in him those excellent vertues which God hath planted in the person of your Grace; and there left again. The Duke somewhat marvelling at his sudden pause, said, My Lord, I cannot but note your sudden stopping in your speech, so as your words come not to any direct sentence, whereby I may have knowledge, either what your inward intent is now toward the King, or what your affection is toward me: I therefore intreat you to use no more such obscurity, but plainly to disclose your minde unto me, who upon
B mine honour will be as secret in the case, as the deaf and dumb person is to the finger, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Bishop then upon confidence of the Dukes promise, said, My Lord, I plainly perceive, the Kingdome being in the case as it is, under such a King as now we have, must needs decay and be brought to confusion; but one hope I have, that when I consider and daily behold your noble Personage, your Justice, your ardent Love towards your Countrey, and in like manner the great love of your Countrey towards you; I must needs think this Realm fortunate, that hath such a Prince in store, meet and apt to be a Governour; in whose person consisteth the very undoubted Image of true honour. And then taxing the present King with many cruelties and oppressions, he concluded, saying: And now my Lord, if either you love God, your Linage, or your native Countrey, you must your self take upon you the Crown and Imperiall Diadem of this Realm; but if
C your self will refuse to take it upon you, I then adjure you, by the faith you owe to God, and by the love you bear to your native Countrey, to devise some way how the Realm may by your Princely policy be reduced to some convenient regiment, under some good Governour by you to be appointed: And if you could devise to set up again the Linage of *Lancaster*; or advance the eldest daughter of King *Edward* to some puissant Prince: not only the new Crowned King should little enjoy the glory of his dignity, but all Civil War should cease, and Peace and Profit should again flourish. When the Bishop had ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a good while; which fore abashed the Bishop, and made him change colour: which the Duke perceiving, he said: Be not afraid my Lord, all promises shall be kept: so for that time they parted. The next day, the Duke sent for the Bishop, and having rehearsed unto him the Communication had between them the day before, he went on and said: My Lord of *Ely*, since I perceive your true heart and sincere affection toward me, I will now discover unto you all that hath passed my own imaginations. After I had found the dissimulation and falleness of King *Richard*, and specially after I was informed of the murder of the two young Princes, to which (God be my Judge) I never condescended; I so much abhorred the sight, and much more the company of him, that I could no longer abide in his Court; but feigning a cause to depart, I took my leave of him, (he thinking nothing lesse, then that I was displeased) and so returned to *Brecknock* to you; but in that returning, whether it were by inspiration, or else through some melancholick disposition, I had divers imaginations how to deprive this unnaturall and bloody Butcher of his Royall seat and Dignity. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take upon me the Crown, now was the time, when this
E Tyrant was abhorred and detested of all men; and knowing not of any that could pretend Title before me: In this imagination I rested two dayes at *Tewkesbury*; in my journey from thence, I mused and thought, that it was not best nor convenient to take upon me as a Conquerour, for then I was sure that all men, and specially the Nobility would oppose me; but at last there sprung up a branch in my head, which I surely thought would have brought forth fair flowers, but they turned indeed to dry weeds: For I suddenly remembred that the Lord *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, my Grandfather, was with King *Henry* the sixth, in two or three degrees of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*; so that I thought certainly, my Mother being eldest Daughter to Duke *Edmund*, that I was next Heir to King *Henry* the sixth, of the House of *Lancaster*: This Title pleased well such as I made of my Councell, and much more it elevated my ambitious intent;
F but while I was in a maze, whether I were best suddenly to set this title open amongst the Common people, or else keep it secret a while, see what chanced: As I rode between *Worcester* and *Bridgenorth*, I met with the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, now Wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the Daughter and sole Heir to *John* Duke of *Somerset* my Grandfathers elder Brother (which was as clean out of my minde, as if I had never seen her) so that she and her Son the Earl of *Richmond* have both of them Titles before mine; and then I clearly saw how I was deceived: whereupon I determined, utterly to relinquish all such fantastickall imaginations concerning the obtaining the Crown my self; and found there could be no better way to settle it in a true establishment, then that the Earl of *Richmond*, very Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, should take to wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to King *Edward*, the very Heir of the House of *York*; that so the two *Roses*
G may be united in one: and now (saith the Duke) I have told you my very mind. When the Duke had said this, the Bishop was not a little glad, for this was the mark he had himself aimed at: and thereupon, after some complements of extolling his device, he said: Since by your Graces incomparable wisdom, this noble conjunction is now moved; it is in the next place necessary to consider, what friends we shall first make privy of this intention. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with the Countess of *Richmond* the Earls Mother, who knoweth where he is, either in captivity or at large in *Britain*. And thus was the foundation laid of a league, by these two great men; by which the death of the two young Princes was fully revenged: and it was not talkt

But where buried not known.

The Murders miserable ends.

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The Duke of Buckingham plots with Morison Bishop of Ely, to put down King Richard, and to bring in the Earl of Richmond.

dead; they laid their bodies out upon the bed, and then fetched Sir James to see them; who presently caused their bodies to be buried under the stairs, under a heap of stones: from whence they were afterward removed to a place of Christian buriall, by a Priest of Sir Robert Brackenburies; who dying within a few dayes after, and none knowing the place but himself, was cause that it hath not been known to this day: and gave occasion afterward to the Imposture of Perkin Warbeck in King Henry the Sevenths Reign. Some report, that King Richard caused their bodies to be taken up, and closed them in lead, and then to be put in a Coffin full of holes, hooked at the ends with Iron; and so cast into a place called the Black Deepes, at the Thames mouth; to be sure they should never rise up, nor be seen again. And now see the Divine revenge upon the Actors of this execrable murder: Miles Forrest, at S. Martins le Grand, piece-meal rotted away: Digbton lived at Callice a long time after; but detested of all men, dyed in great misery: Sir James Tyrrell was beheaded afterward on the Tower-hill for Treason: and King Richard himself, after this abominable fact done, never had a quiet minde; troubled with fearfull Dreams, and would sometimes in the night start out of his bed, and run about the Chamber in great fright, as if all the Furies of Hell were hanging about him: that it was verified in him, *Ultrix Tisiphone vocat agmina Jova sororum.*

Confederacies in evil are seldome long-lived; and commonly end in a reciprocall destruction: and so was it now with King Richard and the Duke of Buckingham: They had confederated together to the destruction of many; and now their confederacy dissolves in both their ruins: but what the cause was of their dissolving, is not so certain: whether it were that the Duke thought not himself so well rewarded, as his great services had deserved; or whether it were, that King Richard thought not himself absolute King, as long as the Duke, by whose means he came to be King, was in such a height of greatnesse; or whether it were (as was rather thought) that the Duke being a man ambitious and of an aspiring spirit; though he had himself been the means to bring King Richard to the Crown; yet when the Crown was put upon his head, so envied at it, that he turned his head another way, as not enduring the sight; and for the same cause, was willing not to have been present at the Coronation, pretending sicknesse in excuse of his absence; but that King Richard sent him a sharp message, requiring him to come or he would fetch him: whereupon the Duke went, but with so illa minde, that he bore it in minde ever after. Whatsoever it was, certain it is, that presently after the Coronation, there grew great jealousies between them, and the Duke retired himself to his Castle at Bracknock, where he had the Bishop of Ely in custody. And here we may observe the unsearchable depth of the Divine Providence; the bottom whereof, the soundest judgement of man can never sound, as working effects by contrary causes; for where King Richard had committed the Bishop to the Duke, as to one that would have a most watchfull eye over him; this which the King did for the Bishops greater punishment, proved a means afterward of the Bishops greater advancement, and a means at the present of King Richards ruin. For the Duke being retired home, and having his head so full of thoughts, that of necessity it required vent; for his own recreation, would sometimes fall in talk with the Bishop; with whose discourse (as he was a man of great wit and solid judgement) the Duke was so taken, that he grew to delight in nothing more then to be conferring with him. One time it happened, that the Duke had opened his minde something freely to him; and the Bishop following him in his own way, and cunningly working upon that humour of the Duke; which he found most working in the Duke; which he conceived to grow out of envy to King Richard; he said to this purpose; My Lord, you know I followed first the part of King Henry the sixth, and if I could have had my wish, his Son should have had the Crown, and not King Edward: But after that God had ordained King Edward to reign; I was never so mad, that I would with a dead man strive against the quick. And so was I to King Edward also a faithfull Chaplain, and glad would have been that his childe had succeeded him: Howbeit, if the secret Judgement of God have otherwise provided; I purpose not to labour to set up that which God pulleth down. And as for the Lord Protector, and now King; — and even there he left: saying, he had already meddled too much with the world; and would from that day meddle with his Books and his Beads, and no further. Then longed the Duke exceedingly to hear what he would have said; because he ended with the King, and there suddenly stopped: and thereupon intreated him to be bold to say whatsoever he thought; whereof he faithfully promised there should never come hurt, and peradventure more good then he would think; and withall, that himself intended to use his secret Counsel; which (he said) was the only cause for the which he had procured of the King to have him in his custody. The Bishop humbly thanked him, and said: In good faith my Lord, I love not to talk much of Princes, as a thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault, for so much as it shall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And ever I think on *Æsops* Tale, that when the Lyon had proclaimed on pain of death, that no horned beast should abide in a certain Wood; one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh, fled away a great pace: the Fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whether he made all that haste? who answered, in faith I neither wot nor reck, so I were once hence, because of the Proclamation made of horned beasts: Why fool, (quoth the Fox) thou mayest abide well enough, the Lyon meant it not by thee, for it is no horn that is in thy head: No marry (quoth he) that wot I well enough; but what if he call it a horn, where am I then? The Duke laughed at the Tale, and said: My Lord, I warrant you, neither the Lyon nor the Boar shall pick any matter at any thing here spoken; for it shall never come near their ear. Then said the Bishop, In good faith Sir, if it did,

A did, the thing I was about to say, taken as well as afore God I meant it, could deserve but thanks; and yet taken as I ween it would, might happen to turn me to little good, and you to lesse. Then longed the Duke much more, to hear what it was: whereupon the Bishop said, My Lord, as for the late Protector, sith he is now King in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title; but for the weal of the Realm I could wish he had in him those excellent vertues which God hath planted in the person of your Grace; and there left again. The Duke somewhat marvelling at his sudden pause, said, My Lord, I cannot but note your sudden stopping in your speech, so as your words come not to any direct sentence, whereby I may have knowledge, either what your inward intent is now toward the King, or what your affection is toward me: I therefore intreat you to use no more such obscurity, but plainly to disclose your minde unto me, who upon

B mine honour will be as secret in the case, as the deaf and dumb person is to the finger, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Bishop then upon confidence of the Dukes promise, said, My Lord, I plainly perceive, the Kingdome being in the case as it is, under such a King as now we have, must needs decay and be brought to confusion; but one hope I have, that when I consider and daily behold your noble Personage, your Justice, your ardent Love towards your Countrey, and in like manner the great love of your Countrey towards you; I must needs think this Realm fortunate, that hath such a Prince in store, meet and apt to be a Governour; in whose person consisteth the very undoubted Image of true honour. And then taxing the present King with many cruelties and oppressions, he concluded, saying: And now my Lord, if either you love God, your Linage, or your native Countrey, you must your self take upon you the Crown and Imperiall Diadem of this Realm; but if

C your self will refuse to take it upon you, I then adjure you, by the faith you owe to God, and by the love you bear to your native Countrey, to devise some way how the Realm may by your Princely policy be reduced to some convenient regiment, under some good Governour by you to be appointed: And if you could devise to set up again the Linage of *Lancaster*; or advance the eldest daughter of King *Edward* to some puissant Prince: not only the new Crowned King should little enjoy the glory of his dignity, but all Civil War should cease, and Peace and Profit should again flourish. When the Bishop had ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a good while; which sore abashed the Bishop, and made him change colour: which the Duke perceiving, he said: Be not afraid my Lord, all promises shall be kept: so for that time they parted. The next day, the Duke sent for the Bishop, and having rehearsed unto him the Communication had between them the day before, he went on and said: My Lord of *Ely*, since I perceive your true heart and sincere affection toward me, I will now discover unto you all that hath passed my own imaginations. After I had found the dissimulation and falseness of King *Richard*, and specially after I was informed of the murder of the two young Princes, to which (God be my Judge) I never condescended; I so much abhorred the sight, and much more the company of him, that I could no longer abide in his Court; but feigning a cause to depart, I took my leave of him, (he thinking nothing lesse, then that I was displeased) and so returned to *Brecknock* to you; but in that returning, whether it were by inspiration, or else through some melancholick disposition, I had divers imaginations how to deprive this unnaturall and bloody Butcher of his Royall seat and Dignity. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take upon me the Crown, now was the time, when this

D Tyrant was abhorred and detested of all men; and knowing not of any that could pretend Title before me: In this imagination I rested two dayes at *Tewkesbury*; in my journey from thence, I mused and thought, that it was not best nor convenient to take upon me as a Conquerour, for then I was sure that all men, and specially the Nobility would oppose me; but at last there sprung up a branch in my head, which I surely thought would have brought forth fair flowers, but they turned indeed to dry weeds: For I suddenly remembered that the Lord *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, my Grandfather, was with King *Henry* the sixth, in two or three degrees of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*; so that I thought certainly, my Mother being eldest Daughter to Duke *Edmund*, that I was next Heir to King *Henry* the sixth, of the House of *Lancaster*: This Title pleased well such as I made of my Councell, and much more it elevated my ambitious intent;

E but while I was in a maze, whether I were best suddenly to set this title open amongst the Common people, or else keep it secret a while, see what chanced: As I rode between *Worcester* and *Bridgenorth*, I met with the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, now Wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the Daughter and sole Heir to *John* Duke of *Somerset* my Grandfathers elder Brother (which was as clean out of my minde, as if I had never seen her) so that she and her Son the Earl of *Richmond* have both of them Titles before mine; and then I clearly saw how I was deceived: whereupon I determined, utterly to relinquish all such fantastickall imaginations concerning the obtaining the Crown my self; and found there could be no better way to settle it in a true establishment, then that the Earl of *Richmond*, very Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, should take to wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to King *Edward*, the very Heir of the House of *York*; that so the two *Roses* may be united in one: and now (saith the Duke) I have told you my very mind. When the Duke had said this, the Bishop was not a little glad, for this was the mark he had himself aimed at: and thereupon, after some complements of extolling his device, he said: Since by your Graces incomparable wisdom, this noble conjunction is now moved; it is in the next place necessary to consider, what friends we shall first make privy of this intention. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with the Countess of *Richmond* the Earls Mother, who knoweth where he is, either in captivity or at large in *Britain*. And thus was the foundation laid of a league, by these two great men; by which the death of the two young Princes was fully revenged: and it was not talk

of only, but presently put in execution; for now is *Keynold Bray* employed by the Bishop, to his Mistressse the Dutchesse of *Richmond*; *Doctor Lewis* the Dutchesse's Physician was employ-
ed by her to the *Queen Elizabeth*; *Hugh Conway* and *Thomas Rame* were employed to the Earl of
Richmond to acquaint them, but in most secret manner, with the intended plot, and to procure
their promises to the propounded marriage; which was no hard matter to make them all willing
to their own wishes. This done, Instruments are employed to draw in parties to the confeder-
acy; *Bray* by his credit drew in *Sir Gyles Daubeny*, *Sir John Cheyny*, *Richard Guildford*, *Thomas*
Rame and others; *Uswick* likewise drew in *Hugh Conway*, *Thomas Colepepper*, *Thomas Roper* with
some others; *Doctor Lewis* drew in *Edward Courtney* and his Brother *Peter* Bishop of *Exeter*. It
is memorable that *Thomas Conway* being sent most part by Sea, and *Thomas Rame* most part by
Land; yet came to the Earl of *Richmond* in *Britain*, within the space of little more then an hour; B
upon whose information of the plot, the Earl acquaints the Duke of *Britain* with it, who,
though by *Hutton King Richards* Ambassadour, he had by many great offers been solicited to
detain him in prison; yet he both readily promised and really performed both his advice and
aid to the Earls proceedings. In this mean time Bishop *Morton*, not without asking the Dukes
leave, though without obtaining it, secretly in disguise, gets him into his Isle of *Ely*; and there
having done the Earl good Offices by procuring of friends, he thence passeth into *Britain* to him;
from whence he returned no more, till afterward the Earl being King, sent for him home and
made him Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Bishop Morton
in disguise pas-
seth over into
Britain to the
Earl of *Rich-*
mond.

The Duke of
Buckingham
sent for by K.
Richard, relu-
ceth to come.

But though all these things were carryed closely, and Oath taken by all for secrecy, yet came
it to King *Richards* knowledge; who notwithstanding dissembling it, sends for the Duke of C
Buckingham to come unto him; and he putting off his coming with pretended excuses, is at last
peremptorily sent for to come upon his Allegiance: when he returned this resolute answer,
that he owed no Allegiance to such a perjur'd inhumane Butcher of his own Flesh and Blood:
and so from that time preparation for Arms is made on both sides. The Duke had gotten a
good power of *Welshmen*; and the Marquesse *Dorset* having gotten out of Sanctuary, was la-
bouring in *Yorkshire* to raise Forces; the like did the two Courtneys in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*,
and *Guilford* and *Rame* in *Kent*. King *Richard* setting forward with his Forces; the Duke of *Buck-*
ingham doth the like, intending at *Glocester* to have passed the *Severn*, and so to have joyned with
the two Courtneys; but such abundance of rain at that time fell, that the *Severn* was broken out,
and impossible to be passed over; which the *Welshmen* seeing, and taking it for an ill sign, they D
secretly slipt away: so as the Duke left well-neer alone, without either Page or so much as a
Foot man; repaired to the house of one *Humphrey Bannister* neer to *Shrewsbury*; who having
been raised by him, and his Father before him; he thought himself safe under his roof: But
Bannister, upon Proclamation made by King *Richard*, that whosoever could apprehend the Duke,
should have a thousand pound for his labour; like an ungratefull and perfidious wretch, discov-
ered him to *John Milton* High Sheriffe of *Shropshire*, who took him in a pilled black Cloak, as he
was walking in an Orchard behinde the house; and carried him to *Shrewsbury*, where King
Richard then lay; and there without Arraignment or Legall proceeding, was in the Market-
place beheaded. Whether *Bannister* received the Proclaimed reward from the hand of the King,
is uncertain; but certain it is, that he received the reward of a Villain from the hand of Divine E
Justice, for himself was afterward hanged for man-slaughter, his eldest Daughter was deflowred
by one of his Carters, or as some say, stricken with a foul Leprosie; his eldest Son in a despe-
rate Lunacy murdered himself, and was found to have done so, by the Coroners inquest; and his
younger Son in a small puddle was strangled and drowned.

The Duke of
Buckingham
betrayes himself
to the house of
one *Humphrey*
Bannister his
own servant,
who betrayes
him.
And is be-
headed.
The Judgment
of God upon
Bannister.

Upon this dyfaster of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his complices shifted for themselves; some
taking Sanctuary, some keeping themselves in unknown places, but many conveyed themselves
into *Britain* to the Earl of *Richmond*; of whom the Marquesse *Dorset*, *John Lord Wells*, the Bishop
of *Exeter* and his Brother *Sir John Bourchier*, *Sir Edward Woodville* Brother to *Queen Elizabeth*,
Sir Robert Willoughby, *Sir Giles Daubeny*, *Sir Thomas Arundell*, *Sir John Cheyny* and his two Bre-
thren, *Sir William Barkley*, *Sir William Brandon* and his Brother *Thomas*, *Sir Richard Edgecome*, *Hol-*
lowell and *Poyning*s Captains, were the chief. Whil'st these things are in doing, King *Richard*
receives intelligence from *Hutton* his Ambassadour lieger in *Britain*; that the Duke not only re-
fuseth to restrain the Earl of *Richmond*, but intendeth also to give him assistance: whereupon the
King took present order for preparing his Navy to stop the Earls landing in any Port of *England*.
He apprehended also in divers parts of the Realm, certain Gentlemen of the Earl of *Richmonds*
confederation; but coming himself to the City of *Exeter*, and to the Castle there, and under-
standing that it was called *Rugemont*, he suddenly fell into a dump; and as one astonyed, said;
Well, I see my dayes be not long: He spake this of a Prophecy told him, that when he came
once to *Richmond*, he should not live long after: which fell out to be true, not in respect of this
Castle; but in respect of *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*.

Upon the twelfth day of *October* in the year 1484. the Earl of *Richmond* with forty Ships, G
and five thousand waged *Britains* took to Sea; but that evening by tempest of weather, his
whole Fleet was disperfed, so as only the Ship wherein the Earl himself was, with one little Bark,
was driven upon the Coast of *Cornwall*; where discovering upon the shore great store of armed
Souldiers, to resist his landing; he hoysed sayl, and returning toward *France*, arrived in *Norman-*
dy; from whence sending Messengers to *Charles* the Eighth King of *France*, he was by him not
only kindly invited to come to his Court, but was aided also with good sums of money to bear
his

The Earl of
Richmond is
aided by the
K. of *France*.

A his charges. After this, the Earl returning into *Britain*, received there the newes of the Duke of *Buckingham*s death, and the dispersing of the Confederates Forces; with which though he was at first much troubled, yet was he as much comforted afterward, when he saw the Marquess *Dorset*, and those other Lords and Captains come unto him: soon after whose coming, upon *Christmasse* day before the high Altar in the great Church of *Rheims*, the Earl of *Richmond* gave Oath, to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, as soon as he should be quietly settled in the Government of *England*: and thereupon all the Lords and Knights there present, did him homage, and in the same place, each to other religiously Vowed, taking the Sacrament upon it; never to cease prosecuting war against King *Richard*, till either his Deposition or Destruction.

He takes Oath to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* K. *Edwards* eldest Daughter.

King *Richard* being informed of these things, makes diligent enquiry after all such as might be suspected to be favourers of *Richmonds* association; of whom Sir *George Brown*, and Sir *Roger Clifford* with four other Gentlemen are apprehended and executed at *London*: Sir *Thomas Sentleger*, who married *Anne* the Duke of *Exceter*s Widow, this Kings own Sister, and *Thomas Rame* Esquire were executed at *Exceter*. *Thomas Marquess Dorset*, and all such as were with the Earl of *Richmond*, were at a Parliament then holden attainted of Treason, and all their Goods and Lands seized on to the Kings use: Besides these, a poor Gentleman called *Collingborn*, for making a small ryme of three of his wicked Counsellors; the Lord *Lovell*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Catesby*: which ryme was thus framed: *The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell the Dog; rule all England under a Hog*: was put to death, and his body divided into four quarters.

At this time, a Truce is concluded betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, for three years; and for settling a firmer Amity between the two Kingdoms, a marriage is treated of between the Duke of *Rothja*, eldest Son to the King of *Scots*; and the Lady *Anne de la Poole*, Daughter to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Anne* Sister to King *Richard*; which Sister he so much favoured, that after the death of his own Son, who dyed some time before; he caused *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, her Son and his Nephew, to be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*.

And now King *Richard*, to take away the root of his fear, once again sent Ambassadors to the Duke of *Britain*, with order (besides the great gifts they carryed with them) to make offer, that King *Richard* should yearly pay and answer the Duke of all the Revenues and Profits of all lands and possessions, as well belonging to the Earl of *Richmond*, as of any other Nobleman or Gentleman that were in his company; if he after that time would keep them in continuall prison, and restrain them from liberty.

King *Richard* seeks by great gifts to have the Earl of *Richmond* delivered to him.

D But the Duke of *Britain* being at that time fallen into such infirmity, that the Ambassadors could have no audience; they addressed themselves to *Peter Landois* the Dukes chief Treasurer: and he taken with this golden hook, faithfully promised to satisfy their Request; and had done so indeed, but that Bishop *Morton* sojourning then in *Flanders*, had by his friends intelligence of his purpose, and presently informed the Earl thereof. The Earl was then at *Vannes*; who, upon the Bishops information, taking with him only five Servants, as though he went but to visit some friend; when he was five miles forward on his way, suddenly turned into a Wood adjoining; and there changing apparell with one of his Servants, followed after as their attendant; and never rested, till by wayes unknown he came to his company abiding at *Angiers*: yet was not his departure so secret nor so sudden, but that *Peter Landois*

Which plot the Earl escapes by *Mortons* information; and in what manner.

E had notice of it; who sending Posts after him, was so neer overtaking him, that he was scarce entred one hour into *France*, when the Posts arrived at the Confines, and then durst go no further. In the mean time, Sir *Edward Woodville* and Captain *Poyning*s, who with their companies were left behinde in *Vannes*, had been in danger of *Peter Landois* his malice; but that the Duke being informed by the Chancellour of their case, not only protected them, but furnished them with all necessaries for their journey to the Earl: and was so incensed against *Landois* for this action of his, that for this and some other over-bold presumptions, he was afterward hanged.

Peter Landois hanged.

The Earl having passed this danger in *Britain*, and being arrived in *France*, addresseth himself to the French King, imploring his aid; and hath it promised and performed: and in this time *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who had long time been kept prisoner in the Castle of *Hammes*, so farre prevailed with *James Blunt* Captain of the Fortresse, and Sir *John Fortescue* Porter of the Town of *Callice*; that not only they suffered him to be at liberty, but accompanied him also to the Earl of *Richmond*, to whom Captain *Blunt* gave assurance that the Fortresse remained wholly at his devotion. At this time also there resorted to the Earl, divers young Gentlemen that were Students in the University of *Paris*, proffering him their service; amongst whom was *Richard Fox*, at that time famous for his learning; with whom afterward the Earl advised in all his affairs, made him one of his most Privy Counsell, and at last Bishop of *Winchester*.

Richard Fox made first known to the Earl of *Richmond*.

G But now King *Richard* having been disappointed of his design in *Britain*, hath another way in his head to disappoint the Earl of *Richmond* of his marriage with the Daughter of Queen *Elizabeth*: and to this end, he sent to the Queen (being still in Sanctuary) divers messengers, who should first excuse and purge him of all things formerly attempted and done against her; and then should largely promise promotions innumerable, not only to her self, but also to her Son Lord *Thomas Marquess Dorset*; by force of which promises the messengers so prevailed with her, that not only she began to relent, but at last was content to submit her self wholly to the Kings pleasure. And thereupon putting in oblivion the murder of her innocent Children, the butchering of her own Brother and Son, the infamy of her royall Husband, the aspersion of Adultery cast upon her self, the imputation of Bastardy laid to her Daughters, forgetting also her Oath made to the Earl of *Richmonds* Mother; seduced by flattering words, she first delivered into

King *Richard* seeks to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* K. *Edwards* Daughter.

The Queen is brought to give her consent.

King

King *Richards* hands her five Daughters, and after sent Letters to the Marquesse her Son, being A then at *Paris* with the Earl of *Richmond*; willing him by any means to leave the Earl, and with all speed to repair into *England*; where for him were provided great Honours and Promotions: Assuring him further, that all offences on both parts were forgotten and forgiven; and both he and she incorporated in the Kings favour. If we wonder at this credulity in the Queen, we may conceive she was moved with the two great motives of Fear and Hope; she feared (no doubt) that if she denied the Kings request, he would presently take some sharp course both against her and her Daughters; and she hoped that if she yeelded to his request, he would undoubtedly perform his promise, seeing it was as easie for him to keep it as to break it.

King *Richard* rids himself of his present Wife: and by what devices.

But now King *Richards* purpose being to marry one of his Brother King *Edwards* Daughters: B there was one impediment which directly hindred it; that he had a wife living; and how to be rid of her, that he might not bring new aspersions upon himself, he could not well tell; yet this he resolved, that he rid of her he would by some way or other: but before he would use this extremity, he would first try milder wayes; and first he abstained both from her bed and company, and complained to divers of her barrennesse; which coming to her ear, he hoped might cause her to die with grief: And when this device failed, he then caused a rumour to be spread among the people, that she was suddenly dead; hoping the very conceit thereof would kill her: when this device also failed, (for the Queen hearing of it, and mistrusting the worst, with a most sorrowfull countenance came unto him, demanding what she had done, that he should judge her worthy to die? who answered with fair words, bidding her be of good cheer, C for (to his knowledge) she should have no other cause) he then made sure work; for within few dayes after, whether by poyson or by what other means, it is not certainly known, she departed this life; and with all solemnity, not without some formal tears of King *Richard*, was interred in *S. Peters Church* at *Westminster*.

He makes love to the Lady *Elizabeth*.

King *Richard* now by his wives death, having made himself way to marry another; useth all the alluring means he can devise, to win the love of the Lady *Elizabeth* his Neece; but meaning at last to purchase his desire by Rape, if he could not otherwise; and had perhaps done it, but that the storms threatned from beyond the Seas, growing every day more strong then other, forced him to prorogue the execution of his desires, and look to the prevention of his present danger. The Lord *Stanley* is commanded presently to levy Forces for the Kings aid, as he will D justifie his integrity to him; but yet is not permitted to go down into the Countrey, untill he had left *George Lord Strange* his eldest Son, as a pledge of his Loyalty behinde him. And now King *Richard* being informed (though the information was craftily suborned by his enemies) that the Earl of *Richmond* was out of hope of any great assistance from *France*; dischargeth the Ships which he had appointed to guard the Seas, and likewise all the Souldiers; only order is given for diligent watching of the Beacons.

Which makes him hasten his coming over.

At this time, one *Morgan Kidwelly*, a Student at the Innes of Court, with great hazard of his life, passed over to the Earl; informing him, that King *Richard* by all means laboured to match himself with the Lady *Elizabeth*: which so wrought with the Earl, that he saw there was no lingering: and the more, being by him further informed, that *Rice ap Thomas* and *John Savage*, E two powerfull men in their Countreys, were ready with great Forces to assist him: Whereupon, not having above two thousand Mercenaries, and but indifferent Shipping to convey him over: about the middle of *August* he put to Sea, and by the advice of the said *Kidwelly*, steered his course for *Wales*, and on the seventeenth day after his departure from *Harflew*, arrived at *Milford Haven*; and there landing his Forces without trouble or impeachment, from thence marched peaceably to *Hereford*, where by the Inhabitants he was joyfully received. Here he receiveth newes by Captain *Arnold Butler*, that the Earl of *Pembroke* with all his retinue was upon the way to joyn with him; also thither came to him *Richard Griffith* and *John Morgan*, with a band of brave *Welsh* men; and the same day Sir *Gilbert Talbot* with all the Earl of *Shrewsburies* Tenants, (being about two thousand well appointed men) came unto him: with these he marched towards F *Shrewsbury*; at which time word is brought him, that Sir *Robert Herbert* and *Rice ap Thomas*, were ready with a great power to stop his passage: which somewhat troubled him, that his friends so suddenly should revolt: but it was but a trick of *Rice ap Thomas* to make his bargain the surer: for soon after, *Rice ap Thomas* meets him, and offers him his service, so as the Earl will pledge his faith to perform his promise formerly made; which was, that having once obtained the Crown, he would make *Rice* sole Governour of *Wales*: which was now assented to, and afterward performed. At this time the Lord *Stanley* with five thousand men had taken up his lodging at the Town of *Leicester*; but hearing of the Earls march that way, he left *Leicester* and went to *Adderton*, not daring to shew himself openly for the Earl; for fear the King should put his Son the Lord *Strange* to death, whom he had left an Hostage with him. G

To whom many Lords and others come.

All this time King *Richard* lay at *Nottingham*, and was as it were fatally taken with a spirit of security, hearing that the Earl had but small assistance either from *France* or in *England*; and therefore slighting him as little able to doe any great matter: but when he heard that part of his own Forces was revolted to him, then he began to look about him, and sends present direction to the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Surry*, with Sir *Thomas Brackenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, with all speed to bring their Forces to him at *Lutterworth*, from whence upon their arrivall, hearing that the Earl was encamped at *Lichfield*, he marcheth thitherward: At which time,

A time, Sir *Walter Hungerford* and some others, withdrew themselves from King *Richards* part : and Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Bryan Stanford*, and Sir *Simon Digby*, with their severall Forces, joyned with the Earl.

King *Richard* took the advantage of a large Plain near *Bosworth*, adjoining to a hill called *Anne Beame*; where he encamped: And observing by his Adversaries manner of approach, that they meant to give him battel, he the next morning put his Forces in order: The Vauntguard was led by the Duke of *Norfolk*, which consisted of one thousand two hundred Bow-men, flanked with two hundred Cuyrassiers, under the conduct of the Earl of *Surrey*: The Battail King *Richard* led himself, which consisted of a thousand Bill-men, empaled with two thousand Pikes: The Rereward was led by Sir *Thomas Brackenbury*, consisting of two thousand mingled weapons, with two wings of Horsemen, containing fifteen hundred, all of them cast into square maniples; expecting the Lord *Stanley*'s coming with two thousand, most of them Horsemen: But the Lord *Stanley* carryed himself so warily, that he might neither give cause of suspicion to the King, nor yet cause of disadvantage to the Earl: that when early in the morning, the Earl sent unto him, desiring his present repair; he answered, that he must look for no aid from him, till the Battails should be joyned; and therefore advised him, with all possible speed to give the Onset. This answer somewhat staggered the Earl, because his number did but little exceed one half of the Kings: Yet to make the best shew he could, by the advice of his Counsell of War, he made his Vaward open and thin; of which *John* Earl of *Oxford* had the leading: The Earl himself led the Battail: Sir *Gilbert Talbot* commanding the right wing, and Sir *John Savage* the left: whose Souldiers being all alike clad in white Coats and Hoods of Frize, by the reflexion of the Sun upon them, made them appear in the view of their Enemies, double the number. The Rereward was governed by the Earl of *Pembroke*, which consisted most of Horse, and some Pikes and black Bills. King *Richard* to encourage his Souldiers, made a solema speech unto them: But alas! what hope could he have to put them in heart, whose hearts he had lost? or to raise alacrity in others, who had none in himself? For now the remembrance of his fore-passed villanies, and specially a fearfull Dream he had the night before, (wherein it seemed to him, he saw divers Images like Devils, which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take any rest or quiet) so damped his spirits, that although he set a good face upon the matter, yet he could not choose but have a prelagious fear that the date of his dayes was not far from expiring. The Earl of *Richmond* on the other side, having a clear conscience in himself, and speaking to men that followed him for love; had the easier means to give them encouragement: which he did with so cheerfull a countenance, as though already he had gotten the victory. After their military exhortations ended, King *Richard* commanded to give the onset. Between both Armies there was a great Marsh; which the Earl left on his right hand, that it might be a defence for his Souldiers on that side; and besides by so doing, he had the Sun at his back, and in the faces of the enemy. When King *Richard* saw that the Earls company was passed this Marsh, he commanded with all speed to set upon them. Then were the Arrows let fly on both sides, and those spent, they came to hand-strokes; at which encounter comes in the Lord *Stanley*, and joyns with the Earl. The Earl of *Oxford* in the mean time, fearing lest his company should be compassed in with the multitude of his enemies, gave charge in every rank, that no man should go above ten foot from the Standard: whereupon they knit themselves together, and ceased a while from fighting: which the Enemy seeing, and mistrusting some fraud, they also paused and left striking: But then the Earl of *Oxford*, having brought all his Band together, set on the enemy afresh; which the enemy perceiving, they placed their men slender and thin before, but thick and broad behinde; and resolutely again began the fight. While these two Vanguards were thus contending, King *Richard* was informed, that the Earl of *Richmond* with a small number was not far off: whereupon he presently makes towards him; and being of an invincible courage, whereof he was now to give the last proof, he made so furious an assault, that first with his own hands he slew Sir *William Brandon* who bore the Earls Standard; next he unhorst and overthrew Sir *John Chorney*, a strong and stout man at Arms; and then assaulted the Earl of *Richmond* himself, who (though no man would have thought it, yet) for all the Kings fury held him off at his Launces point, till Sir *William Stanley* came in with three thousand fresh men: and then oppressed with multitude, King *Richard* is there slain. It is said, that when the Battell was at the point to be lost, a swift Horse was brought unto him, with which he might have saved himself by flight, but out of his undaunted courage he refused it, saying, He would that day make an end of all Battells, or else lose his life. In this Battell, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who led King *Richards* Rereward, never struck stroke; as likewise many other, who followed King *Richard* more for fear then love: and so King *Richard* who had deceived many in his time, was at this time deceived by many: which was not unforeseen by some, who caused a Rhyme to be set upon the Duke of *Norfolk*'s gate the night before the Battell; which was this:

*Jack of Norfolk be not too bold,
For Dickon thy Master is bought and sold.*

Yet notwithstanding this warning, the noble Duke continued firm to King *Richard*; and more considering what he was towards him, then what towards others; followed him to the last, and in his quarrel lost his life. This *John Howard* was the Son of Sir *Robert Howard* Knight, and

Neer to *Bosworth* their Armies meet: and how King *Richards* Army was marshalled.

King *Richard* encounters the Earl of *Richmond* hand to hand.

John Howard Duke of *Norfolk* firm to King *Richard* to the last.

Margaret

Margaret eldest Daughter of Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, in whose right he was created A Duke of Norfolk by King Richard the Third, in the year 1483. having been made a Baron before by King Edward the Fourth. The whole number slain in this battell on King Richards part was not above a thousand persons; whereof of the Nobility, besides the Duke of Norfolk, only Walter Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir Robert Brackenbury Lieutenant of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen more: Sir William Catesby, one of the chief Counsellors of King Richard, with divers others, were two dayes after beheaded at Leicester. Amongst those that ran away, were Francis Viscount Lovell, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his Brother, who took Sanctuary in Saint Johns at Gloucester. Of Captives and Prisoners there were great number: Henry Earl of Northumberland, who though on King Richards side, intermeddled not in the battell, was incontinently taken into favour, and made of the Councell: But Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, though he submitted himself, yet as having been specially familiar with King Richard, was committed to the Tower; where he remained a long time: but at last was delivered and highly promoted. On the Earl of Richmonds part were slain scarce a hundred persons; (some say, but ten,) of whom the principall was Sir William Brandon, the Earls Standard-bearer. This battell was fought at Rodmer, neer Bosworth in Leicestershire, the two and twentieth day of August, in the year 1485, having continued little above two hours. Presently after the battell, the Earl Knighted in the field, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir John Mortimer, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Rice ap Thomas, Sir Robert Poynts, Sir Humphrey Stanley, Sir John Turberville, Sir Hugh Pershall, Sir R. Edgecombe, Sir John Bykenill, and Sir Edmund Carew: and then kneeling down, he rendred to Almighty God his hearty Thanks for the Victory he had obtained; and commanded all the hurt and maimed persons to be cured: whereat the people rejoycing, clapped their hands and cryed, King Henry, King Henry: which good will and gladnesse of the people when the Lord Stanley saw, he took the Crown of King Richard, which was found amongst the spoils in the field, and set it on the Earls head, as though he had been elected King by the voyce of the people. It may not be forgotten, that when King Richard was come to Bosworth, he sent to the Lord Stanley to come presently to his presence; which if he refused to do, he swore by Christs Passion, that he would strike off his Sons head before he dined: whereto the Lord Stanley answered, That if he did so, he had more Sons alive, and he might do his pleasure; but to come to him, he was not then determined. Which answer when King Richard heard, he commanded the Lord Strange immediately to be beheaded; but being at the very time when both Armies were in sight of each other; his Lords D perswaded him, it was now time to fight, and not to put to execution: and so the Lord Strange escaped.

The Lord Stanley takes the Crown from King Richards head, and puts it on the Earl of Richmond.

Of his Taxations.

WE must not look for Taxations in kinde, in this Kings Reign; for he drew from his Subjects not money so much as bloud; and the money he drew was most by bloud, which drew on Confiscation: whereof let never any Prince make a Precedent: for where Taxations properly do but Tondere, these did Deglutere. Yet in his second year, he called a Parliament, wherein, besides the great confiscations of those that were then attainted, he imposed upon the people a great Tax, which what it was, is not Recorded.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

No Benevolence to be required.

HAVING gotten the Crown by Pestilent courses, he sought to establish it by wholesom Laws: for in no Kings Reign were better Lawes made, then in the Reign of this man. Amongst other of his Lawes, it was enacted, that from thenceforth, the Commonalty of the Realm should in no wise be charged by any imposition called a Benevolence, nor any such like charge; and that such exactions called a Benevolence, before this time taken, shall be taken for no example to make any such like charge hereafter; but shall be damned and annulled for ever. Many other good Lawes were by him made; that we may say, he took the wayes of being a good King; if he had come to be King by wayes that had been good.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN his time, the troubles of the Temporalty kept the Clergy at quiet; and though there were complaining in the Streets, there was none in the Church. Only Shores Wife might complain, G why she should do Benance for offending lightly against only the seventh Commandement; and King Richard do none for offending heavily against all the ten; but that perhaps he had gotten some good fellow to be his Confessour.

A

Works of Piety done by him.

AS bad as this King was, yet some good works he did: he founded a Colledge at *Middleham* beyond *Tork*; and a Collegiate Chauntry in *London*, neer unto the Tower, called our *Lady of Barking*: He endowed the *Queens Colledge* in *Cambridge*, with five hundred Marks of yearly revenue; and disforested the great field of *Whitchwood*, which King *Edward* his Brother had inclosed for Deer.

B

Of Casualties happening in his time.

IN his second year, at the time when the Duke of *Buckingham* meant to passe with his Army over *Severn*; so great an inundation was of water, that men were drowned in their beds, houses were overturned, children were carried about the fields swimming in Cradles, beasts were drowned on hills; which rage of water continued ten dayes; and is to this day in the Countreys thereabout, called the Great water, or the Duke of *Buckingham*s water.

A great Inundation called the Duke of *Buckingham*s water.

C

Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married *Anne* the second Daughter of *Richard Nevill* the great Earl of *Warwick*, being the Widow of *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the Son of King *Henry* the sixth: she lived his Wife to the last year of his Reign; and then to make way for another, was brought to her end, and laid at rest in the Abby of *Westminster*: By her he had only one Son, born at *Middleham* neer *Richmond* in the County of *Tork*; at four years old, created Earl of *Salisbury* by his Unkle King *Edward* the fourth; at ten years old created Prince of *Wales* by his Father King *Richard*, but dyed soon after.

D

Of his Personage and Conditions.

THERE never was in any man a greater uniformity of Body and Minde then was in him; both of them equally deformed. Of Body he was but low, crook-backt, hook-shouldered, splay-footed, and goggle-eyed, his face little and round, his complexion swarfie, his left arm from his birth dry and withered: born a Monster in nature, with all his teeth, with hair on his head, and nails on his fingers and toes. And just such were the qualities of his minde: One quality he had in ordinary, which was, to look fawningly when he plotted, sternly when he executed. Those vices which in other men are Passions, in him were Habits: and his cruelty was not upon occasion, but naturall. If at any time he shewed any vertue, it was but pretence; the truth of his minde was only lying and falshood. He was full of courage, and yet not valiant; valour consistig not only in doing, but as well in suffering, which he could not abide. He was politick, and yet not wise; Policy looking but to the Middle, Wisdom to the End: which he did, and did not. And it was not so much Ambition that made him desire the Crown, as Cruelty, that it might be in his power to kill at his pleasure: And to say the truth, he was scarce of the number of men who consist of flesh and blood, being nothing but blood. One Miracle we may say he did; which was, that he made the truth of History to exceed the fiction of Poetry, being a greater Harpy then those that were feigned. He would fain have been accounted a good King, but for his life he could not be a good Man; and it is an impossible thing to be one without the other. He left no Issue behinde him: and it had been pity he should, at least in his own Image; one such Monster was enough for many Ages.

E

F

Of his Death and Buriall.

BEING slain in the battell at *Bosworth*, as before is related; his body was left naked and despoiled to the very skin, not so much as a clout left about him to cover his privy parts: and taken up, was trussed behinde a Pursuivant at Arms, one *Blanch Senglyer*, or *White-lea*; his head and arms hanging on one side of the Horse, and his legs on the other; and all besprinkled with mire and dirt, he was brought to the *Gray-Fryers Church* within the Town of *Leicester*, and there for some time lay a miserable spectacle; and afterward, with small Funerall-pomp, was there interred. But after this, King *Henry* the seventh caused a Tombe to be made, and set up over the place where he was buried, with a picture of Alabaster, representing his person; which at the suppression of that Monastery was utterly defaced: Since when, his grave overgrown with Nettles and Weeds, is not to be found; only the Stone-chest wherein his Corps lay, is now made a Drinking-trough for Horses, at a common Inne in *Leicester*, and retaineth the only memory of this Monarchs greatnesse. But his body (as is reported) was carryed out of the City, and contemptuously

King *Richard* basely used being dead;

G

temptuously bestowed under the end of *Bow-bridge*, which giveth passage over a branch of *Stowre*,^A upon the West side of the Town. Upon this Bridge (the like report runneth) stood a Stone of some height; against which King *Richard*, as he passed toward *Bosworth*, by chance strook his Spur: and against the same Stone, as he was brought back, hanging by the Horse side, his head was dashed and broken: as a wise Woman (forsooth) had foretold; who before his going to battell, being asked of his successe, said, that where his Spur strook, his head should be broken. But these are but reports. He had lived seven and thirty years, reigned two, and two moneths.

Of Men of Note in his time.

^B
OF men of Note for wickednesse and villany, enow have been mentioned in the body of the Story: and for men of Valour and Learning, they will fitter be placed in a better Kings Reign.

Maiores and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his First year,
William Billeston was Maior.
Thomas Newland, William Martin, Sheriffs.

In his Second year,
Thomas Hill was Maior.
Richard Chester; and he dying, *Ralph Astrie*,
Thomas Britain, Sheriffs.

THE



THE
R E I G N
O F
K I N G H E N R Y
THE SEVENTH.

HENRY Earl of Richmond, born in Pembroke Castle, Son to Edmund Earl of Richmond, by his Wife Margaret, sole Daughter of John Duke of Somerset, which John was Son of John Earl of Somerset, Son of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, by his third Wife Katherine Swinford; and by this descent, Heir of the House of Lancaster: having won the Battell at Bosworth, against King Richard; is by publick acclamations saluted King of England, on the 22 day of August, in the year 1485. and this was his first Title. And now to take away a root of danger; before his departure from Leicester, he sent Sir Robert Willoughby to the Castle of Sheriffebaton in the County of York, for Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, Son and Heir to George Duke of Clarence, being then of the age of fifteen years, whom King Richard had there kept a prisoner all his time; who was thence conveyed to London, and shut up in the Tower to be kept in safe custody. In the same Castle also King Richard had left residing the Lady Elizabeth, eldest Daughter to King Edward the fourth: and her now King Henry appoints honourably attended to be brought up to London, and to be delivered to the Queen her Mother. This done, he took his journey towards London; where at his approaching neer the City, Thomas Hill the Maior, Thomas Britain and Richard Chester Sherifes, with other principall Citizens, met him at Shore-ditch, and in great state brought him to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, where he offered three Standards: In the one was the Image of Saint George; in the other was a red fiery Dragon, beaten upon white and green Sarcenet; in the third was painted a dun Cow, upon yellow Tartern. After Prayers said, he departed to the Bishops Palace, and there sojourned a season: And in the time of his stay here, he advised with his Councell, and appointed a day for solemnizing his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth: before which time notwithstanding, he went by water to Westminster, and was there with great solemnity Anointed and Crowned King of England, by the whole consent: as well of the Commons as of the Nobility, by the name of Henry the Seventh, on the thirtieth day of October, in the year 1485, and this was his second Title. And even this was revealed to Cadwallader last King of the Britains, seven hundred ninety and seven years past; That his Off-spring should reign and bear Dominion in this Realm again.

On the seventeenth day of November following, he called his high Court of Parliament; where, at the first sitting, two scruples appeared: One concerning the Burgeses; for that many had been returned Burgeses and Knights of Shires, who by a Parliament in King Richards time, stood Attainted still: and it was thought incongruous, for men to make Lawes, who were themselves outlawed: For remedy whereof an Act was presently passed for their restoring; and then they were admitted to sit in the House. The other concerning the King himself, who had been attainted by King Richard: but for this, It was resolved by all the Judges in the Chequer Chamber, that the possession of the Crown takes away all defects; yet for Honours sake, all Records of his Attainder were taken off the File. And so these scruples thus removed, the Parliament began; wherein were Attainted, first Richard late Duke of Gloucester, calling himself Richard the Third:

1485.
King Henry
first Title.

Edward Plantagenet, Son and Heir of George Duke of Clarence, shut up in the Tower.

The Earl of Richmond is Crowned King.

The possession of the Crown takes away all defects.

Lords and
others at aint-
ed by Parlia-
ment.

Third: Then, his Assistants at the battell of Bosworth: John late Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Earl A of Surrey, Francis Viscount Lovell, Walter Devereux late Lord Ferrers, John Lord Zouch, Robert Harrington, Richard Charlton, Richard Ratcliffe, William Berkley of Weley, Robert Middleton, James Harrington, Robert Brackenbury, Thomas Pilkington, Walter Hopton, William Catesby, Roger Waty, William Sapcote, Humphrey Stafford, William Clerk of Wenlock, Geoffrey St. Germain, Richard Watkins, Herauld at Arms, Richard Kewell, Thomas Puher, John Weish, John Kendall late Secretary to the late King Richard, John Buck, Andrew Rat, and William Brampton of Bursford. But notwithstanding this Attainder, divers of the persons aforesaid, were afterwards not only by King Henry pardoned, but restored also to their lands and livings. As likewise he caused Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would submit themselves, and take Oath to be true Subjects, should have their Pardon: whereupon many came out of Sanctuaries and other places; who submitting them- B selves, were received to mercy.

Dukes and
Earls created.

And now King Henry considering that *Pena & Premio Respublica continetur*; after punishing for Offences, he proceeds to rewarding for Service: and first, Jasper Earl of Pembroke his Uncle, he created Duke of Bedford: Thomas Lord Stanley he created Earl of Darby: the Lord Obendow of Britain, his speciall friend, he made Earl of Bathe: Sir Giles Daubeny was made Lord Daubeny: Sir Robert Willoughby was made Lord Brook: and Edward Stafford eldest Son to Henry late Duke of Buckingham, he restored to his Dignity and Possessions. Besides, in this Parliament an Act was made, for setting the Crown upon the person of King Henry and the Heirs of his body successively for ever. And then with all speed he sent and redeemed the Marquess Dorset, and Sir John Bourchier, whom he had left Hostages in France for money; and called home Morton C Bishop of Ely, and Richard Fox; making Morton Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Bishop of Winchester. Besides these, he made also of his Privy Council, Jasper Duke of Bedford, John Earl of Oxford, Thomas Stanley Earl of Darby, John Bishop of Ely, Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain of his Household; Sir Robert Willoughby Lord Brook; Lord Steward of his Household; Giles Lord Daubeny; John Lord Dynham, after made Lord Treasurer of England; Sir Reginald Bray, Sir John Cheyney, Sir Richard Guilford, Sir Richard Tunstall, Sir Richard Edgecombe, Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Edmund Poyning, Sir John Risle, with some other.

Morton is made
Archbishop of
Canterbury.
Fox is made
Lord Privy
Seal.

King Henry
marries the La-
dy Elizabeth.
1484
1485

These things thus done, as well in performance of his Oath, as to make his Crown sit the surer on his head; on the eighteenth day of January, he proceeded to the solemnizing his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth; which gave him a third Title: And indeed this conjunction made a wreath of three so indissoluble, that no age since hath ever questioned it: and it is fixt upon a Tree planted so happily by the waters side, and hath at this day so many flourishing branches; that there is good hope it will continue as long as the World continues.

The Kings
Guard first
ordained.

A violent sick-
ness in London,
and the remedy.

And now whether King Henry doubted any sudden attempt upon his person, or whether he did it to follow the example of France; in the very beginning of his Reign, he ordained a band of tall personable men to be attending upon him, which was called the Kings guard; which no King before, and all Kings since, have alwayes used: But though he provided a guard for defence of his own body, yet for the bodies of his people he could provide none; for at this time a sickness (of the symptom called the sweating sickness) seized so violently upon them, that within a E short time many thousands perished: particularly in London, two Maiors successively, and six Aldermen within eight dayes dyed: and for this sickness no Physick afforded any cure; till at last, this remedy was found: If a man were taken with the sweat in the day time, that then he should presently lie down in his cloaths, and so lie still the whole four and twenty hours; if he were taken in the night, then he should not rise out of his bed, for the space of four and twenty hours; not provoking sweat, nor yet eating or drinking at all, at least but very moderately. In this sickness there was one good circumstance; that though it were violent, yet it lasted not long: for beginning about the one and twentieth of September, it cleared up before the end of October following.

The Lord
Lovell raiseth
an Army a-
gainst the
King, but upon
Proclamation
of Pardon is
dispersed.

And now all things being set in good order in the South parts, there ariseth a little storm in F the North, but was soon dispersed. For King Henry making a journey into the North parts, to shew himself there where he had not yet been; and where the respect to King Richard might have left some opposites: at his coming to Lincoln, was certified that the Lord Lovell and Humphrey Stafford were gone out of Sanctuary in Colchester; but whither, no man knew. The King therefore not much regarding it, went forward to York; and being come thither, it was then plainly told him, that the Lord Lovell with a strong power was at hand, and would presently invade the City. This made the King in a great straight; for neither had he any Army ready; nor if he had men, had he any Weapons or Munition for them. Yet in this straight, he commanded the Duke of Bedford, with three thousand men to set out against him, but so ill armed, that their Armour for the most part were but of tanned Leather; who being come neer the Camp of the G Rebels, caused Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would submit themselves as loyall Subjects, should have their Pardons, and be received into grace: which Proclamation so prevailed, that it made the Lord Lovell secretly in the night to flee away; and then the Army left without a head, submitted themselves to the Kings mercy. The Lord Lovell fled into Lancashire; and there for a time lurked with Sir Thomas Brackenbury, a man powerfull in those parts. Humphrey Stafford took Sanctuary in a Village, called Culnham two miles from Abbington: but the Sanctuary being judged by the Justices of the Kings Bench, to be no lawfull defence for Traytors; he was taken from

A Sanctuary
no defence for
Traytors.

A from thence by force, and conveyed to the Tower, afterward to *Tyburn*, and there hanged. His Brother *Thomas* was pardoned, because it was thought, he was drawn in by his Brother *Humphrey*.

In this year, *John Persivall* the Maior of *London's* Carver, waiting at his Table, was chosen one of the Sheriffs of *London*, only by Sir *John Collets*, then Maior, drinking to him in a cup of Wine, (as the custome is, to drink to him whom he list to name Sheriffe) and forthwith the said *Persivall* fate down at the Maiors Table, and covered his head, and was afterward Maior himself.

The Maiors Carver chosen Sheriffe of *London*, and by what occasion.

At this time a mean instrument attempted a great work: by which we may see, how far imagination may out-goe reason: One *Richard Simond* a Priest, a man of base birth, though some learning; had a Scholar of baser birth, the Son of a Shoemaker, (some say a Baker) named *Lambert Symnell*; but of a pregnant wit, and comely personage: Him he gives out to be *Edward Earl of Warwick*, lately (as was said) escaped out of prison; both of them being of like yeers and stature: with this Scholar of his, he sails into *Ireland*, and so sets forth the matter, that not only the Lord *Thomas Fitz-Grard* Earl of *Kildare*, and Deputy of *Ireland*; but many other of the Nobility gave credit to his words; and as those that affected the House of *York*, were ready to take his part; and even already saluted the young *Synnell* King. Withall they sent into *Flanders* to the Lady *Margaret*, Sister to the late King *Edward*, and Widow of *Charles Duke of Burgoyne*, requiring aid and assistance from her. This Lady being of the House of *York*, bore an inward grudge against King *Henry*, being of the House of *Lancaster*; and therefore though she well understood it was but a coloured matter, yet was willing to take advantage of it: and thereupon promised her assistance.

Lambert Symnell given forth to be *Edward Earl of Warwick*

Countenanced in *Ireland*.

Chiefly by the Lady *Margaret* Duchesse of *Burgoyne*.

C King *Henry* being advertised of these things, advised with his Councell; by whom it was agreed, that two things presently should be done. First, to grant a Pardon to any that would submit themselves, for any offence whatsoever, though it were for High Treason; the next, that the Earl of *Warwick* should be openly shewed abroad in the City, and other publick places; whereby, the report spread abroad of his being in *Ireland*, might appear plainly to be false. Withall, the Queen *Elizabeth*, Widow of King *Edward* the fourth, and mother to the present Queen, was adjudged to forfeit all her Lands and Possessions, and to live confined in the Abbey of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*; where in great pensiveness within a few yeers she dyed. But for what cause this severity was used against this Queen, is not altogether certain: To say, (as was commonly said) that it was for rendring her self and her Daughters into the hands of King *Richard*, were manifest injustice, to punish her for doing a thing out of fear, which else she should have been compelled to do by force: and to say (as some also have said) that it was for giving aid underhand to *Perkin*, were a manifest unlikelihood, that she should aid a Counterfeit against her own Son in law: we must therefore content our selves with knowing the bare colourable pretext, and leave the true reason as a secret of State. But this shewing abroad of the true Earl of *Warwick*, though it satisfied some, yet not all: for some gave out that it was but a trick of the King, and not the true *Warwick*. At least the Earl of *Lincoln*, Son to *John de la Poole Duke of Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth* Sister to King *Edward* the fourth, would not omit to take the advantage, though he knew that *Synnell* was but a Counterfeit. And thereupon, as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he fled secretly into *Flanders*, to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* Duchesse of *Burgoyne*.

Queen *Elizabeth* hath all her goods confiscated, and her self confined.

D between whom it was concluded, that he and the Lord *Lovell* should go into *Ireland*, and there attend upon the Counterfeit *Warwick*, and honour him as King; and with the power of the *Irish* men bring him into *England*: but it was concluded withall, that if their actions succeeded, then the Counterfeit *Warwick* should be deposed, and the true be delivered out of prison, and anointed King. And to this purpose, the Earl of *Lincoln*, by the aid of the Lady *Margaret*, had gotten together two thousand *Almains*, with one *Martin Swart* a valiant and expert Captain to be their leader. With this power, the Earl sayld into *Ireland*, and at the City of *Dublin*, caused young *Lambert* the Counterfeit *Warwick*, in most solemn manner, first to be Proclaimed, and after to be Crowned King of *England*: and then with a great number of beggerly and unarmed *Irish* men, under the conduct of the Lord *Thomas Gerardine* Earl of *Kildare*, they sayled into *England*, and landed at a place called the *Pile of Fowdray*, not far from *Lancaster*; hoping there by the means of Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a powerfull man in that Countrey, to have their Army both furnished and increased.

By the plot of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the Lady *Margaret*, *Synnell* is conveyed into *Ireland*, and there crowned King of *England*.

E King *Henry* hearing that the Earl of *Lincoln* was landed at *Lancaster*, assembled a great Army, conducted by the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oxford*; and with these he marched to *Ntingham*, and there by a little Wood called *Bowres*, he pitched his field; whither there came unto him, the Lord *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Strange*, Sir *John Cheyney*, and divers others Knights and Gentlemen. In which mean time the Earl of *Lincoln* being entred into *York-shire*, passed quietly on his journey, without doing spoyl or hurt unto any; trusting thereby to have won the people to come to his aid; but when he perceived few or none to resort unto him, he then determined to venture a battell with the Army he had already; and thereupon took his way from *York* to *Newark* upon *Trent*. King *Henry* understanding which way he took, came the night before the battell to *Newark*; and going three miles further, neer to a Village called *Stoke*, there waited the approach of the Earl of *Lincoln*; so the next day they joyned battell; where after a long fight, of at the least three hours; though the *Almains*, and specially their Captain *Martin Swart* behaved themselves most valiantly; yet their *Irish*, being in a manner but naked men, were at last overthrown, four thousand slain, and the rest put to flight; but not one of their Captains; for the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovell*, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, *Martin Swart*, and the Lord *Gerardine* were all found dead in the very place

King *Henry* goeth with an Army against The Earl of *Lincoln*.

At *Stoke* he gives him battell, and overthrowes him.

Where he and divers other Lords are slain; where

Saturday al-
ways fortunate
to K. Henry.

Lambert is ta-
ken into the
Kings Kitchen,

A Truce for
seven years b-
tween K. Henry
and the King
of Scots.

Queen Eliza-
beth is Crown-
ed.

A Peace be-
tween France
and England.

The King of
France over-
throws the
Duke of Bri-
tains Army,
where the L.
Woodville is
slain.

K. Henry sends
an Army to
aid the Duke
of Britain.

The French
King marries
the Heir of the
Duke of Bri-
tain.

where they had stood fighting; that though they lost the battell, yet they won the reputation A
of hardy and stout Souldiers. Only of the Lord Lovell, some report, that attempting to save him-
self by flight; in passing over the River of Trent, was drowned. On the Kings part, though some
some were slain, yet not any man of note. This battell was fought on a Saturday (observed as
always fortunate to King Henry) being the sixteenth of June, in the second year of King Hen-
ries Reign. The young Lambert, and his Master Simond the Priest, were both taken; and both had
their lives saved: Lambert, because but a Childe; Simond, because a Priest: yet Simond was kept
in Prison, Lambert was taken into the Kings Kitchen, to turn the Spit in the turn of his fortune,
and at last made one of the Kings Faulknors.

In the beginning of his third year, King Henry having been in York-shire, to settle the mindes B
of that people, about the midst of August came to New-castle upon Tyne, and from thence sent
Ambassadours into Scotland, Richard Fox lately before made Bishop of Excester, and Sir Richard
Edgecombe Comptroller of his House, to conclude a Peace or Truce with James King of Scots:
A Peace, by reason of the peoples backwardnesse, could not be obtained: but a Truce was con-
cluded for the term of seven years; with a promise from the King, that it should be renewed be-
fore the first seven years should be expired.

At this time, Ambassadours came from the King of France, to King Henry; who declared, that C
their Master King Charles was now at war with Francis Duke of Britain, for that he succoured the
Duke of Orleans and other Rebels against the Realm of France; and therefore requested, that
for the old familiarity that had been between them, he would either assist him, or not assist the
Duke, but stand Neuter. King Henry answered, that having received courtesies from them both,
he would do his uttermost endeavour to make them friends: and to that end, as soon as the
French Ambassadours were departed, he sent Christopher Uswick his Chaplain over into France,
who should first go to the French King, and after to the Duke of Britain, to mediate a Peace be-
tween them.

In the time of Uswicks Ambassage, King Henry caused his Wife the Lady Elizabeth to be
Crowned Queen, on Saint Katherines day in November, with all solemnity; and at the same time
delivered the Lord Thomas Marquesse Dorset out of the Tower, and received him again into his
former favour.

Uswick travailed between the two Princes to procure a Peace; but they, though making a shew D
to incline to peace, yet prepared for war, and offers on neither side would be accepted. In which
time, Edward Lord Woodville Uncle to the Queen, made suit to the King, for leave to go over
with a power of men, in aid of the Duke of Britain; which suit though the King denied, yet
the Lord Woodville would venture it; and with a power of four hundred able men, got secretly
over, and joyned with the Britains against the French. This the French King took ill at King Hen-
ries hand; but being informed, that it was against the Kings will, he seemed satisfied: and a Peace
was concluded between France and England, to endure for twelve moneths. But in conclusion,
King Henry finding that the French King dealt not really with him, but only held him on with
pretences; he called his high Court of Parliament, requiring their advice what was fit to be done:
where it was concluded, that the Duke of Britain should be aided; and to that end great sums of
money were by Parliament granted. This Determination of the Parliament, King Henry signifies E
to the French King, hoping, it would have wrought him to some terms of Peace. But the King
of France little regarding it, proceeded on in his violent courses against the Britains; so as at last,
on the eight and twentyeth day of July, the Britains gave battell to the French, neer to a Town
called St. Aubyn; having apparelled seventeen hundred of the Britains in Coats with red Crosses
after the English fashion, to make the French men believe they were all English, although indeed
they had no more English then the four hundred of the Lord Woodvilles. But notwithstanding this
device, the Victory fell to the French; so that all the English men almost were slain, with the
Lord Woodville himself; besides six thousand Britains. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of
Orange, who were on the Britains part, were taken Prisoners. The French lost twelve hundred
men; and amongst other, that valiant Italian Captain James Galeot.

This newes being brought into England, caused King Henry to make haste to send forth his Army F
and thereupon, the Lord Brook, with Sir John Cheyny, Sir John Middleton, Sir Ralph Hilton,
Sir Richard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Richard Lacen, and Sir Edmund Cornwall, are sent over
with all speed into Britain; having with them eight thousand men, to aid the Duke of Britain
against the French. But while this war was thus set forward, the Duke of Britain dyed; leaving in
effect, one only Daughter, the Lady Anne (for the other being the younger, died soon after) and
then the chief Rulers of Britain falling at dissension amongst themselves, little regarded the de-
fence of the Country: whereupon the English returned home, within five moneths after their
setting forth: and the French King getting the upper hand of the Britains, and marrying the
Lady Anne sole Daughter of the Duke of Britain, incorporated that Dutchy to the Crown of G
France.

In the last Parliament, a Subsidy was granted, for the furnishing out an Army into Britain; and
it was agreed, that every man should be taxed after the rate of his substance, to pay the tenth
penny of his goods: which Tax the most part of York shire and the Bishoprick of Durham refused
to pay: whereof the Collectors complained to Henry Earl of Northumberland, President of the
North parts: The Earl signifies it to the King; and the King commands him to levy the same,
by distresse or otherwise (without sparing of any) as he should think most meet. The rude
mul-

A multitude, hearing of this Command from the King, with great violence set upon the Earl, by the exciting of a simple fellow named *John a Chamber*; and alleading all the fault to be in the Earl, as chief author of the Tax; they cruelly murdered both him and divers of his household servants. And to make good their seditious fact, they assembled a great number, and made one Sir *John Egremond* their Captain: Declaring, that in defence of their liberties, they would bid the King battell. In this bravery they stood, as long as none opposed them: but when *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* appeared with an Army, though they skirmished a while, yet they were soon discomfited, and their Ring-leader *John a Chamber* was taken, and at *York* on a Gibbet set upon a square pair of Gallows, like an Arch-traytour was hanged, and many of his Complices on a lower Gallows; the innocent people for the most part pardoned. But Sir *John Egremond* fled into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret* Dutchesse of *Burgundy*; the common and sure refuge for all Rebels against King *Henry*. After this, the King appointed Sir *Richard Tunstall* to gather the Subsidy, and would not spare the payment of a penny. This year, notwithstanding this Tax, the King borrowed of every Alderman of *London* two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eighty two pounds seventeen shillings and four pence, which was paid again at the time with great thankfulness; which he did at a time he needed not, to the end perhaps he might do it another time, when he needed.

The Earl of *Northumberland* is slain in collecting the Subsidy.

John a Chamber Ring-leader of the Insurrection is hanged.

At this time, *James* the third, King of *Scotland*, having by some errors of Government incurred the hatred of his Nobility and people; laboured with King *Henry*, as also with the Pope, and the King of *France*, to make an Accord between him and his people, who had compelled Prince *James* his Son, to be the Titular head of those Arms which they assumed against him. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediations by Ambassadors; but could receive no other but this outrageous answer, That there was no talking of Peace unless he would resign his Crown. Which answer the Kings protested against, declaring by their Ambassadors, that they thought it a common injury done to themselves, and that the Example was not sufferable, for Subjects to lift their hands against their Sovereign. Hereupon it came to a Battell, at *Bannocks-burn* by *Strivelin*: where King *James*, rashly beginning the fight, before his whole Forces were come, was (notwithstanding the contrary commandement of the Prince his Son) slain in the Mill of that field, whither he fled, after the Battell ended.

James King of Scots in a Battell at *Bannocks-burn* is slain.

About this time, a Difference fell out which grew to a War, between the Emperour *Fredrick*, and some Towns of his in *Flanders*, especially *Gaunt* and *Bruges*: In this war, the Lord *Ravenstein* a principall person about *Maximilian*, not only forsook the Emperour and his Son *Maximilian* his Lord, (corrupted as was thought from *France*) but made himself head of the popular party, seizing upon the Towns of *Ipre* and *Sluce*: and not this only, but forthwith sent to the Lord *de Cordes* Governour for the French King in *Picardie*, to aid him against some Towns in *Flanders*: To which the Lord *de Cordes*, willing of any occasion to set foot in *Flanders*, was easily drawn. But King *Henry* not liking to have the French so neer his English pale, sent over the Lord *Morley* with a thousand men, who should joyn with the Lord *Dawbeny* then Deputy of *Callice*, to resist them. Amongst other Acts by them performed, this was chief; That the Lord *Dawbeny*, with the Lord *Morley*, Sir *Jam. Tyrrell* Captain of *Guifnes*, Sir *Henry Willoughby*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and Sir *Humphrey Talbot* Marshall of *Callice*, and others to the number of two thousand, issued secretly one night out of *Callice*, and came to *Newport*, and from thence to *Dixmue*; where the Lord *Dawbeny* commanded all men to send back their Horses: which the Lord *Morley* only refusing to do, was cause that he only of all the Captains was slain with a Gun: for the rest, after their arrows discharged, fell prostrate to the ground; by which means the Enemies Ordnance overshot them, killing onely the Lord *Morley* that was on Horseback. Here they slew of the enemy, to the number of eight thousand; of the English part was slain the Lord *Morley*, and not above a hundred more. This victory so enriched the English, that they who went forth in cloth, came home in silk; and they who went out on foot returned back on Horse-back. Upon this defeat, the Lord *de Cordes* lying an *Ipre* with twenty thousand men, and thinking to be revenged, besieged the Town of *Newport*; and so strongly assaulted it, that one day his men entred, and set up his Banner upon a Tower of the Town: when suddenly a Bark arriving with only fourscore fresh English Archers, so terrified them, thinking their number to be far greater, that the French were glad to leave their Banner behinde them, and give over the assault; and the night following, the Lord *de Cordes* (who so much longed for *Callice*, that he would commonly say, he would be content to lye seven years in Hell, so that *Callice* were in the possession of the French) brake up his siege, and returned to *Helding* with as much shame, as the English to *Callice* with honour.

King *Henry* sends an Army to assist the Emperour against the French.

The Lord *Morley* slain, and by what chance.

The French frightened with a conceit.

How much the French longed for *Callice*.

A little before this time, *Francis* Duke of *Britain* dying, left only one Daughter, the Lady *Anne*, affianced to *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*; and in so solemn a manner, that the taking upon her to be the Bride, and being laid in her bed, was contented to permit *Maximilian's* Deputy, in presence of many Noble witnesses, as well men as women, to put his leg stript naked to the knee, between the spoufall sheets; accounting that Ceremony to amount to a Consummation. The King of *France* likewise had been contracted to the Lady *Margaret* Daughter to the foresaid *Maximilian*, and had received her to that end: Yet all this notwithstanding, out of a violent desire to joyn the Dutchy of *Britain* to the Crown of *France*, he disannulled and made voyd both the Contracts. But to the end he might do it without opposition of the King of *England*, he sent Ambassadors, the Lord *Francis* of *Lutsemburg*, *Charles Marignane*, and *Robert Gaguine*, to King *Henry*; partly to conclude a Peace, but chiefly to procure King *Henry's* good

Two contracts of Marriage formerly made, disannulled by the King of *France*.

King Henry
pro pounds to
his Parliament
a warre with
France, to
which end he
bath a Benevo-
lence granted.

Granado won
by the King of
Spain from the
Moors.

A Justs at Sheen
which continu-
ed a moneth.

King Henry's
is drawn into
France to assist
the Emperour,
upon promise,
which the Em-
perour kees
not.

King Henry
hath a great
sum of money
of the King of
France, to agree
to a Peace.

good will to make voyd the foresaid Contracts: to which though King Henry was not willing A to give consent, yet he consented willingly to have a Treaty for Peace: and to that end, sent over *Thomas Earl of Ormond*, and *Thomas Goldenstone Prior of Christi Church in Canterbury*, to the French King about it. But during this Treaty, and before conditions of Peace could be agreed on, the French King had gotten into his possession the Lady *Anne of Britain*, and solemnly married her. Which under-hand dealing so incensed King Henry, that he presently called his High Court of Parliament, and there declared the just cause he had of War with France, desiring their Benevolence towards the Charge thereof; which was as readily granted as desired, and great sums of money were soon collected.

In the year 1491. being the sixth year of the Kings Reign, on the sixth of April, the Nobility of the Realm assembled in the Cathedrall Church of *S. Paulin London*, where also was the Maior B and Aldermen, and principall Citizens in their Liveries: to whom Doctor *Morton Lord Chancellor* made an Oration; declaring from his own Letters, that the King of Spain had won the great and rich City and Countrey of *Granado* from the Moors, which had been in their possession above seven hundred years: and having in places of their superstition, built Churches to the honour of Christ, was thereupon entituled the Catholick King. For joy whereof whereof, *Te Drum* was sung with great solemnity.

In the moneth of May was holden a solemn Justing, at the Kings Palace of *Sheen* now called *Richmond*, which continued the space of a moneth, sometimes within the Palace, and sometimes without, upon the Green before the Gate; in which Justs, Sir *James Parker* running against a Gentleman named *Hugh Vaughan*, by reason of a faulty Helmet, was stricken into the mouth at C the first course; so that his tongue was born to the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he dyed presently upon the place.

And now *Maximilian* having received back his Daughter from the King of France, was so displeased, that he presently sent an Ambassadour, one *James Contibald*, to King Henry, requiring him to take his part in a War against the French King; towards which he promised to provide ten thousand men, with pay for two years: King Henry consented to it; and having provided himself of a puissant Army, on the sixth day of October, sayled to *Callice*; but sending his Almoner *Christopher Urswick*, and Sir *John Resley* to *Maximilian*, requiring his promised Forces; they found him altogether unprovided of either men or money: which brought King Henry into a great D hazard; to return home without doing any thing would bring an imputation upon him amongst his Subjects; as though he had used the pretence of war but as a trick to get money: at last, he resolved to do something; and thereupon went and besieged *Boligne*, having in his Army, of chief Lords, *Jasper Duke of Bedford*, his Lientenant Generall, *Thomas Marquesse Dorset*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Suffolk*, *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Kent*, *Devonshire* and *Ormond*, sundry Barons, as *Dawbeney*, *Aburgany*, *De la Ware*, *Zouch*, *Hastings*, *Cobham* and others. During his siege of *Boligne*, (in which there were but few slain, and no man of note, but Sir *John Savage*, who riding to take view at what place the Town might best be assaulted, was set upon by certain French men, and by them slain) King Henry was secretly dealt with by the Lord *Cordes* Governour of *Heynault*, on the King of France's behalf, to accept of certain conditions of Peace. Who thereupon sent *Rich- E ard Fox*, Bishop of *Exceter*, and *Giles Lord Dawbeney* to conclude them; which amongst other Articles were, That King Henry without quitting his claim to France, should for a Peace to continue during the two Kings lives, receive in present of *Charles King of France*, for his charges in that war, seven hundred forty and five thousand Duckats, which in English money amounts to one hundred eighty six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds; and five and twenty thousand Crowns yearly, towards the expences he had been at before in aiding the *Britains*; which (by the English, called Tribute) was duely paid, during all the Kings Reign, and also to King Henry his Son afterward, longer then it could continue upon any computation of charges. There were also assigned by the French King unto all King *Henries* principall Counsellors, great pensions, besides rich gifts for the present. Which whether the King did permit, to save his own purse F from Rewards, or to communicate the envy of a businesse that was displeasing to his people, was diversly interpreted: for certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace; and therefore a little before it was concluded, he had underhand procured some of his best Captains and men of warre, to advise him to a peace under their hands in an earnest manner, in the nature of a Supplication, that he might have it to shew for justifying himself, and to give some allay to the discontentments of many, who had sold and engaged their estates upon the hopes of the war. After the Peace thus concluded, he went to *Callice*, where he stayed some time, and the seventeenth of December following came to *Westminster*, where he kept his *Christmasse*.

Soon after his return he elected into the order of the Garter, *Alphonius Duke of Calabria*, Son and Heir to *Ferdinand King of Naples*: to whom *Christopher Urswick* the Kings Almoner, was G sent to *Naples* to carry it; which as soon as *Alphonius* had received, he apparelled himself presently in the Habit, before a great assembly, indeed to shew what favour he was in with the King of England.

There had been disturbance in the Realm before, by a Counterfeit Son of the Duke of *Clarence*; but that device had two main imperfections: One, that the true Son of the Duke was forth coming, and to be shewed openly for convincing the false; the other, that though the counterfeit had been the true, yet he could have laid no claim to the Crown, as long as any Daughters of

A of King Edward the fourth were living : Now therefore a device is found, by which those imperfections were both of them amended : for now a Counterfeit was set on foot, who pretended to be Richard the younger Son of King Edward the fourth ; so that neither any other could be produced to convince him of being false, nor any Daughters of King Edward could hinder his Right for claiming the Crown. This device was first forged by Margaret Dutchesse of Burgundy ; a woman that could never be quiet in her minde, as long as King Henry was quiet in his Kingdom ; and by this device she hoped, if not to put him clean out of his seat, yet foully at least to disturb him in it ; and this was the purpose of the Plot : but by what instrument it was acted, by what abettours fomented, and what issue the device had, are worthy all to be related. The Dutchesse having formerly given out, that Richard the younger Son of King Edward, was not murdered, but in compassion spared, and sent secretly away to seek his fortune ; and having after long search gotten at last a fit Boy to personate a Prince, keeps him secretly a good time with her ; in which time she so thoroughly instructed him in all Circumstances, and he afterward put them so gracefully in practice, that even those who had seen and known the young Prince while he lived, could hardly perceive but that this was he. It is true, though he were not King Edwards Son, yet he was his Godson ; and might perhaps have in him some base blood of the House of York. This Perkin Warbeck, (for so was the youths name, called Perkin, as a diminutive of Peter) when he so perfectly had learned his lesson, that he was fit to come upon the Stage ; she sent him into Portugall, that coming from a strange Countrey, it might be thought, he had been driven to wander from one Countrey to another, for safeguard of his life, at least that she of all other might not be suspected. From Portugall she caused him to passe into Ireland, where the House of York was specially respected, in regard of the great love which Richard Duke of York, Father of King Edward the fourth, had won amongst them : by reason whereof, this Perkin as esteemed his Grand-child, was well entertained by them, and held in great estimation. He had not been long in Ireland, when the French King sent for him ; for being at that time at variance with King Henry, he thought he might make good use of Perkin, as a pretender against King Henry for the Crown. Perkin being come to Paris, was entertained in a Princely fashion ; and for his more honour, had a guard assigned him, over which the Lord Congreswall was Captain. He had not been long at Paris, when there resorted to him Sir George Nevil Bastard, Sir John Taylor, Richard Robynson, and about a hundred other English : Amongst the rest, one Stephen Fryon, that had been King Henrys Secretary for the French Tongue ; but discontented, fled, and became a chief Instrument in all Perkins proceedings. But this float of Perkins lasted not long ; for as soon as Peace was concluded between the two Kings, the King of France dismissed Perkin, and would keep him no longer. Then passed he secretly to his first foundresse, the Lady Margaret ; who at his first coming, made a shew of suspecting him to be a Counterfeit : but causing him in great assemblies to be brought before her, as though she had never seen him before ; and finding him to answer directly to all questions she put unto him : she openly professed, that she was now satisfied, and thought him verily to be her true Nephew ; and thereupon assigned a guard of thirty persons, clothed in Marrey and Blew, and called him the White Rose of England. Upon report hereof many in England were inclined to take his part ; and Sir Robert Clifford, and Robert Barclay were sent into Flanders, to acquaint the Dutchesse with the peoples respect to Perkin : and indeed Sir Robert Clifford, upon sight and conference with him, wrote Letters into England, wherein he affirmed, that he knew him to be the true Son of King Edward, by his face, and other Lineaments of his body. King Henry hearing of these things, sent certain espials into Flanders, that should feign themselves to have fled to Perkin ; and by that means the better search out who were of the Conspiracy with him. Whose names being returned unto the King, he caused them to be apprehended and brought to his Presence, the chief of whom were John Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Montford, and Sir Thomas Thwatts, Knights, William Dawbeney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood : Also certain Priests, as William Richford D. of Divinity, Thomas Boyns, D. William Sutton, William Worsey, Dean of Pauls, Robert Layborn, and Richard Lisle ; of whom, some hearing of it, fled to Sanctuary, others were taken and condemned, as Sir Simon Montford, Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dawbeney, who were all three beheaded. The Lord Fitzwater pardoned of life, was conveyed to Callice, and there laid in hold ; where seeking to make escape by corrupting his Keeper, he lost his head. Shortly after, Sir Robert Clifford, returning out of Flanders, (not as some think, sent a spie from the beginning, but rather now at last either discerning the fraud, or won by rewards) submitted himself to the Kings mercy ; discovering unto him as far as he knew, all that were either open or secret abettors of the Conspiracy ; amongst whom, he accused Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain : his accusation was this, that in conference between them, Sir William had said, that if he certainly knew, that the young man named Perkin were the Son of King Edward the fourth, he would never fight nor bear Arms against him. These words being considered of by the Judges, seemed to expresse a tickle hold of Loyalty ; for who could tell how soon he might be perswaded that he knew it ? and upon the matter, was to be disloyall to King Henry ; but for want of better, and withall it strook upon a string which had alwayes sounded harsh in King Henries ears, as preferring the Title of York before that of Lancaster, Sir William being hereupon arraigned ; whether trusting to the greatnesse of his favours, or the smallnesse of his fault, denyed little of that wherewith he was charged, and upon confession was adjudged to die ; and accordingly on the sixteenth day of February was brought to the Tower-hill, and there beheaded : after whose death, Giler Lord Dawbeney

The Dutchesse of Burgundy sets up Perkin Warbeck to take upon him to be Richard the younger son of King Edward, and how the plot was carryed.

Perkin is entertained by the King of France.

Perkins assistants taken & put to death.

Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain accused to partake with Perkin.

Is convicted and beheaded.

Dawbeny was made Lord Chamberlain. This was that Sir *William Stanley*, who came in to rescue A the Earl of *Richmond*, when he was in danger of his life, who set the Crown upon his head, and was the cause of his being saluted King: And could it enter into his brest, to put him to death, that had saved his life, and done him so many great services besides? But it may be said, It was not the Earl of *Richmond* that did it, but the King of *England*; for certainly, in many cases, a King is not at liberty to shew mercy, so much as a private man may. Though there be that affirm, the cause of his death was not words only, but reall acts, as giving aid to *Perkin* underhand by money. And it seems there was some conflict in the minde of King *Henry*, what he should do in this case; for he stayed six weeks after his Accusation, before he brought him to his Arraignment. However it was, the Summer following, the King went in Progresse to *Latham*, to the Earl of *Darby*, who had married his Mother, and was Brother to Sir *William Stanley*: per- B haps to congratulate his own safety; perhaps to condole with him his Brothers death; but certainly to keep the Earl from conceiving any sinister opinion of him: For to think that Sir *William's* suing to be Earl of *Chester*, (an Honour appointed to the Kings Son) or his great wealth, (for he left in his Castle at *Holt*, in ready money forty thousand Marks, besides Plate and Jewels) were causes that procured or set forward his death; are considerations very unworthy of so just a Prince, against a servant of so great deserving.

A hundred and sixty of *Perkins* followers executed.

Perkin received by the King of *Scots*, marries the Earl of *Huntleys* daughter. The King of *Scots* in *Perkins* quarrell enters and spoils *Northumberland*.

A Commotion in *Cornwall* by the Instigation of *Thomas Flamrock* a Lawyer, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith.

The Lord *Audley* confederate with the Rebels.

The Rebels are overthrown.

But in this mean while, *Perkin* having gotten a Power of idle loose fellows, took to Sea, intending to land in *Kent*; where though he were repelled, yet some of his Souldiers would needs venture to go on Land, of whom a hundred and sixty persons were taken Prisoners, whereof five were Captains: *Mortford*, *Corbet*, *Whitebolt*, *Quintyn*, and *Gmyne*: These hundred and sixty C persons were brought to *London*, rayled in Ropes, like Horses drawing in a Cart, who upon the Arraignment, confessing their offence, were executed, some at *London*, and some in Towns adjoining to the Sea coast. *Perkin* finding no entertainment in *Kent*, sayled into *Ireland*, and having stayed there a while, and finding them also, being a naked people, to be no competent assistants for him, from thence he sayled into *Scotland*, where he so moved the King of *Scots* with his fair words and colourable pretexts (made no doubt before by the Dutchesse of *Burgoyne*) that he received him in great state, and caused him to be called the Duke of *York*: and to perswade the World that he thought him so indeed, he gave him in marriage the Lady *Katherine Gourdon*, Daughter to *Alexander* Earl *Huntley*, his own neer kinswoman; and soon after, in *Perkins* quarrel, entered with a puissant Army into *England*; making Proclamation, that whosoever would D come in and aid the true Duke of *York*, should be spared; but none coming in, he then used all kinde of cruelty, and the whole County of *Northumberland* was in a manner wasted: whereat *Perkin*, at his return, expressed much grief, saying, It grieved him to the heart, to see such havoc made of his people: To whom the King answered, Alas, alas, you take care for them, who for any thing that appears are none of yours; for not one of the Countrey came in to his succour. King *Henry* incensed with this bold attempt of the King of *Scots*, called his High Court of Parliament, acquainting them with the necessity he had of a present war to revenge this indignity offered him by the *Scots*, and thereupon requiring their aid by money, had a Subsidy of six score thousand pounds readily granted him; and then in all haste a puissant Army is provided, and under the conduct of the Lord *Dawbeny* sent into *Scotland*; but before he arrived there he was E suddenly called back by reason of a commotion begun at *Cornwall*, for payment of the Subsidy lately granted, which though it were not great, yet they grudged to pay it. The King-leaders of this Commotion were, *Thomas Flamrock* a Gentleman learned in the Lawes, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith; who laying the blame of this exaction upon *John Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *Reynold Bray*, as being chief of the Kings Councell, exhorted the people to take up Arms; and having assembled an Army, they went to *Taunton*, where they slew the Provost *Peryn*, one of the Commissioners for the Subsidy, and from thence came to *Wells*, intending to go to *London*, where the King then lay, who having revoked the Lord *Dawbeny*, appointed *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey* (after the death of the Lord *Dinham*, made Lord Treasurer of *England*) to have an eye to the *Scots*, and if they made invasion, to resist them. In the mean time *James Twichet* Lord F *Audley* confederated himself with the Rebels of *Cornwall*, and took upon him to be their Leader, who from *Wells* went to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Winchester*, and so to *Kent*, hoping there to have had great aid, but found none; for the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Aburgain*, *John Brook*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Edmund Poynings*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, *John Peachy*, and *William Scot*, were ready in Arms to resist them; whereupon the Rebels brought their Army to *Blackheath*, four miles distant from *London*, and there in a plain on the top of a hill encamped themselves; whereof when the King had knowledge, he presently sent *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, *Edmund de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and Sir *Humphrey Stanley* to environ the hill on all sides, that so all hope of flight might be taken from them; and then set forward himself, and encamped in *S. Georges* fields; where for encouragement he made G divers Bannerets. The next day he sent the Lord *Dawbeny* to set upon the Rebels early in the morning, who first got the Bridge at *Deptford Strand*, though strongly defended by the Rebels Archers, whose Arrowes were reported to be a full Cloth-yard in length; but notwithstanding the Lord *Dawbeny* coming in with his company, and the Earls assailing them on every side, they were soon overcome: In which conflict were slain of the Rebels above two thousand; taken prisoners a very great number, many of whom the King pardoned, but of the chief Authors none: for the Lord *Audley* was drawn from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a Coat of his own Arms painted upon

A upon paper, reversed and all torn; and there, on the four and twentieth day of June was beheaded. *Thomas Flammock* and *Michael Joseph* were hanged, drawn and quartered, and their heads and quarters pitched upon stakes, set up in London and other places. Of the Kings Army were slain not above three hundred. It is memorable, with what comfort *Joseph* the Black-smith cheered up himself at his going to execution, saying, That yet he hoped by this that his name and memory should be everlasting: so dear even to vulgar spirits is perpetuity of Name, though joyned with infamy; what is it then to Noble Spirits, when it is joyned with Glory?

The Lord Audly beheaded. *Flammock* and *Joseph* the Smith hanged and quartered.

In the mean time the King of Scots taking advantage of these troubles in England, invaded the Frontiers, foraged the Bishoprick of Durham, and at last besieged the Castle of *Norham*, whereof *Richard Fox* then Bishop of Durham was owner; who thereupon sent presently to the Earl of *Surrey*, acquainting him with this Invasion: Whereupon the Earl, taking with him *Ralph* Earl of *Westmerland*, *Thomas* Lord *Barney*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevil*, *George* Lord *Strange*, and many other Lords and Knights, and an Army of little lesse then twenty thousand men; besides a Navy, whereof the Lord *Brook* was Admirall; set forward against the Scots, and not only forced the Scots to raise their siege of *Norham* Castle, but followed them also into Scotland, where he overthrew and defeated the Castle at *Cawdestraignes*, the Tower of *Heten-ball*, the Tower of *Edington*, the Tower of *Fulden*, and at last by composition took the strong Castle of *Hayton*, and rased it to the ground. At the Earls being at *Hayton*, the King of Scots sent to him *Marchmont* and another Herald, requiring him, at his election, either to fight with him with their whole Armies, or else they two to fight in single combat, upon condition, that if the victory fell to the Scottish King, the Earl should deliver for his Ransome the Town of *Barwick*: Whereunto the Earl made answer, that the Town of *Barwick* was the King his Masters, and therefore not for him to dispose of; but for his offer of single combat, he willingly accepted it, and thought himself highly honoured by such a match: But King *James* of Scotland had no meaning to perform either one or other, but privily in the night fled back into Scotland; and then the Earl returned to *Barwick*. In the mean time, one *Peter Hyalas* a man of great learning and policy, was sent Ambassadour to the King of Scots, from the King of Spain, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings of England and Scotland; who finding the King of Scots conformable to his motion, found after the King of England (who was never averse from Peace upon honourable Conditions) no lesse inclining to it: and so a Truce was concluded for certain years; upon condition, that *Perkin Warbeck* should be sent out of the

The King of Scots invades the frontiers; but is repelled.

A Truce between King Henry and the King of Scots.

D Scottish Dominions.

About this time, the Lord of *Camphyre* and others sent from *Philip* Archduke of *Austria* and Duke of *Burgundy*, came to King *Henry* for a conclusion of Amity, and to procure the English Merchants resort again to his Countrey: for King *Henry* some time before, upon displeasure with the *Flemings*, but specially with the Lady *Margaret*, for abetting *Perkin Warbeck*; not only had banished all Flemish wares and Merchandizes out of his Dominions, but had also restrained all English Merchants from having any Traffick in any of their Territories, causing the Mart for all English Commodities to be kept at *Callice*: but now, upon this invitation, and having found it had been a great hinderance to his own Merchant-adventurers, and thereupon some insurrections had risen, he willingly condescended to their Request, and so the English resorted again to the

E Archdukes Dominions, and were received into *Antwerp* with generall Procession; so glad was that Town of the English mens return.

In this eleventh year of the Kings Reign, dyed *Cicely* Dutchesse of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* the fourth, at her Castle of *Berkhamstead*, being of extreme age; who had lived to see three Princes of her body Crowned, and four Murthered: she was buried at *Fodringham* by her Husband.

Shortly after the Truce concluded between England and Scotland, *Perkin Warbeck* was commanded to depart out of the Scottish Dominions: who thereupon with his Wife and Family sailed into Ireland: where understanding that the *Cornish* men were ready to renew the war again, he thought best not to let passe so fair an occasion; and thereupon, having with him four small Ships, and not above sixscore men, he sailed into *Cornwall*, and there landed in the moneth of September, and came to a Town called *Bodmin*; where with fair words and large promises, he so prevailed with the people, that he had gotten to him above three thousand persons to take his part; and then made Proclamations in the name of King *Richard* the fourth, as Son to King *Edward* the fourth: and by the advice of his three Counsellors, *John Heron* a bankrupt Mercer, *Richard Skelton* a Tailour, and *John Astley* a Scrivener, determined to attempt first the winning of *Excester*; which with great violence he assaulted, and the Townsmen with as great valiantness defended: whereof when the King heard, he sent the Lord *Dawbeny* to their rescue: but before he came, the Lord *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, and the valiant Lord *William* his Son, accompanied with Sir *Edmund Carey*, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Fulford*, Sir *John Halewell*, Sir *John Croker*, *Walter Courtney*, *Peter Edgecombe*, *William St. Maure* with others came to their aid: upon whose coming, *Perkin* left the siege, and retired to *Taunton*; where he mustered his men, as though he meant to prepare for battell; but finding his number to be much diminished (for of six thousand which he had at *Excester*, many were fled from him, when they saw no Great ones to take his part) he began to distrust his case; and hearing withall, that the King with a great Power was at hand, about midnight with threescore Horsemen in his company, he departed in post from *Taunton*, and took Sanctuary in a Town called *Beaulieu* near to *Souhampton*. When King *Henry* heard that *Perkin* was fled, he sent after him to the Sea-side, to

Perkin thrust out of Scotland, sailed into Ireland, and from thence came into Cornwall, and there gets forces.

Followed by the Kings forces, he takes Sanctuary at Beaulieu.

Stop

King Henry
pardon
his followers.

stop his passage and apprehend him: But the Messengers that were sent, when they came to St. Michaels Mount, though they found not *Perkin*, yet there they found his Wife the Lady *Katharine Gourdon*, whom they presently brought to the King; a beautifull young Lady: to whom, in honour of her birth, and commiseration of her beauty, the King allowed a competent maintenance, which she enjoyed during the Kings life, and many years after. King *Henry* being come to *Exeter*, stayed there a few dayes, about examination of the Rebellion, and execution of the chief Offenders: of whom there being a great multitude, and all of them craving pardon, the King caused them all to be assembled in the Church-yard of St. Peter, where they all appeared bare-headed in their shirts, and halters about their necks: whom the King viewing out of a window made for the purpose; after he had paused a while, made a speech unto them, exhorting them to obedience; and then, in hope they would afterward be dutifull Subjects he pardoneth them all: whereat they made a great shout, crying all, God save King *Henry*! though some of them afterward, like ungratefull wretches, fell into new Rebellions.

Perkin submits
himself to
King *Henry*,
and is sent to
the Tower.

All this while *Perkin* was in Sanctuary: and the King thinking himself in danger as long as he was in safety, set a guard about the place, to keep him from escaping; whereby *Perkin* was so restrained, that at last he submitted himself to the Kings mercy, and was thereupon sent to the Tower, to be there in safe custody. This done, King *Henry* appointed *Thomas Lord Darcy*, Sir *Amyas Pawlet*, and *Robert Sheburn* Dean of *Pauls*, to be Commissioners for making inquiry of the Offenders, and for assessing their Fines; which they did with great severity to some, with great mildenesse to others, to all with equity.

It was now the fourteenth year of the Kings Reign, when one *Sebastian Gabato*, a *Genowese's* Son, born at *Bristol*, perswaded the King to man and victuall a Ship at *Bristol*, to search for an Island, which (he said) he knew to be replenished with rich Commodities; who setting forth with three other small Ships of *London* Merchants, returned home two years after, when he had made a large discovery Westward, and would have gone to *Cataia*, if the Mariners had not forced him to return: as likewise six yeers before, one *Christophe. Columbus* a *Spaniard*, made the first discovery of *America*.

Perkin makes
escape out of
the Tower.

Submits him-
self again, and
is again sent to
the Tower.

Perkin being in the Tower and carefully guarded, yet found means to escape; and fled to the Priory of *Sheen* near *Richmond*; where discovering himself to the Prior of that Monastery, he begged of him for Gods sake, to get the Kings Pardon for his life; which the Prior effected: but then was *Perkin* brought to the Court at *Westminster*, and was one day set fettered in a pair of Stocks before *Westminster* Hall, and there stood a whole day; the next day he was set upon a like Scaffold in *Cheapside*, and there standing the whole day also, he then read openly his confession, written with his own hand; wherein he declared his Parentage, and the place of his Birth, and all the passages of his Life, and by what means he was drawn to make this attempt. After this, he was committed again to the Tower, and care taken he should be better looked to then he was before. But all the care notwithstanding once again *Perkin* attempted to escape, and drawing into a Confederacy with him the young Earl of *Warwick*; by fair words and large promises so corrupted his Keepers, *Strangwish*, *Blewet*, *Astwood* and long *Roger*. Servants to Sir *John Digby* Lieutenant of the Tower, that they intended to have slain their Masters, and set *Perkin* and the Earl of *Warwick* at liberty. But this practice was soon discovered, so that *Perkin* and *John a Water*, sometime Maior of *Cork* in *Ireland*, one of *Perkins* chief founders, were on the sixteenth day of November arraigned at *Westminster* and condemned, and both of them on the two and twentieth day were drawn to *Tyburn* and there hanged; where *Perkin* took it upon his death, that the Confession he had formerly made, was true: soon after also *Blewet* and *Astwood*, two of the Lieutenants men, were in the same place executed. On the one and twentieth day of the same month, *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick* was arraigned at *Westminster* before the Earl of *Oxford*, then High Steward of *England*; not for consenting to break Prison, but for conspiring with *Perkin* to raise Sedition, and destroy the King; and upon his Confession, had Judgement, and on the eight and twentieth day of the same moneth, in the year 1499. was brought to the Scaffold on the Tower-hill, and there beheaded. This Earl of *Warwick* was the eldest Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, and was the last Heir-male of the name of *Plantagenet*, and had been kept in the Tower from his very Infancy out of all company of Men and sight of Beasts; so as he scarcely knew a Hen from a Goose, nor one Beast from another; and therefore could never know how to practise his escape of himself, but by *Perkin's* subtlety: for which cause the King favoured him so far, that he was not buried in the Tower, but at *Bissam* by his Ancestors. And thus ended the designs of *Perkin Warbeck*, which had troubled both the Kingdome and the King, the space of seven or eight years, a great part of the Kings Reign.

Edward Plantagenet
Earl of
Warwick for
plotting with
Perkin is be-
headed.

Another pra-
ctise to let up
one *Ralph Wil-*
ford, to be the
Earl of *War-*
wick.

But the pra-
ctise discover-
ed, and *Wil-*
ford hanged.

But in the time of *Perkins* being in the Tower, another like practice was set on foot; for an *Augustine* Fryer called *Patrick*, in the County of *Suffolk*, having a Scholar named *Ralph Wilford* a *Cordwayners* Son, he caused him to take upon him to be the Earl of *Warwick*, lately by great chance gotten out of the Tower; and they going together into *Kent*, when the Frier perceived some light credit to be given to him, he then stuck not to declare it openly in the Pulpit, desiring all men to assist him. But this practice was soon discovered, and both the Master and the Scholar were apprehended and attainted; the Scholar *Wilford* was hanged on *Shrove-tuesday* at *S. Thomas Waterings*, and the Frier was condemned to perpetuall Prison: for at that time so much reverence was attributed to Holy Orders, that a Priest though he had committed Treason against the King, yet had his life spared: And this practice was some cause to exasperate the King against the Earl

A Earl of *Warwick*, who though innocent in himself, yet was nocent in pretenders: and besides, King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, with whom at this time there was a Treaty for marriage of his Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, had written to the King in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of his Sons succession, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived: and thus all things unfortunately concurred to bring this innocent Prince to his end.

In the fifteenth year of his Reign, partly to avoyd the danger of the Plague, then reigning in *England*; but chiefly to confer with the Duke of *Burgoyne* about many important busineses: the King and Queen sayled over to *Callice*; where at an enterview between him and the Duke, at Saint *Peters* Church without *Callice*, the Duke offered to hold the Kings Stirrup at his alighting, which the King by no means would permit; but descending from Horse-back, they embraced with great affection: and after Communication had between them, the King and Queen in the end of *June* returned into *England*.

King Henry sayls to Callice to conferre with the Duke of Burgoyne.

In his seventeenth year two great Marriages were solemnized: the Lady *Katherine* of *Spain* was sent by her Father King *Ferdinand*, with a puissant Army of Ships into *England*; where she arrived at *Plimouth*, the second day of *October*; and on the fourteenth of *November* after, was espoused openly to Prince *Arthur*, both being clad in white; he of the age of fifteen years, she of eighteen; at night they were laid together in one Bed, where they lay as Man and Wife all that night; when morning appeared, the Prince (as his Servants about him reported) called for drink, which before time he had not used to do; whereof one of his Chamberlains asking him the cause, he answered merrily, saying: I have been this night in the midst of *Spain*, which is a hot Countrey, and that makes me so dry: though some write, that a grave Matron was laid in Bed between them, to hinder actuall Consummation. The Ladies portion was two hundred thousand Duckats; her joynture, the third part of the principality of *Wales*, *Cornwall* and *Chester*. At this Marriage was great solemnity and Royall Justings; during which time there came into *London* an Earl, a Bishop, and divers other Noble personages sent from the King of *Scots* for a conclusion of Marriage, (before treated of) between the Lady *Margaret* the Kings eldest Daughter, and him; where the Earl by Proxy in the name of King *James* his Master, affianced and contracted the said Lady, which Contract was published at *Pauls* Crosse, the day of the Conversion of Saint *Paul*; for joy whereof, *Te Deum* was sung, and great fires were made through the City of *London*; and if such joy were made when the match was made, what joy should be made now at the issue of the Match, when by the Union of those persons is made an Union of these Kingdoms; and *England* and *Scotland* are but one great *Britain*? The Ladies portion was ten thousand pounds, her joynture two thousand pounds a year, after King *James* his death; and in present one thousand. When this match was first propounded at the Councell Table, some Lords opposed it; objecting, that by this means the Crown of *England* might happen to come to the Scottish Nation. To which King *Henry* answered, What if it should? It would not be an accession of *England* to *Scotland*, but of *Scotland* to *England*: and this answer of the King passed for an Oracle: and so the match proceeded, and in *August* following was consummate at *Edinburgh*, conducted thither in great state by the Earl of *Northumberland*.

Prince Arthur espouseth the Lady Katherine of Spain: and lye together all night.

The King of Scots marries the Lady Margaret, King Henry's eldest Daughter.

Prince *Arthur* after his marriage, was sent again into *Wales*, to keep that Countrey in good order; to whom were appointed for Counsellors, Sir *Richard Poole*, his kinsman and chief Chamberlain, Sir *Henry Vernon*, Sir *Richard Crofts*, Sir *David Philips*, Sir *William Vdall*, Sir *Thomas Englefield*, Sir *Peter Newton*, *John Walleston*, *Henry Marton*, and Doctor *William Smith* President of his Councell: but within five moneths after his marriage, at his Castle of *Ludlow* he deceased, and with great solemnity was buried in the Cathedrall Church at *Worcester*. His Brother *Henry* Duke of *York* was stayed from the Title of Prince of *Wales*, the space of half a year, till to women it might appear, whether the Lady *Katherine*, the Relict of Prince *Arthur* were with childe, or no. The towardlines in learning of this Prince *Arthur* is very memorable; who dying before the age of sixteen years, was said to have read over all or most of the *Latine* Authors, besides many other.

Prince Arthur within five moneths after his marriage dyeth. His towardlines in learning.

And now Prince *Arthur* being dead, and the Lady *Katherine* of *Spain* left a young Widow; King *Henry* loth to part with her Dowry, but chiefly being desirous to continue the Alliance with *Spain*: prevailed with his other Son Prince *Henry*, though with some reluctance, such as could be in those years (for he was scarce twelve years of age) to be contracted with the Princess *Katherine* his Brothers Widow; for which marriage, a dispensation by advice of the most learned men at that time in *Christendome*, was by Pope *Julius* the second granted, and on the five and twentieth day of *June*, in the Bishop of *Salisbury* house in *Fleet-street*, the marriage was solemnized.

Prince Henry not above twelve years old is contracted to the Lady Katherine his Brothers Widow, by dispensation from the Pope, Edmund de la Poole Earl of Suffolk, his courtes by which he offended King Henry, and what his end was.

A little before this time, *Edmund de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, Son to *John* Duke of *Suffolk* and Lady *Elizabeth* Sister to King *Edward* the fourth, had in his fury killed a mean person, and was thereupon Indicted of Murder; for which although he had the Kings Pardon, yet because he was brought to the Kings Bench-Barre, and there arraigned, he took it for so great a blemish to his honour, that in great rage he fled into *Flanders* to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*; where having stayed a while, when his passion was over, he returned again. But after the marriage between Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katherine*, whether it were that in that solemnity he had run himself in debt; or whether he were drawn to do so by the Lady *Margaret*, he passed over the second time, with his Brother *Richard*, into *Flanders*. This put the King into some doubt of his intention; whereupon he hath recourse to his usuall course in such cases, and sent Sir *Robert Curson* Captain of *Hammes* Castle, to feign himself one of that Conspiracy, thereby to learn the depth

of

of their intentions: And to take away all suspicion of his imployment, the first Sunday of November, he caused the said Earl and Sir Robert Curson with five others to be accursed openly at Pauls Crosse, as enemies to him and his Realm. In conclusion, Sir Robert Curson acquainted the King with divers of that faction; amongst whom, William Lord Courtney, and William de la Poole, brother to the foresaid Earl of Suffolk, who were taken but upon suspicion, yet held long in prison: but Sir James Tyrrel (the same that had murdered the two young Princes in the Tower) and Sir John Windham, who were proved to be Traytors, were accordingly attainted, and on the sixth day of May at the Tower-hill beheaded. Whereof when the Earl heard, despairing now of any good successe, he wandred about all Germany and France, where finding no succour, he submitted himself at last to Philip Duke of Austria, by whom afterward he was delivered to King Henry, by this occasion: Ferdinand King of Aragon, by his Wife Isabella Queen of Castile, had only two Daughters, the eldest whereof named Joane, was married to this Philip Duke of Austria; the younger, named Katherine, to Arthur Prince of England: and now Queen Isabella being lately dead, by whose death the Kingdom of Castile descended in Right of his Wife, to this Duke Philip; they were saying out of Germany into Spain to take possession of the Kingdom; but by tempest and contrary windes were driven upon the coast of England, and landed at Weymouth in Dorsetshire; where desiring to refresh themselves a little on shore, they were invited by Sir Thomas Trenchard (a principal Knight of that Country) to his house, who presently sent word to the King of their arrival. King Henry glad to have his Court honoured by so great a Prince, and perhaps upon hope of a curtesie from him, which afterward he obtained: sent presently the Earl of Arundell to wait upon him, till himself might follow; and the Earl went to him in great magnificence, with a gallant Troop of three hundred Horse, and for more State came to him by Torch-light. Upon whose Message, though King Philip had many reasons of haste on his journey; yet not to give King Henry distaste, and withall to give his Queen the comfort of seeing the Lady Katherine her Sister; he went upon speed to the King at Windsor, while his Queen followed by easie journies. After great magnificence of entertainment, King Henry taking a fit opportunity, and drawing the King of Castile into a room, where they two only were private; and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, said unto him, Sir, you have been saved upon my Coast: I hope you will not suffer me to wrack upon yours. The King of Castile asking him, what he meant by that speech: I mean it (saith the King) by that hare-brain'd fellow the Earl of Suffolk; who being my subject, is protected in your Country, and begins to play the fool when all others are weary of it. The King of Castile answered; I had thought, Sir, your felicity had been above those thoughts; but if it trouble you, I will banish him. King Henry replied, that his desire was to have him delivered to him: with this, the King of Castile a little confused said, That can I not do with my Honour: Well then (said the King) the matter is at an end: at last the King of Castile, who held King Henry in great estimation, composing his countenance, said, Sir, you shall have him; but upon your Honour, you shall not take his life: I promise it upon my Honour, said King Henry: and he kept his promise; for he was not put to death during all his Reign; but yet he took such order, that in the Reign of his Son King Henry the Eighth, he had his head cut off. During the King of Castiles being here, a Treaty was concluded, and bears date at Windsor; which the Flemings term *Intercursum malum*, for that the Free fishing of the Dutch upon the Coasts and Seas of England, granted in the Treaty of *Undersino*, was not by this Treaty confirmed, as all other Articles were. And now, when King Henry had received the King of Castile into the Fraternity of the Garter, and had his Son Prince Henry admitted to the order of the Golden fleece; and that the Earl of Suffolk was brought over and committed to the Tower; the King of Castile departed home.

Two Calls of
Serjeants at
Law.

In this Kings time were two Calls of Serjeants at Law: One in his eleventh yeer, in which were called nine Serjeants, Mordant, Higbam, Kingesmill, Conisby, Butler, Taxely, Frowick, Oxenbridge, and Constable; who kept their feast at the Bishop of Ely's Palace in Holborn, where the King, the Queen, and all the chief Lords dined. The other Call in his twentyeth year; in which were called ten Serjeants, Robert Brudnell, William Grevill, Thomas Marow, George Edgore, Lewin Pollard, Guy Palmes, and William Fairfax; who kept their feast at the Archbishops house in Lambeth.

Empson and
Dudley King
Henries Instru-
ments for ray-
sing of money,
and by what
unjust courses,

King Henry having gotten as much honour as the Estimation of neighbouring Princes could give him, began now to be intentive to getting of wealth; wherein he quickly found Instruments fit for his purpose, but especially two, Empson and Dudley, both Lawyers, and both of them Barons of the Exchequer; Dudley of a good family, but Empson the Son of a Seive-maker. These two persons being put in Authority, turned Law and Justice into Rapine. For first, their manner was, to cause divers Subjects to be indicted of Crimes, and then presently to commit them; and not produce them to their answer, but suffer them to languish long in Prison; and by sundry artificial devices and terrors, extort from them great Fines, which they termed Compositions and Mitigations. Neither did they (towards the end) observe so much as the half face of Justice, in proceeding by Indictment; but sent forth their Precepts to attach men, and convent them before themselves and some others at their private houses, and there used to shuffle up a Summary proceeding by examination, without tryal of Jury; assuming to themselves, to deal both in Pleas of the Crown, and controversies Civill. Then did they also use to intrall and charge the Subjects lands with Tenures in Capite, by finding false Offices; refusing upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse those false Offices as by Law they might.

A might. Nay the Kings Wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have livery of their lands, without paying excessive Fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. When men were outlawed in personall actions, they would not permit them to purchase their Charters of Pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the strict point of Law, which upon Outlawries gives forfeiture of goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of mens lands and rents during the space of full two years, for a Pain in case of Outlawry. They would also ruffle with Jurors, and enforce them to finde as they would direct; and if they did not, then convent, imprison, and fine them. These and many other courses they had of preying upon the people: but their principall working was upon Penall Statutes; wherein they considered not whether the Law was obsolete, or in use; and had ever a rabble of Promoters and leading Jurors at their command, so as they could have any thing found, either for fact or Valuation. There remaineth to this day a Report, that King Henry was on a time entertained very sumptuously by the Earl of Oxford, at his Castle of Henningham: and at the Kings going away, the Earls servants stood in their livery-coats with cognisances, ranged on both sides, to make the King a lane: Whereupon the King called the Earl to him, and said: My Lord, I have heard much of your Hospitality, but I see it is greater than is spoken; These handsome Gentlemen and Yeomen whom I see on both sides of me, are sure your Meniall servants. At which the Earl smiled, and said: It may please your Grace, that were not for mine ease; They are most of them my Retainers, and are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace. Whereat the King started a little, and said: By my faith (my Lord) I thank you for my good cheer; but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my sight: my Attourney must speak with you about it. And it is part of the Report, that it cost the Earl for a composition, fifteen thousand marks. And to shew further the Kings extreme diligence: I remember (saith Sir Francis Bacon Lord of Verulam in his History) to have seen long since a Book of Account of Emptions, that had the Kings hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing; and was in some places postilled in the Margent with the Kings own hand likewise, where was this Remembrance:

Item, Received of such a one five marks, for the Pardon to be procured; and if the Pardon do not passe, the money to be repaid, except the party be some other way satisfied.

Chiefly upon
Penal Statutes.

The Earl of
Oxford enter-
tains K. Henry
to his cost.

And over against this Memorandum (of the Kings own hand,) *Otherwise satisfied.* This (saith he) I do the rather mention, because it shews in the King a Nearnesse, but yet with a kinde of Justoesse. In his three and twentieth year, there was a sharp prosecution against Sir William Capell, now the second time, for misgovernment in his Maioraty: The great matter was, that in some payments he had taken notice of false monies, and did not his diligence to examine who were the Offenders: for which & some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds, whereof, being a man of stomach, he refused to pay a farthing; and thereupon was sent to the Tower, where he remained untill the Kings death. Knesworth likewise, that had been lately Maior of London, and both his Sheriffs, were for abuses in their offices questioned and imprisoned, and not delivered but upon payment of one thousand four hundred pounds. Sir Lawrence Ailmer, who had likewise been Maior of London, and his two Sheriffs, were put to the Fine of one thousand pounds; and Sir Lawrence, for refusing to pay it, was committed to prison, where he stayed till Emption himself was committed in his place. By these courses he accumulated so great store of Treasure, that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key and keeping at Richmond, (as is reported) the sum of neer eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. But though by this course he got great store of Treasure, yet by it he lost the best treasure (the peoples hearts) but that he something qualified it by his last Testament, commanding that Restitution should be made of all such monies as had unjustly been levied by his Officers.

King Henry at
his death leaves
18, hundred
thousand
pounds in
ready money.

It seems King Henry, after the death of his Queen the Lady Elizabeth, had an inclination to marry again; and hearing of the great beauty and vertue of the young Queen of Naples, the widow of Ferdinando the younger; he sent three confident persons, Francis Marfin, James Braybrook, and John Stile, to make two inquiries; one of her person and conditions, the other of her Estate: Who returning his answer, that they found her Beauty and Vertues to be great, but her Estate to be only a certain Pension or Exhibition, and not the Kingdom of Naples as he expected: he then gave over any further meddling in that matter. After this, another Treaty of marriage was propounded to the King, between him and the Lady Margaret Dutchesse Dowager of Savoy, only Daughter to Maximilian, and Sister to the King of Castile; a Lady wise and of great fame: In which businesse was employed, for his first piece, the Kings then Chaplain, and after the great Prelate, Thomas Woolsey. It was in the end concluded, with ample conditions for the King, but with the promise *de Futuro* only. Which marriage was protracted from time to time, in respect of the Infirmy of the King: which held him by fits till he dyed.

King Henry
had concluded
to marry the
Lady Margaret
Dutchesse
Dowager of
Savoy: but
protracted by
reason of his
Infirmy.

He left Executors, Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester, Richard Fitz James Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Durham, John Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Duke of Norfolk and Treasurer of England, Edward Earl of Worcester and Lord Chamberlain, John F. Knight, chief Justice of the Kings Bench, and Robert R. Knight chief Justice of the Common Pleas. A little before his death, he had concluded a marriage (in which negotiations Fox Bishop of Winchester was employed) between his younger Daughter the Lady Mary, of the age of ten years, and Charles King of Castile, not much elder: but though concluded, yet not solemnized; and she was afterward married to Lewis the French King.

King Henrys
Executors.

Of his Taxations.

Bishop Foxes
Dilemma to
draw the Cler-
gy to contri-
bute to the K.

IN his third year, there was by Parliament granted toward the maintaining an Army in Britain; that every man should pay the tenth penny of his Goods: which Tax though at first withstood in Yorkshire and Durham; yet was afterward levied to the uttermost. In his seventh year, towards his wars in France, a Benevolence was by Parliament granted; by which great sums of money were collected of the richer sort only. In his eleventh year, a Subsidie of sixscore thousand pound was granted him by Parliament, towards his wars with Scotland, which caused afterward the insurrection in Cornwall. In his nineteenth year a Subsidie was granted him by Parliament. In his one and twentieth year, he raised great sums of money from offenders against Penall Statutes: the greatest, but the unjustest way for raising of money, that ever any King of England used; and not content with this, he required and had at the same a Benevolence both from the Clergy and Laity. To the Clergy was employed Richard Fox, then Bishop of Winchester; who assembling the Clergy before him, exhorted them to be liberall in their contribution; but the Clergy being of two sorts, rich and poor, made each of them their several excuses: The rich and such as had great livings, said, they were at great charges in keeping hospitality and maintaining their families: and therefore desired to be spared: The poor sort alleadged, that their means were small, and scarce able to finde them necessaries, and therefore desired to be forborn. But the Bishop answered them both with a pretty Dilemma, saying to the rich, It is true, you live at great charges in hospitality, in apparel and other demonstrations of your wealth; and seeing you have store to spend in that order, there is no reason but for your Princes service you should do it much more, and therefore you must pay. To the poorer sort he said, though your livings be small, yet your frugality is great, and you spend not in house-keeping and apparel as others do; therefore be content, for you shall pay.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

Yeomen of the
Guard when
first ordained.

Fines to be
final, ordained
by this King.

The Maiors
Feast when
first kept at
Guild-hall.

The Title of
Merchant-
Taylors when
first given.

THIS King was the first that ordained a company of tall strong men, (naming them Yeomen of the Guard) to be attending about the person of the King; to whom he appointed a Livery by which to be known, and a Captain by whom to be chosen. In his time, the authority of the Star-chamber, which subsisted before by the Common Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain cases by Act of Parliament. In his time were made these excellent generall Laws: One, that from thenceforth fines should be final, and conclude all strangers rights: Another for admission of poor suitors, *In forma pauperis*, without paying Fee to Counsellor, Attorney or Clerk. Another, that no person that did assist by Arms or otherwise the King for the time being, should after be Impeached therefore or Attainted either by course of the Law, or by Act of Parliament; and that if any such Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it should be void and of none effect. Another for the Benevolence, to make the sums which any had agreed to pay, and were not brought in, to be leviable by course of Law. Another, that Murderers should be burnt on the brawn of the left hand, with the letter M. and Theeves with the letter T. so that if they offended the second time, they should have no mercy, but be put to death; and this to reach also to Clerks Convict. In his fifth year, it was ordained by Parliament, that the Maior of London should have Conservation of the River of Thames, from the Bridge of Stanes, to the waters of Teydale and Medway. In his seventeenth, John Shaw Maior of London, caused his Brethren the Aldermen to ride from the Guild-hall to the waters-side when he went to Westminster to be presented in the Exchequer: he also caused the kitchins and other houses of office to be builded at the Guild-hall; where since that time, the Maiors feast hath been kept, which before had been in the Grocers or Taylours-hall. In his eighteenth year King Henry being himself a brother of the Taylours Company, as divers Kings before had been, namely, Richard the third, Edward the fourth, Henry the sixth, Henry the fifth, Henry the fourth, and Richard the second; also of Dukes 11. Barls 28. Lords 48. he now gave to them the Name and Title of Merchant Taylors, as a name of worship to endure for ever.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

The Privi-
ledge of San-
ctuaries aban-
ted.

IN the tenth year of his Reign, Joane Boughton widow, was burnt in Smithfield, for holding certain opinions of John Wickliffe. In his seventh year, King Henry finding great inconvenience by the priviledge of Sanctuaries; wrote to Pope Alexander, desiring him by his authority, to adjudge all English-men being fled to Sanctuary for the offence of Treason, to be enemies to the Christian Faith; and to prohibit the priviledge of Sanctuary to all such as once had enjoyed it before: which request the Pope granted, to the great contentment of the King, and quiet of the Realm. In his sixteenth year being the year 1500. a Jubilee in Rome was celebrated; whereof Alexander the then Pope, by his messenger Gaspar Pont a Spaniard, gave notice to the King: offering withall, that those who could not come to Rome, should notwithstanding at a certain price have Pardons,

- A Pardons, and as full a benefit of the Jubilee, as if they came; and to the end the King should not hinder his purpose, both offered part of his gains to the King, and also promised to bestow it upon a war against the Turk; by which course he gathered great sums, for which he had other use, then to spend it so idly. In the two and twentieth year of this King, Pope *Alexander* the sixth dyed of Poyson, by this accident: He went to supper in a Vineyard neer the *Vatican*, where his Son *Valentino* meaning to poyson *Adrian* Cardinall of *Cornetta*, sent thither certain flaggons of Wine infected with poyson, and delivered them to a servant of his, who knew nothing of the matter; commanding him, that none should touch them, but by his appointment: It happened, the Pope comming in something before supper, and being very dry through the immoderate heat of the season, called for drink, his own provision being not yet come: The servant that had the poysoned Wine in keeping, thinking it to be committed to him as a speciall Wine, brought of it to the Pope; and while he was drinking, his Son *Valentino* came in, and drank also of the same; whereby they were both poysoned; but the Pope only overcome of the poyson, died; his son by the strength of youth bare it out, though with long languishing.

Pope *Alexander* the sixth poysoned, by what chance.

Works of Piety and other structures by him, and others.

- His King magnificently enlarged *Greenwich*, which *Humfry* Duke of *Glocester* had formerly builded, calling it *Placentia*. In his sixteenth year, he new builded his Manour of *Sheen*, and named it *Richmond*: He also new builded *Baynards Cattle* in *London*. In his two and twentieth year, he finished the goodly Hospitall of the *Savoy* neer *Charing-croft*, to which he gave lands for the relieving of two hundred poor people: This was first called *Savoy place*, built by *Peter* Earl of *Savoy* Father to *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about the nine and twentieth year of *Henry* the third, who made the said *Peter* Earl of *Richmond*. The house belonged since to the Duke of *Lancaster*; and at this time was converted to an Hospitall, retaining still the first name of the *Savoy*. In this Kings time, *John* Morton being Bishop of *Ely*, bestowed great cost upon his house at *Hatfield* in *Hertsfordshire*, now the house of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Salisbury*; and at *Wesbich Cattle* in *Cambridgeshire*, a house belonging to that See; all the Brick building was of his charge: Being afterward Bishop of *Canterbury*, he bestowed great sums in repairing and augmenting his houses at *Maidstone*, *Alington-Park*, *Charing*, *Ford*, *Lambeth*, and specially at *Knull* in *Kent*, where he died. King *Henry* also builded three houses of *Franciscan Friers*, which are called *Observants*; one at *Richmond*, another at *Greenwich*, a third at *Newark*; and three other of *Franciscan Friers*, which are called *Conventuals*, one at *Canterbury*, another at *New-castle*, and a third at *Southampton*. And drawing neer his end, he did these works of charity: He granted a general Pardon to all men, for any offence committed against any of his Laws, Theeves and Murtherers only excepted: He paid also all Fees of all Prisoners in all Gaoles in and about *London*, abiding there for that cause only: He paid also the Debts of all such persons as lay in the Counters or *Ludgate* for forty shillings or under, and some also for ten pounds. In his eighteenth year, the Chappel of our Lady, above the East-side of the high Altar at *Westminster* Church, with a Tavern called the *White-rose* neer adjoining, was taken down; in which place a most beautiful Chappel was then presently begun to be builded, by King *Henry*; the charges whereof amounted to the sum of fourteen thousand pounds (as *Stow* witnesseth.) In his second year, the great Conduit in *Cheap-side*, at the charges of *Thomas* Ilam Alderman of *London*, was new made; and the Crosse also in *Cheap-side* was new builded, towards the charges whereof *Thomas* Fisher Mercer gave five hundred Marks. In his seventh year, the Conduit in *Grace-street* was begun to be builded by the Executors of Sir *Thomas* Hill Grocer, late Maior of *London*. Also this year, *Hugh* Clopton Maior of *London* builded the great Bridge of *Stratford upon Avon*, as likewise a fair Chappel toward the South end of that Town; and neer unto the same, a pretty house of Brick and Timber, where he lay and ended his life: He glazed also the Chancell of the Parish Church in that Town; and made a way of four miles long, three miles from *Alisbury* towards *London*, and one mile beyond *Alisbury*. In his tenth year, *John* Tate Maior of *London*, builded the Church of Saint *Antonies* with a Free-school, and certain Alms-houses for poor men. In his time, his Mocher the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, builded two Colledges in *Cambridge*, one called *Christs* Colledge, the other *S. Johns*; and endowed them with large possessions, for the maintenance of learning. *Richard* Fox Bishop of *Winchester* founded *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, and *William* Smith Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Brazen-nose* Colledge: He also builded at *Lichfield* an Hospital, for a Master, two Priests, and ten poor men, as likewise a Free-school, with a School-master and an Usher. *Anne* Aveling gave an hundred Marks towards the building of the Church in *Cicester*. In his time also *John* Alcock Bishop of *Ely*, builded *Jesus* Colledge in *Cambridge*: and in his two and twentieth year *Thomas* Knesworth Maior of *London* builded the Conduit at *Bishops-gate* at his own charge; and gave to the Fish-mongers certain Tenements; for which they are bound to allow to four Scholars, two at *Oxford*, and two at *Cambridge*, to each of them four pounds a year: also to poor people and prisoners in *Ludgate* something yearly. In his twentieth year, Sir *William* Capell Maior of *London*, caused all Hounseditch to be paved over; which till that time, had lien very noyously to all travellers that way. In his fourteenth year, all the Gardens without *Moorgate* (which had continued time out of minde) were destroyed; and of them was made a plain field, for Archers to shoot in. In this Kings time also, *Thomas* Savage Archbishop

Greenwich enlarged by King *Henry*. *Richmond* new builded. The *Savoy* made an Hospitall.

The Crosse in *Cheap-side* new builded. The Conduit in *Grace-street* builded.

Christs Colledge, and *S. Johns* in *Cambridge*, Founded. *Corpus Christi* Colledge, and *Brazen-nose* in *Oxford*, Founded. *Jesus* Colledge in *Cambridge*, Founded.

Hounseditch was first paved.

of York, repaired the Castle of *Cawood*, and the Manour of *Scroby*, and founded the Chappell at *A* *Macklesfield* in *Cheeshire*, where he was born. Also in this time, *Stephen Gramings* Maior of *London*, founded a free Grammar School at *Wolverhampton* in *Stafford-shire*, where he was born; and gave lands sufficient for a Master and an Usher, leaving the oversight to the Merchant Taylors in *London*. This Town of *Wolverhampton*, commonly so called, is originally and rightly called *Wilfrune-bampton*, upon this occasion: The Town was anciently called *Hampton*, to which a noble Woman named *Wilfrune*, a Widow, sometime Wife of *Alheim* Duke of *Northampton*; obtained of King *Ethelred*; to give lands to the Church there, which she had founded; and thereupon the Town took the addition of the said *Wilfrune*. In this Kings time also *John Colet* Dean of *Pauls*, founded *Pauls* School in the Church-yard there.

Wolverhampton
why so called.

Pauls School
first founded.

Casualties happening in his time.

Two sweating
sicknesses.

The price of
Corn and other
things in his
time.

A dead body
found whole of
skin above a
hundred years
after it was
buried.
Hayl-stones
18. Inches
about.

IN his first year, happened the Sickness called the Sweating sickness, which though it continued not long, yet took away many thousands: and in his two and twentieth year, the like Sweating-sickness happened again; but by reason of Remedies found in the former, took away fewer.

In his second year Wheat was sold for three shillings the Quarter, Bay-salt at the like price: In his seventh year, Wheat was sold at *London* for twenty pence the Bushel, which was counted a great dearth. In his tenth year, Wheat was sold at *London* for six pence the Bushel, Bay-salt for three pence half-penny, *Nantwich* Salt for six pence, white Herrings nine shillings the Barrell, red Herrings three shillings the Cade, red Sprats six pence the Cade, and *Gascoigne* Wines for six pound the Tun. In his fifteenth year, *Gascoigne* Wine was sold at *London* for forty shillings the Tun, a Quarter of Wheat four shillings, and Bay-salt four pence the Bushel.

The two and twentieth of August 1485. the very day that King *Henry* got the victory of King *Richard*; a great fire was in *Breaux-street* in *London*, in which was burnt the Parson of *Saint Mildreds*, and one other man in the Parsonage there.

In his tenth year, in digging a new foundation in the Church of *Saint Mary Hill* in *London*, the body of *Alice Hackney*, which had been buried in the Church a hundred seventy five years before, was found whole of Skin, and the joynts of her Arms pliable, which Corps was kept above ground four dayes without annoyance, and then again buried.

In his twelfth year, on *Bartholomew* day, at the Town of *Saint Needs* in *Bedford-shire*, there fell Hayl-stones that were measured eighteen Inches about.

In his thirteenth year on the one and twentieth of December, suddenly in the night brake out a fire in the Kings Lodgings, being then at his Manour of *Sheen*; by violence whereof, a great part of the old building was burnt, with Hangings, Beds, Apparell, Plate, and many Jewels. In his fifteenth year, the Town of *Brabam* in *Norfolk* was burnt: Also this year, a great Plague happened; whereof many people dyed in many places, but specially in *London*, where there dyed in that year thirty thousand.

In his twentieth year, Alum which for many years had been sold for six shillings a hundred, rose to five Nobles a hundred, and after to four Marks.

In his two and twentieth year the City of *Norwich* was wellnearer consumed with fire. Also in the same year, in July, a Gallery new builded at *Richmond*, wherein the King and the Prince his Son had walked not an hour before, fell suddenly down, yet no man hurt.

The great Tempest which drave King *Philip* into *England*, blew down the Golden Eagle from the Spire of *Pauls*; and in the fall, it fell upon a sign of the Black Eagle, which was in *Pauls* Church-yard, in the place where the School-house now standeth; and battered it and brake it down. This the people interpreted to be an ominous Prognostick upon the Imperiall House, as indeed it proved; for this King *Philip* being the Emperours Son, arriving in *Spain*, sickned soon after; and being but thirty years of age, deceased: upon whose decease, his Wife Queen *Jean* fell out of her tender love to him, fell distracted of her wits.

Of his Wife and Children.

Queen *Elizabeth*
dyed the
very day in
which she was
born.

Births in the
eighth month
not long lived.

HE married *Elizabeth* eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth, being of the age of nineteen years; whom two years after his Marriage he caused to be Crowned: She lived his Wife eighteen years, and dyed in Childe-bed in the Tower of *London*, the eleventh of February, the very day on which she was born; and is buried at *Westminster*, in the magnificent Chappell and rich Monument of Copper and Gilt, which her Husband had erected. He had Issue by her, three Sons and four Daughters: his eldest Son *Arthur* was born at *Winchester*, the twentieth day of September, in the second year of his Reign; and dyed at *Ludlow*, at fifteen years old and a half; and of this short life some cause may be attributed to his Nativity, being born in the eighth month after conception: He was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Maries* in *Worcester*, where in the South side of the Quire he lies entombed in Touch or Jet, without any remembrance of him by Picture. His second Son *Henry* was born at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, on the two and twentieth day of June, in the seventh year of his Fathers Reign; and succeeded him in the Kingdome.

H.

A His third Son *Edmund* was born in the tenth year of his Fathers Reign, and dyed at five years of age, at *Bishops Hatfield*, and lies buried at *St. Peters in Westminster*. His eldest Daughter *Margaret* was born the nine and twentieth day of *November*, the fifth year of her Fathers Reign; and at fourteen years of age was married to *James* the fourth King of *Scotland*; unto whom she bare three Sons, *James* the fifth, *Arthur*, and *Alexander*, and one Daughter, which three last dyed all of them young; and after the death of her Husband King *James*, (slain at *Flodden-field* in fight against the *English*) she was remarried to *Archibald Dowglas* Earl of *Angus*, in the year 1514. to whom she bare *Margaret*, espoused to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenex*, Father of the Lord *Henry*, who dyed at the age of nine moneths, and lyeth interred in the upper end of the Chancell in the Parish Church of *Steene* near *London*: Her second Son was *Henry* Lord *Dernly*, reputed for personage

B the goodliest Gentleman of *Europe*; who married *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, the Royall Parents of the most Royall Monarch *James* the first, King of great *Britain*. Her third Son was *Charles* Earl of *Lenox*, Father to the Lady *Arbella*. King *Henries* second Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* was born in the year 1492. at three years of age dyed, and was buried at *Westminster*: His third Daughter the Lady *Mary*, had been promised to *Charles* King of *Castile*; but was married to *Lewis* the twelfth, King of *France*; who dying three moneths after, she was then married to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*: His fourth Daughter, the Lady *Katherine*, was born in the year 1530. in the eighteenth year of her Fathers Reign, and dyed an Infant.

Margaret
Queen of *Scots*
her Issue.

The Lady
Arbella's Po-
reutage.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

C HE was of Body lean and spare, yet of great strength; of stature somewhat higher then the common sort, his eyes gray, his teeth single, his Hair thin, of a fair complexion, and pleasing countenance. Concerning his Conditions, he had in him the vertue of a Prince, and of a private man; affable, yet reserved. We might say he was Politick; if not rather, that he was Wise: for though he used tricks of Cunning sometimes, yet solid Circumspection more. He loved not War, but in case of necessity; alwayes Peace, but with conditions of Honour. Never any Prince was lesse addicted to bodily pleasures of any kinde, then he. Three pleasures he had, but in three cares; One for safety; another for Honour; and the third for Wealth: in all which he attained his end. His great respect of the Church, was seen by his great employment of Churchmen; for through the hands of Bishop *Morton*, Bishop *Fox*, and his Chaplain *Urswick*, the greatest part of all his great negotiations passed. He was Frugall from his youth, not Covetous, till ancient and sickly; and therefore what defect he had in that kinde, must be attributed to age and weaknesse. This City of *London* was his Paradise, for what good fortune soever befell him, he thought he enjoyed it not, till he acquainted them with it. His Parliament was his Oracle; for in all matters of importance he would ask their advice; and he put his very Prerogative sometimes into their hands. He was no great lover of Women; yet all his great fortune both precedent and subsequent came by Women: His own Title to the Crown was by a Woman; his Confirmation in the Crown, was by a Woman; his Transmission of the Crown to his Posterity, was by a Woman: The first by the Lady *Margaret*, descended from *John* of *Gaunt*; the second by the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth; the third by the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of himself King of *England*, and married to *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*; by means whereof, as he was the Prince that joynded the two *Roses* in one, so he was the Founder of joyning the two Kingdomes in one. And lastly, it may be said of him, as was said, by one of *Augustus Caesar*; --- *Hic vir hic est, tibi quem promitti sepius audis*: for *Cadwallader* last King of the *Britains*, seven hundred years before had prophesied of him; and of latter time, King *Henry* the sixth plainly fore-shewed him.

Of his Death and Buriall.

F IN the two and twentieth year of his Reign, he began to be troubled with the Gout; but a Defluxion also taking into his Breast, waisted his Lungs, so that thrice in a year, and specially in the Spring, he had great fits and labours of the Tiffick, which brought him to his end, at his Palace of *Richmond*, on the two and twentieth day of *April* in the year 1508. when he had lived two and fifty years, reigned three and twenty and eight moneths: Being dead, and all things necessary for his Funerall prepared; his Corps was brought out of his Privy Chamber, into the great Chamber, where it rested three dayes; and every day had there a Dirge and Masse sung by a Prelate, Mitred: and from thence it was conveyed into the Hall, wherein it remained also three dayes, and had a like service there; and so three dayes in the Chappell: Upon Wednesday the ninth of *May*, the Corps was put into a Chariot, and over the Corps was a picture of the late King, laid on Cushions of Gold; and the Picture was apparelled in the Kings rich Robes, with a Crown on the head, and a Ball and Scepter in the hands: when the Chariot was thus ordered, the Kings Chappell and a great number of Prelates set forward, praying; then followed all the Kings Servants in Black; then followed the Chariot, and after the Chariot nine Mourners, and on every side were carryed Torches, to the number of six hundred: and in this order they came from *Richmond* to *St. Georges* field; where there met with it all the Priests and Religious

men within the City and without; the Maior and Aldermen, with many Commoners, all clothed in Black, met with the Corps at *London Bridge*; and so the Chariot was brought throughout the City to the Cathedrall of *St. Paul*, where the body was taken out and carryed into the Quire, and set under a goodly Hearse of Wax; where after a solemn Masse, was made a Sermon by the Bishop of *Rochester*: The next day, the Corps in like manner was removed to *Westminster*; Sir *Edward Howard* bearing the Kings Banner. In *Westminster* was a curious Hearse full of Lights, which were lighted at the coming of the Corps; and then was the Corps taken out of the Chariot by six Lords, and set under the Hearse, which was double railed: when the Mourners were set, *Garrar King* at Arms, cryed, For the Soul of the Noble Prince *Henry* the seventh, late King of this Realm: The next day were three Masses solemnly sung by Bishops, and after the Masses was offered the Kings Banner and Courser, his Coat of Arms, his Sword, his Target, and his Helm, and at the end of the Masse, the Mourners offered up rich Palls of Cloth of Gold and Bodkin; and when the Quire sang *Liberate me*, the Body was put into the Earth; then the Lord Treasurer, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Kings Household, brake their Staves and cast them into the Grave: Then *Garrar* cryed with a loud voyce; *Vive le Roy Henry le huitieme, Roy d' Anglittere & de France, syre d' Irlande*: and thus ended the Funerall.

Of Men of Note in his time.

OF Men of Valour and Arms, they are to be seen in the History of this Kings Reign: For men of Letters in his time, of Foreigners were *Sanctus Pagninus* a great Hebrician; *Leoninus*, *Gattinaria*, *Cabellus* and *Optatus*, Physicians; *Augustinus Niphus*, *Jacobus Faber*, *Stapulensis* and *Pigbius*, Philosophers; *Petrus Bemus*, and the famous Clerk *Reuchlin*, who restored again the knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue. Of our own Countrey, there lived in his time, *George Rippley* a Carmelite Frier of *Boston*, who wrote divers Treatises in the Mathematicks; and after his death was accounted a Necromancer; *John Erghom* born in *Tork*, a Black Fryer, studious in Prophecies, as by the Title of the works he wrote may appear. *Thomas Mallorie* a Welshman, who wrote of King *Arthur*, and of the Round Table. *John Rouse* born in *Warwick-shire*, a diligent searcher of Antiquities, and wrote divers Treatises of Historicall Argument, *Thomas Scroop* surnamed *Bradly*, of the Noble Family of the *Scroops*, entred into divers Orders of Religion, and after withdrew himself to his house, where for twenty years he lived the life of an Anchorite; and after, coming abroad again was made a Bishop in *Ireland*, and went to *Rhodes* in Ambassage; from whence being returned, he went barefooted up and down in *Norfolk*, teaching the ten Commandements; and lived till neer a hundred years old. *John Tonneys* an Augustine Fryer in *Norwich*, who wrote certain Rules of Grammar, and other things printed by *Richard Pinson*. *Robert Fabian* a Sheriffe of *London*, and an Historiographer. *Edmund Dudley*, the same man whom King *Henry* used to take the forfeitures of Penall Statutes; who wrote a Book intituled *Arbor Rei-publice*. *John Bockingham* an excellent School-man: and *William Blackney* a Carmelite Frier, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Necromancer.

Robert Fabian
lived at this
time.

Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his First year,
Sir *Hugh Brice* was Maior.
John Tate, *John Swan*, were Sheriffs.

In his Second year,
Sir *Henry Colet* was Maior.
John Percivall, *Hugh Clopton*, Sheriffs.

In his Third year,
William Horn was Maior.
John Fenkell, *William Remington*, Sheriffs.

In his Fourth year,
Robert Tate was Maior.
William Isaac, *Ralph Tinley*, Sheriffs.

In his Fifth year,
William White was Maior.
William Capell, *John Brook*, Sheriffs.

In his Sixth year,
John Matthew was Maior.
Henry Cole, or *Coot*, *Robert Revell*, and he dying,
Hugh Pemberton, Sheriffs.

In his Seventh year,
Hugh Clopton was Maior.
Thomas Wood, *William Brown*, Sheriffs.

In his Eighth year,
Sir *William Martin* was Maior.
William Purchase, *William Welbeck*, Sheriffs.

In his Ninth year,
Ralph Atrie was Maior.
Robert Fabian, *John Winger*, Sheriffs.

In his Tenth year,
Richard Chawrie was Maior,
Nicholas Alwin, *John Warner*, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year,
Sir *Henry Collet* was Maior.
Thomas Kneefworth, *Henry Sommer*, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year,
John Tate was Maior.
John Shea, *Richard Hadon*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year,
William Purchase was Maior.
Bartbol. Rede, Thom. Window, or Windout, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year,
Sir *John Pereivall* was Maior.
Thomas Bradbury, Steven Gennings, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year,
Nicholas Aldwine was Maior.
James Wilford, Thomas or Richard Brond, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year,
William Remington was Maior.
John Hawes, William Steed, Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth year,
Sir *John Sbaa* was Maior.
Lawrence Aylmer, (Henry Hede, Sheriffs.

THE



THE
R E I G N
O F
K I N G H E N R Y
THE EIGHTH.

Anno Dom.
1509.



His choyce of
good Coun-
sellors.

He marries the
Lady Katherine
the relict of his
brother Arthur.

He and his
Queen Crown-
ed.

KING Henry the Seventh being deceased, his only Son Prince Henry, D
Heir by his Father of the House of Lancaster, and by his Mother of
the House of York; by unquestionable right succeeded in the Crown,
at the Age of eighteen years, on the two and twentieth of April, in
the year 1509. who having been trained up in the study of good
letters all his Fathers time; he Governed at first as a man newly
come from Contemplation to Action, as it were by the Book; in
so regular and fair a manner, that as of Neroes Government, there
was said to be *Quinquennium Neronis*; so of this Kings, there might as
justly be said, *Decennium Henrici*; and perhaps double so long a time,
comparable with so much time of any Kings Reign, that had been before him. How he came to
alter, and to alter to such a degree of change as he did, we shall then have a fit place to shew, E
when we come to the time of his alteration. King Henry having learned by Books, that the
weight of a Kingdom is too heavy to lie upon one mans shoulders, if it be not supported by able
Counsellors; made it his first care, to make choyce of an able Councell; to which he called
William Warham Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellour of *England*, *Richard Fox* Bishop of
Winchester, *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and Treasurer of *England*, *George Talbot* Earl of *Sher-
bury*, and Lord Steward of his Household, *Charles Sommerset* Lord Chamberlain, *Sir Thomas Lovell*,
Sir Henry Wyat, Doctor *Thomas Ruthall*, and *Sir Edward Poynings*; by advice of these Counsellors,
his first A&t after the care of his Fathers Funerall, was the care to perform his Fathers Will, in
marrying the Lady *Katherine* of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother Prince *Arthur*; to which per- F
haps, but in respect of filiall piety, he had not the greatest devotion; and for relinquishing where-
of, he might (no doubt) more easily have obtained a Dispensation from the Pope, then his Father
had done, for getting it to be allowed: but obsequiousnesse to his Fathers desire, and respect to
his Councils advice, so far prevailed with him, that he would not be Crowned, till that were
performed, that one Coronation might serve them both: and so on the third day of June fol-
lowing, he married the said Lady, at the Bishop of *Salisbury* House in *Fleetstreet*; where of ma-
ny great solemnities, I will remember but this one; that though the Bride were a Widow, yet to
shew she was a Virgin Widow, she was attired all in White, and had the hair of her head hang-
ing down behinde at the full length: and then (having made in the Tower four and twenty
Knights of the Bath) two dayes after being *Midsummer* day, he was Crowned at *Westminster*, toge- G
ther with his Queen, by the hands of *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; with all Circum-
stances of State in such cases usuall; and then all the Nobility Spirituall and Temporall, did him
Homage; and the people being asked whether they would receive him for their King, they all
with one voyce, cryed, Yea, Yea.

This done, his next A&t was another part of performing his Fathers Will, which was to pro-
claim Pardons for all Offences (Treason, Murder, and Felony only excepted) and to have resti-
tution made of all goods unjustly taken from any; and because the Instruments of such injustice
are

A are alwayes most odious, and nothing gives the people so much contentment, as to see their Persecutors punished; he therefore caused *Empson* and *Dudley* the two chief Actors of the late unjust proceedings, to be committed to the Tower, and divers of their inferior Agents, called Promoters, as *Canby*, *Page*, *Smith*, *Derby*, *Wright*, *Simpson*, and *Stockton*, to be set on the Pillory in *Cornhill*, with Papers on their heads, and then to ride through the City, with their faces to the Horse tails; with the shame whereof in seven dayes after, they all dyed in *Newgate*. Shortly after a Parliament was called; whereof *Sir Thomas Langley* was chosen Speaker; and therein *Empson* and *Dudley* were attainted of high Treason, and after arraigned; *Edmund Dudley* in the *Guild-hall*, on the seventeenth of July, and *Sir Richard Empson* at *Northampton* in October following; and on the seventeenth of August the year following, they were both of them beheaded on the Tower hill; and their Bodies and Heads buried, the one at the *White Friars*, the other at the *Black*.

Empson and *Dudley* committed to the Tower.

Both of them beheaded.

On *Midsommer* Eve at night, King *Henry* came privily into *Cheap-side*, clothed in one of the Coats of his Guard, to behold the same: and this first year King *Henry* spent in Justes and Misks, which were almost perpetuall, performed with great Magnificence alwayes; and sometimes with great Acts of Valour, on the Kings part specially.

In February the same year, Ambassadors came from the Kings Father in Law, the King of *Aragon*; requiring aid against the *Moors*; in which service, the Lord *Thomas Percy*, a Knight of the Garter, making suit to be employed, he was sent thither, and with him the Lord *Anthony Gray*, Brother to the *Marquesse Dorset*, *Henry Guilford*, *Wolstan Brown*, and *William Sidney*, Esquires of the Kings House, *Sir Robert Constable*, *Sir Roger Hastings*, *Sir Ralph Elderton*, and others; who on the Munday in the Rogation week, departed out of *Plsmouth* Haven, with four Ships Royall, and on the first of June, arrived at the Port of *Cadix* in South Spain; of whose coming the King of *Aragon* hearing, sent to bid them welcome, but advertising them withall, that he had now by reason of new troubles with *France*, taken truce with the *Moors*; and therefore they might return again into their own Countrey, to whom yet he allowed wages for all his Souldiers. Whereupon the Lord *Darcy* and all his men went aboard their Ships; but *Henry Guilford*, *Wolstan Brown*, and *William Sidney*, desirous to see the Court of Spain, went thither, and wre honourably entertained. *Henry Guilford*, and *Wolstan Brown* were made Knights by the King; who gave to *Sir Henry Guilford* a *Counton* of *Granado*; and to *Sir Wolstan Brown* an *Eagle* of *Sicily* on a chief, to the augmentation of their Arms: *William Sidney* so excused himself, that he was not made Knight. After this they returned to their Ships, and their Ships into *England*.

Sir Henry Guilford, and *Sir Wolstan Brown* the honours done them in Spain.

During the time that the Lord *Darcy* was in Spain, the Lady *Margaret* Dutchesse of *Savoy*, Daughter unto *Maximilian* the Emperour, and Governesse of *Flanders* and other the Low Countreys, pertaining to *Charles* the young Prince of *Castile*, sent to King *Henry* for fifteen hundred Archers, to aid her against the Duke of *Gelders*, which the King granted; and thereupon *Sir Edward Paynings*, Knight of the Garter, and Controller of the Kings House appointed to goe, accompanied with his Son in Law the Lord *Climton*, *Sir Matthew Brown*, *Sir John Digby*, *John Werton*, *Richard Wetherill*, and others, to the number of fifteen hundred, took Shipping at *Sandwich*, and passing over to the said Lady Regent, did her there great service; for which *John Norton*, *John Fogge*, *John Scot*, and *Thomas Linde* were Knighted; and then with many thanks and rewards, returned, not having lost in all the Journey, by warre or sicknesse, above an hundred men.

Sir Edward Paynings sent to aid the Dutchesse of *Savoy*.

In the third year of King *Henries* Reign, one *Andrew Barton* a Scottish Pirate, was grown so bold, that he robbed English men no lesse then other Nations, till the King sent his Admirall, *Sir Edward Howard*, to repress him, who in a fight so wounded the said *Barton*, that he dyed; and then taking two of his Ships, brought the men prisoners to *London*; and though their offence deserved no lesse then death, yet the King was so mercifull as to pardon them all; provided, they departed the Realm within twenty dayes. The King of *Scots* hearing the death of *Barton*, and taking of his Ships, sent to King *Henry*, requiring restitution; but King *Henry* answered his Herauld, that he rather looked for thanks for sparing their lives, who so justly had deserved death.

Sir Edward Howard Admirall, represseth *Andrew Barton* a Scottish Pirate.

In the third year also of King *Henries* Reign, the French King made sharp Warre against Pope *Julius* the second; whereupon King *Henry* wrote to the French King, requiring him to desist from his War against the Pope, being his friend and confederate; but when the King of *France* little regarded his request, he then sent him word, to deliver him his Inheritance of the Duchy of *Normandy* and *Guyen*, and the Countreys of *Anjou* and *Mayne*; as also his Crown of *France*, or else he would recover it by the Sword. But when the King of *France* was not moved with this threatning neither; King *Henry* then joyning in league with the Emperour *Maximilian*, with *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, and with divers other Princes; resolved by advice of his Councell to make War on the King of *France*, and to that end made preparation both by Sea and Land.

An. Reg. 3. King *Henry* makes preparation for warre with *France*.

This year the King kept his Christmas at *Greenwich* in a most magnificent manner. On New-years day was presented one of his Joviall Devises, which only for a Pattern what his shoves at other times were. It think fit to set down at large. In the Hall was made a Castle, garnished with Artillery and Weapons, in a most warlike fashion, and on the Front of the Castle was written, *la Forteresse Dangereuse*: within the Castle were six Ladies, clothed in Ruffet Satten, laid all over with leaves of Gold: on their heads Coyfs and Caps of Gold. After this Castle had been carried about the Hall, and the Queen had beheld it; in came the King with five other apparelled in Coats, one half of ruffet Satten, with Spangles of fine Gold: the other half of rich cloth of Gold: on their heads Caps of ruffet Satten, embroidered with works of fine Gold.

One of King *Henries* Joviall Devises.

These

These six assaulted the Castle, whom the Ladies seeing so lusty and courageous, they were contented to solace with them; and upon further communication, to yeeld the Castle, and so they came down, and danced a long space: after that the Ladies led the Knights into the Castle, and then the Castle suddenly vanished out of their sights. On the twelfth day at night, the King with eleven more were disguised, after the manner of *Italy*, called a Mask, a thing not seen before in *England*. They were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with Gold, with Visors and Caps of Gold. And after the Banquet done, these Maskers came in, with six Gentlemen disguised in silk, bearing stasse Torches, and desired the Ladies to dance, and after they had danced and communed together, took their leave and departed.

The war with France concluded by Parliament.

Upon the King of Spain's promise of aid, King Henry sends a great Army to him, but is deluded.

The five and twentieth of *January* began the Parliament, of which was Speaker Sir Robert Sheffield Knight, where the Archbishop of *Canterbury* shewed the wrong which the King of France did to the King of *England*, in withholding his Inheritance from him; and thereupon the Parliament concluded, that War should be made on the French King and his Dominions.

At this time King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, having War with the French King, wrote to his Son in law King *Henry*, that if he would send over an Army into *Biskey*, and invade *France* on that side; he would aid them with Ordinance, Horses, and all other things necessary; whereupon *Thomas Gray Marquesse Dorset* was appointed to goe, and with him the Lord *Howard* Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *Brook*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lords, *John*, *Anthony* and *Leonard Grey*, all Brothers to the Marquesse; Sir *Griffith ap Rice*, Sir *Maurice Barkeley*, Sir *William Sands*, the Baron of *Burford*, and Sir *Richard Cornwall* his Brother, *William Hussey*, *J. Melton*, *William Kingstone* Esquires, and Sir *Henry Willoughby*, with divers others, to the number of ten thousand, who taking Ship at *Southampton* on the sixteenth of *May*, the third of *June* they landed on the coast of *Biskey*, whither within three dayes after their arrivall, came from the King a Marquesse and an Earl to welcome them; but of such necessities as were promised, there came none; so as the *English* being in some want of victuals, the King of *Navarre* offered to supply them, which they accepted; and promised thereupon not to molest his Territories. After the Army had lyen thirty dayes, looking for aid and provision from the King of *Spain*, at last a Bishop came from the King, desiring them to have patience a while, and very shortly he would give them full contentment. In the mean time the *English* men forced to feed much upon Garlick, and to drink of hot Wines; fell into such sicknesse, that many of them dyed, at least eighteen hundred persons: which the Lord Marquesse seeing, he sent to the King to know his pleasure, who sent him answer, that very shortly the Duke of *Alva* should come with a great power, and joyn with him; and indeed the Duke of *Alva* came forward with a great Army, as if he meant to joyn with him as was promised; but being come within a dayes Journey, he suddenly turned towards the Realm of *Navarre*; and entering the same, chased out the King, and conquered the Kingdom to the King of *Spain*'s use. This *Spanish* policy pleased not the *English*, who finding nothing but words from the King of *Spain*, and being weary of lying so long idle; they fell upon some small Towns in the borders of *Guyen*, but for want of Horses as well for service as draught, were unable to perform any great matter; at which time, being now *October*, the Lord Marquesse fell sick, and the Lord *Howard* supplied his place of Generall, to whom the King of *Spain* once again sent, excusing his present coming, and requiring him, seeing the time of year was now past, that he would be pleased to break up his Army, and disperse his Companies into Towns thereabout, till the next Spring, when he would not fail to make good all his promises: Hereupon the Lord *Howard* and his Company went to *Rendre*, the Lord *Willoughby* to *Gorschange*, and Sir *William Sands* with many other Captains to *Fontarby*. King *Henry* in the mean time, hearing what the King of *Spain*'s intention was; sent his Herald *Windfor* with Letters to the Army, willing them to tarry there, for that very shortly he meant to send them a new supply of Forces, under the conduct of the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain; but this message so incensed the Souldiers, that in a great fury they had slain the Lord *Howard*, if he had not yeelded presently to return home; who thereupon was forced to hire Ships, and in the beginning of *December* they landed in *England*; being taught by this experience what trust is to be given to *Spanish* promises.

Anno Reg. 5.

Policy to self-burt.

About the same time that the Marquesse went into *Spain*, Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admirall of *England*, with twenty great Ships made forth towards *Britain*; where setting his men on land, he burned and wasted divers Towns and Villages, and being threatned by the Lords of *Britain* to be encountred, to encourage his Gentlemen, he made divers of them Knights; as Sir *Edward Brook* Brother to the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Griffith Downe*, Sir *Thomas Windham*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *John Burdet*, Sir *William Pirton*, Sir *Henry Sherburne*, and Sir *William Bull*. The *Britains* were ten thousand, the *English* but five and twenty hundred; yet the *Britains* not contented with this advantage of number, would needs use Policy besides, for by the advice of an old experienced Captain, their Generall commanded his men that as soon as the Battels were joyned, they should retire a little, meaning thereby to draw the *English* into some disadvantage; but the common Souldiers not knowing their Generalls purpose, and supposing he had seen some present danger, in stead of retiring took their heels and fled; so giving the *English* by their *British* policy, if not a Victory, at least a safety to return to their Ships. After which the *Britains* sued for Truce, and could not obtain it; for the *English* Admirall pursued his forraging the Countrey, till fearing there were many French Ships abroad at Sea, he came and lay before the Isle of *Wight*. King *Henry* in the mean time followed his pleasures, and in *June* kept a solemn Just at *Greenwich*, where he and Sir *Charles Brandon* took up all commers; and the King shewed himself no lesse a King at Arms, then in Estate.

After

A After this, King Henry having prepared men and Ships ready to go to Sea, under the Governance of Sir Anthony Outbraed, Sir Edmund Ichingham, William Sidney, and divers other Gentlemen; appointed them to take the Sea, and to come before the Ile of Wight, there to joyn with the Admirall; which all together made a Fleet of five and twenty fair Ships: and to Portsmouth he went himself to see them, where he appointed Captains; for one of his chiefest Ships called the Regent, Sir Thomas Knevet Master of his Horse, and Sir John Carew of Devonshire, and to another principall Ship called the Sovereign, he appointed for Captains, Sir Charles Brandon, and Sir Henry Guilford; and then making them a Banquet, sent them going. The French King likewise had prepared a Navy of nine and thirty Ships in the Haven of Brest, whereof the chief was a great Carrick, called the Cordolyer, pertaining to the Queen his Wife. These two Fleets met at the Bay of Brittain, and there entred a terrible fight; the Lord Admirall made with the great Ship of Deep, and chased her; Sir Charles Brandon, and Sir Henry Guilford being in the Sovereign, made with the great Carrick of Brest, and laid stemme to her: but whether by negligence of the Master, or by reason of the smoak from the Ordnance, the Sovereign was cast at the stern of the Carrick; whereat the Frenchmen shouted for joy; which Sir Thomas Knevet seeing, suddenly he caused the Regent in which he was, to make to the Carrick, and to grapple with her a long board; and when they of the Carrick perceived they could not get asunder, they let slip an Anchor, and so with the stream the Ships turned, and the Carrick was on the Weather side, and the Regent on the Lee side; at which time a cruel fight passed between these two Ships: But in conclusion the English men entred the Carrick, which when a Gunner saw, he desperately set fire on the Gunpowder, (as some say,) though others affirmed, thst Sir Anthony Outbraed following the Regent at the stern, bowged her in divers places, and set her powder on fire; but howsoever it chanced, the Carrick and the Regent both were consumed by fire. In the Carrick was Sir Piers Morgan, and with him nine hundred men: in the Regent were Sir Thomas Knevet and Sir John Carew, and with them seven hundred men, all drowned and burnt. King Henry to repair the losse of the Regent, caused a great Ship to be made, such a one as had never been seen in England; and named it Henry Grace de Dieu.

The two Fleets of the French and English have a terrible Fight.

Sir Tho Knevet in the Kings Ship called the Regent downed.

King Henry makes the great Ship called Henry Grace de Dieu.

Though King Henry had hitherto followed his pleasures, as well agreeing with his youth and constitution; yet he neglected not in the mean time severer studies; for he frequented daily his Councell Table, and no matter of importance was resolved on, till he had heard it first maturely discussed: as was now a War with France, which he would not enter into upon his own head, nor yet upon advice of his private Councell, till he had it debated and concluded in Parliament; whereupon he called his High Court of Parliament, wherein it was resolved, that himself in person with a Royall Army, should invade France; and towards the charges thereof an extraordinary Subsidy was willingly granted.

It is concluded in Parliament that K. Henry in person should invade France.

On May even this year, Edmund de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk, was beheaded on the Tower Hill: This was that Earl of Suffolk whom King Philip Duke of Austria, had delivered up into the hands of King Henry the Seventh, upon his promise that he would not put him to death; which indeed he performed, but his Son King Henry the eighth was not bound by that promise, and by him he was; and shortly after, to bring another Lord in his place, Sir Charles Brandon was created Viscount Lisle.

Edmund de la Poole Earl of Suffolk put to death.

Sir Charles Brandon is created Viscount Lisle.

F For all the great preparation for France, King Henry forbore not his course of Revelling, but kept his Christmas at Greenwich, with divers curious devises, in most magnificent manner. In March following, the Kings Navy Royall, to the number of two and forty Ships was set forth, under the conduct of Sir Edward Howard Lord Admirall, accompanied with Sir Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, Sir Wolstan Brown, Sir Edward Ichingham, Sir Anthony Poynings, Sir John Wallope, Sir Thomas Windham, Sir Steven Bull, William Fitz-williams, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidney Esquires, and divers other Gentlemen, who sayling to Brittain, came into Bertram Bay, and there lay at Anchor in sight of the French Navy, whereof one Prior John was Admirall, who keeping himself close in the Haven of Brest; the English Admirall intended to assail him in the Haven, but because his Ships were too great to enter the Bay, he caused certain Boats to be manned forth, thinking thereby to rouse out the French; but when this neither would draw them to come abroad, he then called a Councell, where it was determined, that first they should assail Prior John and his Gallies, lying in Blankesable Bay, and after set upon the rest of the French Fleet in the Haven of Brest; and it was further appointed that the Lord Ferrers, Sir Steven Bull, and others should go on land, with a convenient number, to assault the Bulwarks, which the French had there made; while the Admirall with Row Barges and little Gallies entred into the Bay, that so the Frenchmen might at once be assailed both by Sea and Land. But though this were determined by a Councell of War, yet the Lord Admirall had a trick by himself, for by the advice of a Spanish Knight called Sir Alphonso Charunt, affirming that he might enter the Bay with little danger; he called to him William Fitz-williams, William Cook, John Colley, and Sir Wolstan Brown, as his most trusty friends, making them privy to his intent, which was to take on him the whole enterprife with their assistance only; and so confident he was of successe, that he wrote to the King to come thither in person, to have the honour of the enterprife himself; but it seems the King had better Fates, at least went not; and thereupon, on Saint Marks day the Admirall put himself in a small Row Barge; and appointing three other small Row Ships, and his own Shipboat to attend him, and therewith on a sudden rowed into the Bay, where Prior John had moored up his Gallies just to the ground; which Gallies with the Bulworks on the land, shot most cruelly; yet

Sir Edward Howard Lord Admirall, following his own headstrong device, is drowned.

yet the Admirall went on, and coming to the Gallies, drove out the Frenchmen: the Bay was shallow, and the other Ships by reason the Tide was spent, could not enter; which the Frenchmen perceiving, they entred the Gallies again with Morris Pikes, and began a new fight; whereupon the Admirall attempting to return back into his row Barge, which by violence of the Tide, was driven down the stream, with a Pike was thrown over boord and drowned; the just issue of his head-strong enterprise; the forenamed *Alphonso* was also there slain: upon which sorrowfull accident, the Lord *Ferrers* with the rest, returned into *England*. After whose departure, *Prior John* came forth with his Gallies; and coasting over the borders of *Sussex*, burnt certain poor Cottages; but the King made suddenly a new Admirall, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, eldest Brother to him that was drowned; Son and Heir of the Earl of *Surrey*: who so skowred the Seas, that the French were no more to be seen on any Coast of *England*. B

King *Henry* had hitherto performed Acts of Arms, though in Jest, yet with great magnificence; he will not perform them with lesse, being now in earnest, and specially to deal with so potent an Adversary: and therefore when it was concluded by Parliament, that he should make a War in *France* himself in person; he sent before to prepare the way for him, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* high Steward of his Household; accompanied with the Lord *Thomas Standley* Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Dowckerey* Prior of *Saint Johns*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Cornwall* and others, to the number of eight thousand; who arived at *Callice* about the middle of *May*; after him in the end of *May*, followed Sir *Charles Somerset*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord *Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Gray* Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Stafford* Earl of *Wiltshire*, the Lord *Dudley*, the Lord *Delaware*, Sir *Edward Hussey*, Sir *Edward Dimmock*, Sir *David Owen*, with others to the number of six thousand: These Generalls joyning together, issued out of *Callice*, and on the two and twentieth day of *June*, sate down before the strong Town of *Terwin*, which City was strongly fortified; and in it was Governour the Lord *Poulterney*, who had with him six hundred Horsemen, and five and twenty hundred *Almains*, besides the Inhabitants. Here at the very first happened two dysasters to the English; one, that the Baron *Carew* was slain with a shot from the Town; the other, that Sir *Nicholas Vaux*, and Sir *Edward Belknappe* coming from *Guyfnes* with four and twenty Carts of Provision, were set upon by the Duke of *Vendolme*, Lieutenant of *Picardy*, and many of the English slain, and the Provision taken. In this state was the English Camp at *Terwin*, when King *Henry* the last day of *June* came himself to *Callice*, and on the one and twentieth of *July* took the field, having in his Army of fighting men, not above nine thousand, but with Pioners and others that attended the Carriages, eleven thousand and three hundred men: His forward was led by *Charles Brandon* Viscount *Lisle*, his main Battail by himself, and Sir *Henry Guilford* carried his Standard; and in this order he marched forward to the siege of *Terwin*, entring upon the French ground the five and twentieth of *July*. On the morrow after, by negligence of the Carters, that mistook the way, a great Gun called the *John Evangelist*, was overthrown in a deep Pond of water, and could not at that time be recovered; but a few dayes after, the Master Carpenter taking with him a hundred labourers, went and weighed it up; but having carted it ready to bring away, was set upon by eight hundred French; and the most of his company slain: the Gun was taken by the French, and carryed to *Bulloigne*. In the French Army were to the number of eleven thousand footmen, and four thousand Horse; whereof were Captains, the Lord *De la Palyce*, the Lord *De Priennes*, the Duke *De Longueville*, the Earl of *Saint Paul*, the Lord of *Floranges*, the Lord of *Clermont*, and *Richard de la Poole* an English man. Son to *John Duke of Suffolk*. The Armies were come within two miles one of another, and some light skirmishes passed between them, specially one; on a day called the dry Wednesday, for the day was wonderfull hot, and the King with his Army stood in order of Battell, from six a clock in the morning, till three in the afternoon: after this, the King removed towards *Terwin*; and as the Army marched, another of the Kings Bombards of Iron, called the Red Gun, was overthrown in a lane, and there left; which the French understanding, went with a great power to fetch it away, as they had done the other; but the Lord *Berners*, Captain of the English Pioners, prevented them; and though set upon by the French, to the number of nine or ten thousand, yet by the valour of the Earl of *Essex*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with the bold adventures of Sir *William Tyler*, and Sir *John Sharp*, they recovered it and brought it safe to the Camp. On the fourth of *August* King *Henry* came before the City of *Terwyn*, where he strongly fortified himself with Ordinance, and other Warlike defences. In which mean time, the Captain of *Bulloigne*, knowing that many of the Garrison of *Callice* were gone with the King, thought to take advantage of their absence, and do some great exploit upon *Callice*; and thereupon with a thousand men, came to *Newnham Bridge*, and killing the Watchmen, took it; but afterward some of his company going to fetch Booties, and coming so neer the Walls of *Callice*, that they were descryed; about sixscore Coopers and other Artificers issued forth, and driving them back, recovered again *Newnham Bridge*, and took divers of their prisoners; especially when the Gate of *Callice*, called *Bulloigne Gate* was opened, and that *Colepepper* the under-Marshall, with two hundred Archers issued forth, and joyned with them. The French prisoners were brought to *Callice*, and there sold in open Market; amongst others, a Cooper of the Town of *Callice*, bought a prisoner that dwelt in *Bulloigne*, and had of the prisoner for his ransome, a hundred Crowns; when the money was paid, the French man prayed the Cooper to see him safe delivered, and to conduct him out of danger; the Cooper was content, and went himself alone with C

An Army of King *Henries* lay down before *Terwyn*.

The King comes thither himself, and has his Army marshalled.

The number of the French Army.

Callice defended by Coopers and other artificers.

A foolish Soldier well served.

A with the French-man, till he came beyond the Cawsey, and there would have departed; but the French-man perceiving that the Cooper was aged, and that no rescue was nigh; by force took the Cooper prisoner, and carried him to *Bulloign*; making him pay two hundred Crowns, before he was delivered.

Whilst King Henry lay thus at the siege of *Terwin*, on the eleventh of *August*, the Emperour *Maximilian* was come to *Ayre*; which King Henry understanding, went and met him between *Ayre* and the Camp, where with great complements they saluted each other; but their complements were broken off, by the extreme foul weather which happened that day: the morrow after, the Emperour *Maximilian* came from *Ayre* to the Kings Camp, wearing a Crosse of Saint *George*, as the Kings Souldier, and receiving wages of him for service, an hundred Crowns a day. An honour never done to any King of *England* before; and yet was no disparagement to the Emperour; for he was royally received, and lodged in a Tent of cloth of gold; that as no Emperour before had ever been souldier to a King; so no souldier before was ever lodged in such a Tent. At this time the City of *Terwin*, being in some distresse for want of victuals; the French King appointed all his Horsemen to the number of eight thousand, to see victuals by any means convoyed into it; the charge of which Convoy was committed to Mounseigneur *De Priennes*: but King Henry by advise of the Emperour *Maximilian*, had made Bridges to passe his men over the River, to the other side of the Town, where was easiest access; in such sort, that when the French Convoy came with their victuals, and thought to have entred the Town; they found the English Army there ready to resist them; whereupon a fierce battel

The Emperour *Maximilian*, takes pay of King Henry as his souldier.

C was fought between them: but in conclusion the French were put to flight, and fled so fast, that from thence it was called the battel of Spurs, for that they used more their spurs in running away, then their Launces in fighting. In this battel, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Lord of *Cleremont*, Captain *Bayard* and others to the number of twelve score were taken prisoners, and all brought to the Kings presence; with fix Standards that were likewise taken. After the battel, the King made Sir *John Peckye* Banneret, and *John Carre* Knight, who had both of them done great service in this encounter. King Henry having obtained this victory against the French Horsemen, and hindered the Town of *Terwin* from relief of victuals, and withall plying his battery more fiercely then before; made the Townsmen soon fall to desire composition, and upon condition that the souldiers may depart with Horse and Armour, they yielded up the

The English defeat the French in a battel called the battel of Spurs.

D Town into the Kings hands. This was done on the eighteenth of *August*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* entred the Town the same night; and set up the Banner of Saint *George* in the highest place of it, in sign of Victory, and swore all the Townsmen to be true Subjects to the King of *England*. The four and twentieth of *August*, the King himself entred the Town, and dined in the Bishops Palace, where it was resolved, that the Walls and Fortifications of *Terwin* should be razed, and the Town burnt all but the Cathedral Church and the Palace, all the Ordinance was sent to *Ayre*, to be kept there to the Kings use.

Terwin is delivered up to King Henry.

After this it was concluded, that the King should lay siege to the City of *Tourney*; whereupon he set forward in three battels, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* led the Vanguard; the King and the Emperour, the Battail; and the Lord *Chamberlain* the Rereward. In this order the Kings Army marched forwards towards *Tourney*; by the way, he went and visited the young Prince of *Castile*, and the Lady *Margaret*, Governesse of the Prince, in the Town of *Lisle*, where with all Magnificence, or rather indeed Reverence, he was entertained; and after he had stayed there three days, he took his leave, and being gone a mile and somewhat more out of the Town, he asked where his Camp lay, and no man there could tell the way, and guide they had none; the night was so dark and mistie; by chance at last they met with a victualler coming from the Camp, who was their guide and conducted them to it. By which we may see, to what distresse a great Prince may be brought by a little over-sight.

King Henry lays siege to *Tourney*.

On the one and twentieth day of *September*, the King removed his Camp towards *Tourney*; and being come within three miles of the Town, he sent Garter King of Arms to summon the Town; but they, though they had but few men of war amongst them, yet stood upon their guard; whereupon the King begirt it on all sides, and made such fierce batteries upon it, that though it were written on the gates of the Town, graven in stone, *Jamais tu ne as perdu ton Pucelage*; thou hast never lost thy Maidenhead; yet now they were glad to lose it: and in conclusion they sent a Trumpet to require a Parley, and then sued for mercy, and yielded it up, and paid ten thousand pounds sterling besides for redemption of their liberties: and then Master *Thomas Woolsey* the Kings Almoner, calling before him all the Citizens young and old, swore them to the King of *England*; the number of whom was fourscore thousand. This done, the King entred into *Tourney*, and calling into his presence *Edward Guilford*, *William Fitzwilliams*, *John Dansie*, *William Tyler*, *John Sharpe*, *William Hussy*, *John Savage*, *Christopher Garmysb*, and some other valiant Gentlemen; he gave to them the order of Knighthood; and then remembering the great entertainment the Prince of *Castile* and the Lady *Margaret* had given him at *Lisle*, he would not be behinde them in such Courtesie; and thereupon invited them solemnly to his City of *Tourney*, whom at their coming he brought into the Town in great triumph: during their abode in *Tourney*, amongst other complements of entertainment, there was had a Joust, where the King and the Lord *Lisle* answered all comers: after the Joust, was a sumptuous Banquet; after the Banquet, the Ladies danced; and then came in the King, and eleven other in a Mask, all richly apparelled with Bonnets of gold: and when they had

Tourney is delivered up to King Henry.

King Henry makes a solemn Joust in *Tourney*.

passed the time at their pleasures, the garments of the Maskers were cast off amongst the Ladies, A take them that could. This was King *Henries* disposition, that he could not forbear Revelling in the midst of his Arms; and Ladies must be entertained as well as Souldiers. And here *Maximilian* the Emperour finding the *French* Forces to be but weak, perswades King *Henry* to proceed on and pursue his victories: but he being young and of a quiet disposition, and considering with himself that he had not entred the war for any cause of his own, but to revenge the injuries done to the Pope: and thinking by this already done, the *French* sufficiently lesson'd to acknowledge their error: and the rather, for that Winter was now drawing on; he resolved to put this end to the war: and so taking his leave of the Emperour; and leaving Sir *Edward Poyning* Governour of *Tourney*, he returned to *Callice*; and from thence into *England*: and then rode in Post to the Queen at *Richmond*.

The King of Scots invades the English borders, but is repelled.

Whilst King *Henry* was thus busied in his war with *France*, the King of *Scots*, though his Brother-in-law, yet intigated by the *French* King, and taking advantage of King *Henries* absence, assembled his people to invade *England*; but before his whole power could come together, the Lord *Humes* his Chamberlain with seven or eight thousand men entred the borders; but as he was returning with a great booty of Cattle, in a field overgrown with Broom, called *Milfield*, he was encountered by Sir *Edward Bulmer*, having with him not above a thousand men; who lying in that field in ambush, broke out upon him, and put him to flight, with the slaughter of five or six hundred of his company, and four hundred taken prisoners, the Lord *Humes* himself escaped by flight, but his Banner was taken; and this, by the *Scots* was called, *the ill Rode*. In the meantime the whole power of *Scotland* was assembled, no fewer then one hundred thousand men; though *Buchanan* in favour of his Countrey, saith, not the fifth part of that number; and with these, King *James* approaching the Borders, and coming to *Norham* Castle, laid siege unto it, which for want of Powder, was soon delivered up unto him. But by this time the Earl of *Surrey*, Lievetenant of the North parts, had assembled an Army of six and twenty thousand men; to whom also soon after his Son the Lord Admiral, with one thousand expert souldiers came and joyned: and now having many great Lords and Knights in his Army, he appointed to every one their station; and then was informed, that King *James* being removed six miles from *Norham*, lay embattelling upon a great Mountain called *Flodden*, where it was impossible to come near him, but with great disadvantage; for at the foot of the hill, on the left hand, was a great marish ground full of reeds and water, on the right hand was a River called *Till*, so swift and deep that it was not passable; on the backside were such craggy Rocks and thick Woods, that there was no assaying him on that part; the forepart of his Camp he had fenced with his great Ordinance. Being in such a hold, the Earl of *Surrey* found there was no possibility of a Battail, unlesse he could draw him from the Hill; whereupon he called a Councel, by which it was determined to send *Rouge-Crosse* Pursuivant at Arms with a Trumpet, to the King of *Scots*, to let him know, that he was ready on Friday following to give him Battail, if he would abide it; whereunto the King of *Scots* by his Pursuivant *Ilay*, made answer, that at the day prefixed he should finde him ready for Battail as he desired, that he would willingly have come to such a match if he had been at *Edenburgh*; but though he made this answer, yet he would not leave the strong hold he was in, but kept himself still upon the Hill; at last, *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, Son and E

The battail called *Flodden* Field.

Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, having viewed the Countrey round about, declared to his Father, that if he would fetch but a small compasse, and come with his Army on the back of his Enemies, he should enforce the *Scottish* King to come down out of his strength, or else stop him from receiving of victuals or any other thing out of *Scotland*. This counsell of the Lord *Howard* his Father followed, and King *James* perceiving what their meaning was, thought it stood not with his honour to be fore-stalled out of his own Realm, and thereupon immediately raised his Camp, and got to another Hill, but not so steep as the other; which the Earl of *Surrey* perceiving, he determined to mount it, and to fight with the *Scots*, before they should have leisure to fortifie their Camp; and herewith making a short Speech, for encouragement of his Souldiers, he divided his Army into Battails; the Vantguard was led by the Lord *Howard*, F to whom was joyned as a Wing, Sir *Edward Howard*; the middle-ward was led by the Earl himself, and the Rear-ward by Sir *Edward Stanley*; the Lord *Dacres* with a number of Horsemen was set apart by himself, to succour where need should be; the Ordinance was placed in the Front, and in other places, as was thought most convenient: and in this order they march forward towards the *Scots*. On the other side King *James* reckoning upon the benefit of the Hill, thought the *English* half mad, to venture a Battail upon such disadvantage; and thereupon making a speech to encourage his Souldiers, who were of themselves so forward, that they needed no encouraging, he divided the Battails in this manner: the main Battail he led himself, to which he appointed two Wings; the right led by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* and *Mountrosse*; the left by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, together with the Lord *Humes* Lord Chamberlain: and so confident they were of Victory, that the King first, and after all the Lords and meaner men, put away their Horses, as thinking they should not need them; which confidence was afterward their undoing; for when the Battail being joyned, Sir *Edward Howard* in getting up the Hill, was so assaulted by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, that he was left almost alone, and in manifest peril to be slain; in comes the Lord *Dacres* with his Horsemen and trod under foot the *Scottish* Battail of speers on foot, which he could not have done, if they had kept their Horses. And this part of the *Scottish* Army being led by

How the English Army was marshalled.

How the Scottish Army was marshalled.

G

A by the Earls of *Crawford* and *Mountroffe*, they were both of them slain, and the whole Battail put to flight. In another part also Sir *Edward Stanley* did the like, upon the Battail led by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, putting it to flight, with the slaughter also of these two Earls. King *James* notwithstanding, maintained the fight still with great resolution, till Sir *Adam Forman* his Standard-bearer was beaten down; and then not fainting, though despairing of successe; he rushed into the thickest of his Enemies, amongst whom he was beaten down and slain; and to make his death the more honorable, there died with him three Bishops (whereof one was *Alexander* Archbishop of *Saint Andrews*, the Kings base Son) two Abbots, twelve Earls, and seventeen Lords, of Knights and Gentlemen very many, in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken prisoners (as *Paulus Jovius* saith) amongst whom was Sir *William Scot* Chancellour to the said King, and Sir *George Forman* his Serjeant Porter; the Lord *Hume* and the Earl of *Huntley* got Horses and escaped. Neither was the Battail without blood to the *English*, for there was slain at least a thousand, and (that which in a Defeat was strange) many also taken prisoners; for many in pursuing the *Scots*, went rashly so far, that they knew not which way to return, and by Bands of *Scots* that had not fought that day, were set upon and taken. When the field was done, the Lord General called to him certain Lords and Gentlemen, and made them Knights, as Sir *Edward Howard* his Son, the Lord *Sercope*, Sir *William Percy*, Sir *Edward George*, and others. This Battail was fought on Friday the ninth of September, in the year 1513. called by some *Bramston*, by some *Flodden Field*. King *James* here slain was the same that had married the Lady *Margaret* Eldest daughter of King *Henry* the Seventh; and Sister to the present King *Henry*; and might have enjoyed many happy days, if he had kept himself firm to his alliance, but being carried away with the inveterate spleen between the two Nations, and propension to *France*; he ended his life, though honorably, yet miserably under many wounds. It is a very memorable, but scarce credible thing; which (from the mouth of a very credible person who saw it) *George Buchannan* relates concerning this King; that intending to make a war with *England*, a certain old man of venerable aspect, and clad in a long blew garment, came unto him, and leaning familiarly upon the chair where the King sat, said, I am sent unto thee O King, to give thee warning, that thou proceed not in the war thou art about; for if thou do, it will be thy ruine: and having so said, he pressed through the company, and vanished out of sight; for by no inquiry it could be known what became of him. But the King was too resolute to be frightened with Phantasmes, and no warning could divert his Destiny, which had not been Destiny if it could have been diverted. The day after the Battail, his Body, though disfigured with wounds, was known by the Lord *Dacres* and others, to be his; and thereupon bowelled, embalmed, and wrapped in lead, was brought to the Monastery of *Sheen* in *Surrey*, and there interred; but at the dissolution of that House was taken up and thrown into a waste room amongst timber and stone; which *John Stow* saith, he so saw, and further relateth, that the servants of *Launcelot Young*, Glasier to *Queen Elizabeth* being at *Sheen*, in new Glasing the windows, either upon a foolish pleasure, or desire of the lead, cut the head from the rest; but smelling the sweet perfumes of the Balms, gave it to their Master; who opening the lead, found therein the head of a man, retaining favour though the moisture were clean dried up, whose hair both of head and beard was red: which afterward, he caused to be buried at *St. Michaels Church* in *Wodstreet*, where he dwelled. But notwithstanding this relation of *Stow*; *John Lesley* Bishop of *Rosse* affirmeth, that it was held for certain, the Body thus found, was the Body of the Lord *Bouchard* slain in that Battail. *Buchannan* saith, of *Alexander Elfinston*, who in countenance and stature was like the King; and that King *James* was seen alive the same night at *Kelso*, whence he passed to *Hierusalem*, and there spent the rest of his days in holy contemplation: but howsoever it was, he was never seen any more in *Scotland*.

King *Henry* being now returned from Tourney into *England*, and finding the great services done in his absence against the *Scots*, on the day of the Purification of our Lady, at *Lambeth* he created the Earl of *Surrey* Duke of *Norfolk*, with an augmentation of the Arms of *Scotland*; Sir *Charles Brandon* Viscount *Lisle*, he created Duke of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Howard* high Admiral, he made Earl of *Surrey*, Sir *Charles Somerset* Lord *Herbert* his chief Chamberlain Earl of *Worcester*, and shortly after Sir *Edward Stanley* he made Lord *Moxteagle*; and in *March* following, Master *Thomas Woolsey* his Almoner, was made Bishop of *Lincoln*. Here before we go further, it will be fit to say something of this man, that he be not a rub afterward in the way of the Story: He was born at *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*, the Son of a Butcher, sent to *Oxford* by reason of his pregnancy of wit, so soon, that taking there the first degree of Art, he was called the Boy-bachelour; proceeding in learning, he was made fellow of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*, and afterward Schoolmaster of the School there, at which time the *Marquesse Dorset* committed three of his Sons to be instructed by him; and having a Benefice fallen in his gift, sent for him one *Christmas*, and bestowed it upon him; whereof *Woolsey* going to take possession, at his being there, for what misdemeanor is not delivered, he was by Sir *Amyas Paulet* set by the heels, which afterward he remembered to Sir *James* his no small trouble, for he made him attend his pleasure five or six years; all which time he lay in the *Middle-Temple*, where he re-edified the Gate-house next the street very sumptuously, setting the Cardinals Arms upon it, to appease him. After this disgrace he went over-sea, where he fell in acquaintance with Sir *John Napham* Treasurer of *Catlice*, and by him was preferred to be King *Henry* the seventh's Chaplain: and now being by this means in the Kings eye, he so diligently

The King of
Scots slain.

The same that
had married
the Lady *Margaret*
eldest
daughter of
King *Henry*
the seventh.
A Vision that
appeared to
King *James*
deteriorating him
from the battail.

Dukes and
Earls created.

Thomas Woolsey
his parentage, education,
and rising.

carried himself, that he soon got into the Kings heart. One time it happened, the King had occasion to send a Messenger to the Emperour *Maximilian*, about a business that required haste; for which employment no man was thought more fit then *Woolsey*; whereupon, when the King called him, gave him his Errand, and bad him make all speed he could; *Woolsey* departed from the King at *Richmond* about noon, and by the next morning was got to *Dover*, and from thence by noon that day was come to *Calice*, and by night was with the Emperour; to whom declaring his Message and having a present dispatch, he rode that night back to *Calice*, and the night following came to the Court at *Richmond*. The next morning he presented himself before the King, who blamed him for not being yet gone, the matter requiring haste; to whom *Woolsey* answered, that he had been with the Emperour and had dispatched the business, and for proof shewed the Emperours lines: the King wondered much at his speed, but then asked him if he met not with his Pursuivant, whom he sent after to advertise him of a special matter he had forgotten; whereto *Woolsey* answered, May it please your Grace I met him yester-day upon the way, but that business I had dispatched before, taking the boldness so to do without Commission, as knowing it to be of special consequence; for which boldness I humbly intreat your Graces Pardon. The King not only pardoned him, but bestowed presently upon him the Deanery of *Lincoln*, and soon after made him his Almoner. In this state King *Henry* the eight found him, with whom also he grew into such favour, that he made him of his Council; and having won *Tourney*, made him Bishop of that City; and returning into *England*, (the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* falling void by the death of Doctor *Smith*) made him a Bishop of that Diocese. And thus far the story hath now brought him, but soon after he was raised higher; for Doctor *Bambridge* Archbishop of *Tork* dying; he was translated from *Lincoln* to that See; and that he might not be inferiour to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he procured of the Pope to be made Cardinal, and Legat a *Latre*; and after, by the King was made Lord Chancellour of *England*: and being come to this height of dignity, he so carried himself in Expenses of Household, in number of Retinue, and in all circumstances of State, that no Subject before or since, hath in any degree come neer him: and if we may say it, he was the first Debaucher of King *Henry*; for to the end he might have the managing of all matters himself, he perswaded the King that he should not need trouble himself with frequenting the Council Table as he did, but take his pleasure, and leave those things to his Council, whereof himself would always give him true Information. This was plausible counsell, and no man vail if it were embraced of a young King, coming from the mouth of so great a Prelate.

The fields about *Islington*, *Hogsdon* and *Shorditch* laid open.

The Pope gives King *Henry* the Title of *Christianissimo*.

In this fifth year of the King, the Citizens of *London* finding themselves grieved with the Inclosures of the common fields about *Islington*, *Hogsdon* and *Shorditch*, and other places adjoining; went one morning, and threw down all the Hedges, and filled up all the Ditches; whereat though the Kings Council were at first offended, yet the Maior and City shewed them such reasons, that they reitred satisfied, and the fields were never since hedged.

On the nineteenth of *May*, this year Pope *Julius* the Second sent to King *Henry* a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword; and being angry with the King of *France*, transferred by Authority of the *Lateran* Council, the title of *Christianissimo* from him upon King *Henry*, which with great solemnity was published the Sunday following, in the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul*; but this solemnity must not passe without Revelling, Masques, and Justs; wherein the King and the Duke of *Suffolk* were defendants against all comers; who having the Duke of *Longueville*, and the Lord of *Ceumont* to be spectators, spread the fame of their Chivalry into foreign Nations.

And now the great love that had been long between King *Henry* and the *Flemings*, began to abate, upon this occasion; King *Henry* the seventh had concluded a match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*: but by reason of her young years, and for want of assurance of Jointure, the match was deferred during his time; but now King *Henry* the eight seeing his Sister of convenient years, began to call upon it, and signified so much to the Council of *Flanders*; but they, whether having other ends, or out of *Spanish* delays, put him off with excuses, and at last sent him word plainly, they could do nothing in it that year. The King of *France* had soon Intelligence how much King *Henry* distasted these *Spanish* dealings, and meant to make some good use of it, for the ends he began to propose to himself, which were, to get the Lady *Mary* for himself, and thereby procure peace with *England*, being now old, and weary of the War. And for this purpose he got the new Pope *Leo* the tenth to be his mediatour, and both of them send Embassadors to King *Henry*, the Pope to perswade him to have peace with *France*, the French King to treat about a Marriage with the Lady *Mary*: upon whose Embassages, King *Henry* partly to satisfy the Pope, and partly to advance his Sister; did not unwillingly hearken to the motions; but whilst this was in working, *Prior John* (who knew nothing of these intentions) began again to play his Pranks; and coming with his Gallies on the coast of *Suffex*, burnt *Brighton* fleet, and took away the goods he found in the Village, whereupon the Lord Admiral sent Sir *John Walsloppe* to Sea, with divers ships, and eight hundred men, who for one Village that *Prior John* burnt in *England*, burnt one and twenty Villages and Towns in *France*, to the great honour of himself, and his Countrey.

A Peace is concluded with *France*; and the King of *France* marries the Lady *Mary* King *Henry* is younger S.ter.

And now King *Henry* by advise of his Council, and specially of *Woolsey* Bishop of *Lincoln*, concluded both the peace with *France*, and the Marriage of his Sister the Lady *Mary*, with the French King; but yet it stuck a while upon some differences, King *Henry* demanding *Bulloign*, and the

King

A King of France *Tourney*: in conclusion these demands were waved, and the principal conditions were; first concerning the Ladies Jointure, that she should have two and thirty thousand Crowns of yearly revenues if she survived the King; and then concerning this peace, that the French King should pay yearly to King Henry for five years one hundred thousand Crowns, and the peace to continue between them during their lives, and a year after, and bound reciprocally to assist each other with ten thousand foot, if the war were by Land, with six thousand if by Sea. All things thus concluded, the Lady Mary was brought to *Dover* by King Henry and his Queen: and on the second of *October* taking shipping, was conducted by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Earl of *Surry*, the Lord *De la Ware*, the Lord *Berners*, the Lord *Monteagle*, Sir *Mauris Berkely*, Sir *John Pechye*, Sir *William Sands*, Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*, Sir

B *John Carre*, and many other Knights and Ladies; but being not past half way over the Sea, their ships by tempest were dispersed, and the Lady with some jeopardy landed at *Bullen*, where Sir *Christopher Garnish* was fain to stand in the water and take her in his arms, and so set her on shore, and there the Duke of *Vendosme* with a Cardinal and many other great States received her. From *Bullen* the eighth of *October*, she came to *Abbeyle* where the *Daulphin* received her: on the morrow being *Saint Dennis* day, she came to *Saint Dennis*, where the marriage between the King of France and her, was solemnized (though some write it had been solemnized before at *Abbeyle*.) The fifth of *November* she was Crowned Queen of France, at which time the *Daulphin* held the Crown over her head as being too small for her to wear; and the day following she was received into *Paris* in most magnificent manner. In honor of whose Marriage and Coronation the *Daulphin* had caused a solemn *Justs* to be proclaimed, which should be kept in *Paris* the seventh of *November*. Upon report of this Proclamation in *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset* and his four Brothers, the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Edward Nevill*, Sir *Giles Capell*, *Thomas Cherney*, and others, obtained leave of the King to be at the challenge, where they all behaved themselves with great valor, but specially the Duke of *Suffolk*, whose glory the *Daulphin* so much envied, that he got a Dutch man the tallest and strongest man in all the Court of France secretly as another person to encounter him, with a purpose to have the Duke foiled; but indeed it turned to his greater honour, for he foiled the Dutch-man in such sort, that when they came to the *Barriers*, the Duke by main strength took him about the neck, and so pommelled him about the head, that he made the blood issue out at his nose: many other Princes and Lords did bravely; and after three days the *Justs* ended.

She is Crowned Queen of France.

A *Justs* proclaimed in *Paris* by the *Daulphin*.

Where *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* won great honour.

C King Henry was not long behinde to solemnize it in *England* also; for at *Greenwich* the Christmas following, on Newyears night, and Twelfth night; he presented such strange and magnificent devices, as had seldom been seen; and the third of *February* following he held a solemn *Justs*, where he and the Marquess *Dorset* answered all commers, at which time the King brake three and twenty Spears, and threw to the ground one that encountered him both man and Horse.

D At this time preparation was making for King Henry in person to goe to *Callice*, there to meet with the French King and Queen, but death hindred the design; for before the next Spring, the first of *January* the French King died at the City of *Paris*, fourscore and two days after his marriage; teaching others by his example, what it is for an old man to marry a young Lady. King Henry hearing of the French Kings death, sent the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Richard Winkesfield*, and Doctor *West*, to bring over the Queen Dowager, according to the Covenants of the marriage. Whereupon the Queen was delivered to the Duke by Indenture, who obtaining her good will to be her husband, (which was no hard matter, that had been her first love:) wrote to the King her Brother for his consent; whereat the King seemed to stick a while, but at last consented; so as he brought her into *England* unmarried, and then marry at his return; but the Duke for more surety married her secretly in *Paris*, and after having received her Dower, Apparell and Jewels; came with her to *Callice*, and there openly married her with great solemnity. At their coming into *England*, King Henry to shew his contentment with the marriage, in the company of the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Essex*, all richly apparelled, held a new kinde of *Justs*, running courses on Horseback in manner *Volant*, as fast as one could follow another, to the great delight of the beholders.

The King of France 28. days after his marriage, dies.

Anno Reg. 7. The Duke of *Suffolk*, sent to fetch over the Queen Dowager of France, marries her.

E This year the King being at his Manor of *Oking*, *Woolsey* Archbishop of *York* came and shewed him letters, that he was elected Cardinal; for which dignity he disabled himself, till the King willed him to take it upon him, and from thenceforth called him Lord Cardinal, but his Hat and Bull were not yet come: after which Doctor *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; finding *Woolsey* being now Cardinal, to meddle more in his office of Chancellourship, then he could well suffer; resigned up the Seal, which the King presently gave to *Woolsey*. About this time, Cardinal *Campejus* was sent by Pope *Leo* to King Henry, to sollicite him to a War against the *Turk*, with whom Cardinal *Woolsey* was joyined in Commission, who hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow Cardinal; sent store of red cloth to *Callice* to make them fit followers of so great a Lord: and when *Campejus* was landed at *Dover*, Cardinal *Woolsey* caused the Gentry of *Kent* to wait upon him to *Black-beath*, where he was met and received by the Duke of *Norfolk* and many Prelates, and there in a Tent of cloth of gold shifted himself into his Cardinals robes. Eight Mules he had laden with necessities; but *Woolsey* not thinking them enough for his honour, sent him twelve more. But now see the shame of pride, for in *Cheap-side* his Mules by some mischance overthrew their Carriages

A new kind of *Justs* used by King Henry.

Woolsey is made a Cardinal, and Lord Chancellor.

F This year the King being at his Manor of *Oking*, *Woolsey* Archbishop of *York* came and shewed him letters, that he was elected Cardinal; for which dignity he disabled himself, till the King willed him to take it upon him, and from thenceforth called him Lord Cardinal, but his Hat and Bull were not yet come: after which Doctor *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; finding *Woolsey* being now Cardinal, to meddle more in his office of Chancellourship, then he could well suffer; resigned up the Seal, which the King presently gave to *Woolsey*. About this time, Cardinal *Campejus* was sent by Pope *Leo* to King Henry, to sollicite him to a War against the *Turk*, with whom Cardinal *Woolsey* was joyined in Commission, who hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow Cardinal; sent store of red cloth to *Callice* to make them fit followers of so great a Lord: and when *Campejus* was landed at *Dover*, Cardinal *Woolsey* caused the Gentry of *Kent* to wait upon him to *Black-beath*, where he was met and received by the Duke of *Norfolk* and many Prelates, and there in a Tent of cloth of gold shifted himself into his Cardinals robes. Eight Mules he had laden with necessities; but *Woolsey* not thinking them enough for his honour, sent him twelve more. But now see the shame of pride, for in *Cheap-side* his Mules by some mischance overthrew their Carriages

riages and Coffers on the ground, whose lids flying open, shewed the world what treasure it was they carried, old Breeches, Boots, and broken Shoes, broken meat, Marybones, and crufts of Bread; exposing him to the laughter of all the people: yet the Cardinal went jogging on afore with his Crosses, guilt Axe and Mace, unto *Pauls Church*; and by the way had an Oration made him by *Sir Thomas More*, in name of the City, and then waited on with many Bishops, was conducted to *Bath place*, where he was lodged for his own particular: he got well by the Journey, for the King gave him the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*; but the errand he came about, which was to have Aid by money, for a War against the *Turk*, he could not obtain, for it was well known to be but a devise to get money, without any intention of what was pretended.

Anno Reg. 7. In his seventh year, King *Henry* kept his Christmas at his Mannor of *Eltham*; where on Twelfth night according to his custom, was a stately Mask of Knights and Ladies, with solemn Dauncing and a most magnificent Banquet.

Anno Reg. 8. It was now the eighth year of King *Henries* Reign, when the new league between him and the French King was proclaimed in the City of *London*: and this year *Margaret Queen of Scots* eldest Sister to King *Henry*, having before married *Archibald Dowglass* Earl of *Angus*; by reason of dissension among the Lords of *Scotland*, was glad with her Husband to flee into *England*, and to seek succour at her Brothers hands; who assigned to her the Castle of *Harbottell* in *Northumberland* to reside in; where she was delivered of a Daughter named *Margaret*. From thence the King sent for her and her Husband to come to his Court; and thereupon the third of May, Queen *Margaret* riding on a white Palfrey (which the Queen of *England* had sent her) behinde *Sir Thomas Parre*, came through *London* to *Baynards Cattle*, and from thence went to *Greenwich*: but her Husband the Earl of *Angus*, was secretly before departed into *Scotland*; which when King *Henry* heard, he only said it was done like a *Scot*. And now in honour of his Sisters coming, King *Henry* the nine and twentieth of May, appointed two solemn days of Jufts; where the King, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Essex*, and *Nicholas Carew* Esquire, took upon them to answer all comers; amongst others, the King and *Sir William Kingston* ran together, which *Sir William* though a strong and valorous Knight, yet the King overthrew him to the ground: all the rest was performed with no lesse valour then magnificence. This year dyed the King of *Aragon*, Father to the Queen of *England*; for whom was kept a solemn Obsequie in the Cathedral Church of *Pauls*; and Queen *Margaret* after she had been a year in *England*, returned into *Scotland*.

Twelve hundred Carpenters and Masons sent to build a Castle at *Tourney*.

Cardinal *Woolsey* erects divers new Courts.

In this year were sent twelve hundred Carpenters and Masons, with three hundred Labourers, to the City of *Tourney* in *France*, to build a Castle there, to keep the City in awe. And now the Cardinal being weary of hearing so many causes himself, as were daily brought before him; ordained by the Kings Commission (after the pattern of *Moses*, divers Under-courts to hear complaints of Suiters: whereof one was kept in *Whitehal*, another before the Kings Almoner Doctor *Stokesley*, a third in the Lord Treasurers lodging neer the Star-chamber, and the fourth at the Rolls in the afternoon: these Courts for a time were much frequented; but at last the people perceiving that much delay was used in them, and that sentence given by them bound no man by Law, they thereupon grew weary of them, and resorted to the common Law. By occasion of this Government of the Cardinal, who under colour of Justice, did what he pleased; many great men withdrew themselves from the Court, as first the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, who went and lived in their Dioceses; then the Duke of *Norfolk*, and at length the Duke of *Suffolk*, who being run deep into the Kings debt, by reason of his many Employments into *France*, and his great Houle-keeping since his marriage with the Kings Sister, hoped the King would have forgiven it, and would no doubt have done it, but that the Cardinal opposed it, to the end the Duke should be the more at his command.

In October this year, *Matthew* Bishop of *Sion* commonly called the Cardinal of the *Swizzers* came into *England* from the Emperour *Maximilian*; by whose soliciting, and Cardinal *Woolseys* perswasion, the King lent the Emperour a great sum of money; for *Woolsey* being angry with the King of *France*, for detaining the renewals of his Bishoprick of *Tourney*, perswaded King *Henry* that the best way to abate the French Kings power, was to furnish the Emperour with money, the better to maintain war against him: and what *Woolsey* said, was in those days to King *Henry* an Oracle.

King *Henry* in great danger by a fall in Hawking.

This year the King kept his Christmas at his Manour of *Greenwich*; where on Twelfth night according to his custom, rare devices with great magnificence were presented; after which time the King exercised himself much in Hawking, which was like to have proved no good sport to him; for one time following his Hawk, and leaping over a Ditch with a Pole, the Pole brake, so that if one *Edmund Mody* a foot-man had not leapt into the water and lift up his head which was fast in the clay, he had been drowned.

An Insurrection in *London* against strangers; especially Artificers.

In this year also there happened in the City of *London*, an Insurrection against strangers, specially of Artificers, complaining that strangers were permitted to resort hither with their Wares, and to exercise Handy crafts, to the great hindrance and impoverishing the Kings own Subjects; and not only so, but that they were borne out in many great Insolencies, and wrongs they offered to the *English*, as one time it happened, a Carpenter in *London* called *Williamson*, had bought two Pigeons in *Cheap-side*, and was about to pay for them, when a French-man took them out of his hand, saying, they were no meat for a Carpenter: well (said *Williamson*) I have bought them, and I will have them; nay (said the French-man) I will have them for my Lord

A Lord Ambassadour; hereupon they grew to words, and complaint was made to the French Ambassadour, who so aggravated the matter to the Maior, that the Carpenter was sent to prison, and when Sir John Baker sued to the Ambassadour for him, he answered, By the body of God, the English knave was worthy to lose his life for denying any thing to a French-man; and other answer he could have none. Many like and worse Insolencies were offered by strangers; which one John Lincoln a Broker drew into a Bill, and prevailed with Doctor Beale, Preacher on Easter Tuesday at the Spittle to read it openly in the Pulpit, which so stirred up many, that strangers could hardly passe the streets, but were stricken, and sometimes beaten down. At last, one evening, many Prentises and others assembling, rifled some strangers houses, and much mischief was like to be done: but by the care of the Maior and Aldermen, and by the industry of Robert Brook

How pacified.

B Recorder, and Sir Thomas More, that had been Under-sheriffe of London; they were gotten to be quiet, and many of the disturbers were sent to prison, whereof Lincoln and twelve other were hanged, four hundred more in their shirts, bound in ropes, and halters about their necks (and thereupon called the black wagon) were brought to Westminster, where the King himself sate that day; and when the Cardinall had charged them with the greatnesse of their offence; they all cried, Mercy, mercy: and then the King by the mouth of the Cardinall, pardoned them all; which clemency purchased the King no small love amongst the people.

In his ninth year, in June King Henry had many Ambassadours at his Court; for whose entertainment he prepared a costly Jests; himself and twelve more against the Duke of Suffolk and other twelve. The King had on his Head a Ladies sleeve full of Diamonds, and perhaps something else of the Ladies in his heart, which made him perform his courses with the applause of

An. Reg. 9.

C all beholders. This year, by reason of a sweating sicknesse Michaelmas Tearn was adjourned; and the year following, Trinity Tearn was held one day at Oxford, and then adjourned again to Westminster.

About this time Cardinall Woolsey obtained of Pope Leo, authority to dispense with all offences against the Spirituall Lawes; by vertue whereof he set up a Court, and called it, *The Court of the Legation*, in the which he proved Testaments, and heard Causes: to the great hindrance of all the Bishops of the Realm; and to the debauching of Priests and Religious Persons, who relying upon his greatnesse, took such a liberty of licentiousnesse to themselves, that none was more disorderly then those that were in Orders: and supposing perhaps they might lawfully

Cardinal Woolsey makes Dukes and Earls to serve him of wine, and to hold the bason at the Lavatory.

D commit such sins themselves, as they forgave to others. And indeed the Cardinalls carriage exceeded all bounds of moderation; for when he said Masse, he made Dukes and Earls to serve him of Wine, with a say taken, and to hold the bason at the Lavatory: and when the Archbishop of Canterbury, writing a letter to him, subscribed, Your Brother William of Canterbury, he took it in great dudgeon to be termed his Brother.

It was now the tenth year of King Henries Reign, when the King of France, longing much to have Tournay restored to him: by great gifts and greater promises, won the Cardinall Woolsey, to move the King in it; who upon his perswasions, was contented to be treated withall about it: to which the King of France sent the Lord Bonquet high Admirall of France, and the Bishop of Paris, who in their attendance, having above fourscore Gentlemen, and with their servants and

An. Reg. 10. A Treaty between the Kings of France and England, to have Tournay delivered back, and upon what conditions.

E all above twelve hundred, arrived in England; and on Munday the seven and twentieth of September, were met at Black-both by the Earl of Surrey high Admirall of England, attended likewise with above five hundred Gentlemen and others, who conducted them to London, where they were lodged at Merchant-Taylors Hall: The last of September, the Ambassadours went to the King at Greenwich, where after long communication, an Agreement was at last concluded under pretence of a marriage to be had between the Daulphin of France and the Lady Mary Daughter to the King of England, that in name of her marriage money, Tournay should be delivered to the French King, he paying to the King of England, for the Castle he had made in that City, six hundred thousand Crowns in twelve years, by fifty thousand Crowns yearly: and if the Marriage should chance not to take effect, then that Tournay should be again restored to the King of Eng-

F land; for performance of which Articles, Hostages should be delivered: namely, Monsieur de Memorancie, Monsieur de Adoupsac, Monsieur de Moy, and Monsieur Morret; and moreover, the French King should pay to the Cardinall of England a thousand Marks yearly, in recompense of his Revenues, received before of his Bishoprick of Tournay: All things thus concluded, the Cardinall made to the Ambassadours a solemn Banquet, and after presented them with a stately Mummery. The eighth of October, the King feasted them at Greenwich, and at night presented a stately Mask of Knights and Ladies, with rare devises and great magnificence: The next day, Sir Thomas Exmew Maior of London, feasted them at Goldsmiths Hall, and then delivering their four Hostages, they took their leave. At whose departure the King gave to the Admirall of France, a garnish of gilt Vessel, a pair of covered Basons, gilt, twelve great gilt Boles, four pair

G of great gilt Pots, a standing Cup of Gold, garnished with great Pearls, and to some other he gave Plate, to some other Chains of Gold, to some rich Apparell: to the great commendation of his liberality. Shortly after their departure, the Earl of Worcester, Lord Chamberlain, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord of Saint Johns, Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir John Peby, and Sir Thomas Bullen, as Ambassadours from the King of England, accompanied with Knights, Gentlemen, and others to the number of above four hundred, passed over to Callice, and from thence went to Paris; where after Royall entertainment by the King, with divers Misks and stately shewes, they took their leaves and rode to Tournay to see the City delivered to the French men, on the eighth of February,

to

to the great grief of the English Garrison. After the English Ambassadors were returned, A King Henry to cheer up the four French Hostages, left here for performance of Covenants, on the seventh of May, presented a solemn and stately Mask, wherein himself, the Duke of Suffolk and French Queen were Actors: and on the eighth of March following was a solemn Jufts holden, and with great magnificence performed.

An. R. g. 11.

The Emperour Maximilian dyeth. Charles King of Castile is elected in his place called Charles the fifth.

Young Gentlemen after the French fashion, being over-familiar with the King, are banished the Court.

A Mask of all Lords.

An Enterview agreed upon between the two Kings of France and England.

The Emperour Charles comes into England.

The two Kings meet in so magnificent manner, that the place was called the Camp of cloth of Gold.

In the eleventh year of King Henries Reign dyed the Emperour Maximilian, for whom, the King caused a solemn Obsequie to be kept in Pauls Church. After whose death the French King and the King of Spain, endeavoured by sundry plots each of them to get the Empire; but in conclusion, Charles King of Castile, (afterwards called Charles the fifth) was elected Emperour; for joy whereof, a solemn Masse was sung at Pauls, the seventh of July, at which were present the Cardinall Campeius, the Cardinall of York, the Duke of Buckingham, Norfolk, and Suffolk, with the Ambassadors of Spain, France, Venice, and Scotland: And this year the King kept Saint Georges Feast at Windsor, with great solemnity.

At this time divers young Gentlemen that had been in France, after the manner of that Countrey, carryed themselves so familiarly with the King; that the Lords of his Councell thought it a disparagement to him: and thereupon, with his leave first obtained, they banished them the Court: and in their places brought in more stayed and graver men: namely, Sir Richard Winkfield, Sir Richard Jerningham, Sir Richard Weston, and Sir William Kingston.

In the Summer of this year, the Queen lying at her Mannour of Havering in Essex, desired the King to bring thither the four Hostages of France, to whom she made a Royall Banquet, and in September following, the King lying at his Mannour of New-ball in Essex, otherwise called Beaulieu; C where he had newly built a stately Mansion, invited the Queen and the French Hostages thither, where after a sumptuous Banquet, he presented them with an extraordinary Mask, for the Maskers were the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Essex, the Marquesse Dorset, the Lord Aburgavenny, Sir Richard Winkfield, Sir Richard Weston, and Sir William Kingston, the youngest of whom was fifty years old at least, that the Ladies might see what force they had to make age young again.

At this time, the French King was very desirous to see the King of England, with whom he had entered into such a league of alliance, and to that end made means to the Cardinall, that there might be an Enterview between them at some convenient place: to which the Cardinall, not so much to satisfie the French King, as to shew his own greatnesse in France, easily condescended; and thereupon perswaded King Henry, how necessary it was, that such an Enterview should be: D and then were sent unto Guynes, under the rule of Sir Edward Belknap, some say three thousand, but Godwyn saith, eleven hundred; whereof three thousand Masons, six hundred Carpenters, two hundred Painters, Glaziers, and other Artificers, who spent two moneths in erecting the building builded on the Plain before the Castle of Guynes, a most stately Palace of Timber, curiously garnished without and within: whither both the Kings in June next following, agreeing to come and to answer all comers at the Tilt, Tournies and Barriers, whereof Proclamation was made in the Court of England, by Orleans King of Arms of France, and in the Court of France by Clarenceux, King of Arms of England: whilst these things were preparing on Candlemas Even, as the King and Queen were come from Even-song at their Mannour of Greenwich; suddenly there blew a Trumpet, and then entred into the Queens Chamber, four Gentlemen, who brought with them a waggon, in which sate a Lady richly apparelled; which Lady acquainted the King, that the four Gentlemen there present, were come for the love of their Ladies, to answer all comers at the Tilts on a day by the King to be appointed; which day was thereupon appointed on Shrove-tuesday next ensuing, where they all behaved themselves with great valour, to the great delight of the King and Queen.

By this time King Henry was ready for his journey into France, and so removing from his Mannour of Greenwich, on Friday the five and twentyeth of May, he with his Queen arrived at Canterbury, where he meant to keep his Whitsuntide. At which time, the Emperour Charles returning out of Spain arrived on the coast of Kent, where by the Vice-Admirall of England, Sir William Fitz-Williams, he was conducted to land, and there met and received by the Lord Cardinall in great state. After which the King himself rode to Dover, to welcome him: and on Whitsunday early in the morning conducted him to Canterbury, where they spent all the Whitsuntide in great joy and solace. The chief cause that moved the Emperour at this time to come on land, was to have dissuaded the King from any Enterview with the French King: but when he saw him so forward in that journey, he then only endeavoured to perswade him, that he should put no trust in the French Kings words, and with great gifts and promises, prevailed with the Cardinall to joyn with him in this perswasion. The last of May, the Emperour took his leave, and the same day, the King made sail from Dover and landed at Callice, together with the Queen and many Lords and Ladies. The fourth of June the King and Queen removed from Callice to his Princely Lodging beside the Town of Guisnes, the most Royall Building that was ever seen; likewise Francis G the French King had his lodging prepared close to the Town of Arde, in a strange but most magnificent fashion. Both Kings had given power and authority to the Cardinall to affirm and confirm, binde or unbinde, whatsoever should be in difference between them; no lesse an honour to the Cardinall then a confidence in the Kings. On Thursday the seventh of June, the Kings met in the vale of Andren so magnificently attired, both themselves and all their followers, that from thence it was called the Camp of cloth of Gold. Here they spent that day in loving complements; and at night departed, the one to Guisnes, the other to Arde. On Saturday the ninth of

A of *June* were set up in a place, within the *English* pale two Trees of honour, with stately rooms and stages for the *Queens*, and thither the two Kings came, most Royally accompanied; where in most magnificent manner they performed Acts of Valour, both on foot and horseback; and after them all the great Lords both of *France* and *England* did the like: this solemnity of *Justs* and *Masks* was continued to the four and twentyeth day of *June*; at which time, the Kings and *Queens* took leave of each other, the *French* King and *Queen* removed to *Ard*; the King and *Queen* of *England* to *Callice*; where he remained till the tenth of *July*, and then riding toward *Graveling*, was by the way met by the *Emperour*, and by him conducted thither, and there in most Royall manner entertained; whereof when the *French* King heard, he began from that day forward, to have King *Henry* in a kinde of jealousy, as though to love him and the *Emperour*

The King of *France* is jealous of King *Henry's* kindness to the *Emperour*.

Articles of league between the *Emperour* and the two Kings of *England* and *France*, broken by the King of *France*.

An. Reg. 12.

The Cardin. II had long borne a spleen against the Duke of *Buckingham*, and now findes means to work his will.

The Duke of *Buckingham* is beheaded.

His Honour and Issue.

In

B both were inconsistent, and could not stand together. On Wednesday the eleventh of *July*, the *Emperour* and his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* Dutchesse of *Savoy*, came with the King of *England* to the Town of *Callice*, and there continued with Feasting, Dancing and Masking, till the fourteenth of *July*. In which time, all the Articles of the league *Tripartito*, between the *Emperour* and the Kings of *England* and *France* were reviewed; to which the King of *France* had so fully condescended, that he had sent Monsieur *de Roche* to the *Emperour* with Letters of credence; that in the word of a Prince he would inviolably observe and keep them all: all which notwithstanding, he dispensed with his conscience afterward, in breaking them all. On Saturday *July* 14. the *Emperour* took his leave and went to *Graveling*; the King with his *Queen* returned into *England*.

C It was now the twelfth year of King *Henry's* Reign, when being returned from *Callice*, he kept his *Christmasse* at *Greenwich* with great magnificence; and on Twelfth day he and the Earl of *Devonshire*, maintained a solemn *Justs* against all comers.

The Cardinall had long borne a grudge against the Duke of *Buckingham*, for speaking certain words in his disgrace, and now hath made his way for revenge. It is said, that the Duke once holding the Balon to the King; the Cardinall when the King had done, presently dipped his hands in the same water; which the Duke disdainig, shed the water in his Shooes; with which the Cardinall incensed, threatened him, that he would sit upon his skirts. The Duke to shew that the King might take notice of the Cardinalls malice, came the next day to Court richly appareled, but without skirts to his Doublet. The King demanding, what he meant by that strange

D fashion; he answered readily, that it was done by way of prevention; for now the Cardinall should not sit upon his skirts. But this Jest did the Duke no good; for the Earl of *Surrey*, Lord Admirall, who had married the Dukes Daughter, the Cardinall had caused to be sent Deputy into *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Dukes special friend, he had caused upon certain suggested crimes to be imprisoned; so as the Duke having his friends sequestred from him, he lay now open to accusations, and accusations shall not long be wanting; for the Duke having some time before put from him in displeasure, one *Charles Knevet*, that had been his Surveyer, and inward with him; him the Cardinall gets to him, to see what he could get out of him against the Duke. And whether it was out of desire of revenge, or out of hope of reward, or that the matter was so indeed, this *Knevet* confessed to the Cardinall, that the Duke had once fully determined to make

E away the King; being brought into a hope to be King himself by a vain Prophecy, which one *Nicholas Hopkins* (a Monk of an house of the *Charter* Order, belides *Brissow*, called *Henton*) sometimes his Confessor, had opened to him; and as for the Cardinall, that he had often heard the Duke swear, he would punish him soundly for his manifold misdoings. And now had the Cardinall matter enough for Accusation, which he so aggravated to the King, that the King bad him do with him according to Law. Hereupon the Duke is apprehended, and brought to the Tower by Sir *Henry Morney*, Captain of the Guard, the fifteenth of *April*, and shortly after in *Guild-hall* before Sir *John Brugge*, then Lord Maior, was indicted of divers points of high Treason; the substance whereof was, that in the second year of the Kings Reign, and at divers times before and after, he had imagined and compassed the Kings death at *London* and at *Thornbery* in *Glocester-shire*; and that in the sixth year of the Kings Reign, he went in person to the Priory of *Henton*, and there had conference with the foresaid *Nicholas Hopkins*, who told him he should be King; and that he had often said to the Lord *Aburgavenny* who had married his Daughter, that if King *Henry* dyed without issue, he would look to have the Crown himself. Upon these points he was arraigned in *Westminster Hall*, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, sitting then as high Steward of *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquesse *Dorset*, the Earls of *Worcester*, *Devonshire*, *Essex*, *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Oxford* and *Darby*, the Lords of *Saint Johns de la Ware*, *Fitz-water*, *Willoughby*, *Brook*, *Cobham*, *Herbert* and *Morley*. The Duke pleaded for himself till he sweat again, but all bootied not, for by these Peers he was found guilty and condemned, and so on Friday the seventeenth of *May*, was led by *John Keyne* and *John Skevinton* Sheriffs of *London* to the Scaffold on *Tower hill*, and

F there beheaded. The *Augustine* Friars took his body and head, and buried them. This *Edward Bobun* Duke of *Buckingham* was the last High Constable of *England* (the greatest place next the High Steward, in the Kingdom) whose Power extended to restrain some actions of the King. He was also Earl of *Hertford*, *Stafford*, and *Northampton*: he married *Eleanor* the Daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and had Issue, *Henry* Lord *Stafford* (Father to *Henry* Lord *Stafford* late living) and three Daughters, *Elizabeth* married to *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, *Katherine* married to *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmerland*, and *Mary* married to *George Nevil* Lord of *Aburgavenny*.

G

The Cardinall is sent to make a Peace between the Emperour and the King of France, but deals not fairly in it.

The Cardinall carries the Great Seal over with him: and the inconveniences by it.

The Cardinall seeks to be Pope, but too late. Doctor Pace the Cardinalls Agent, falls mad & dyeth.

An. Reg. 13. King Henry for writing a Book against Luther, hath the Title given him to be Defender of the Faith.

Upon differences between the King of England and France, the French Ambassadour is commanded to keep his house.

In this mean while, a new War was begun between the Emperour and the King of France; for A composing whereof, the Cardinall of York was sent attended with the Barl of Worcester, Lord Chamberlain, the Lord of Saint Johns, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Herbert, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Ely, the Primate of Armagh, Sir Thomas Bullen, Sir John Pecky, Sir John Hussy, Sir Richard Winchfield, Sir Henry Guilford, and many other Knights, Gentlemen and Doctors. On the twelfth of July he arrived at Callice, whither came to him the Chancellour of France, and the Count de Palice attended with four hundred Horse, as Ambassadors from the French King; and from the Emperour the like, with commissions to treat and conclude of Peace. There were also Ambassadors from the Pope, whom the Cardinall moved to have the Pope to be a party also in their League, but they wanting Commission, Letters were presently sent to Rome about it, and in the time till answer might be had, the Cardinall went to Bruges, to speak with the Emperour, with whom having stayed thirteen dayes, after most Royall entertainment, he returned B back to Callice, and then fell presently to the Treaty of Peace, with the French Commissioners, but was colder in the matter then he was before, as having had his edge taken off by some dealings with the Emperour, so as nothing was concluded; but that the Fishermen of both the Princes might freely fish on the Seas without disturbance, till the end of February following; whereof he sent advertisement to both the Princes; to the Emperour by the Lord of Saint Johns and Sir Thomas Bullen; to the French King by the Earl of Worcester and the Bishop of Ely. During all which time of the Cardinalls stay in Callice, all Writs and Patents were there by him sealed, and no Sheriffe could be chosen for lack of his presence, having the Great Seal there with him, and full power in things, as if the King had been there in person. Before he returned, he made a C new League with the Emperour, and intimated to the French King, that he doubted the King of England would not hereafter be so much his friend, as heretofore he had been; whereat, though the King of France were much offended, yet he signified by his Letters (perhaps dissemblingly) that he would continue the King of Englands friend as much as ever: only he inveighed against the Cardinall, as a man of no truth, and withdrew many Pensions which he had before given to some English. Presently upon this, was Tournay besieged, by the Lord Hugh de Moncada a Spaniard; and though the French King sent great Forces to succour it; yet it was rendred up to the Emperour the last of November, in the thirteenth year of King Henries Reign.

This year Pope Leo dyed the first of December, suspected to be poisoned by Barnabie Malestina his Chamberlain, whose Office was alwayes to give him drink. After whose death, Doctor Pace D was sent to Rome, to make friends in the behalf of the Cardinall of York; who was brought into a hope through the Kings favour to be elected Pope, but that hope was soon quailed; for before Doctor Pace could get to Rome, Adrian the sixth was chosen Pope. This Doctor Pace was a very learned and Religious man, yet thorow crosses in his employment, fell mad and dyed; in whose place of employment succeeded Doctor Stephen Gardiner.

On the second of February, King Henry being then at Greenwich, received a Bull from the Pope, whereby he had the Title given him to be Defender of the Christian Faith, for him and his Successors for ever; which Title was ascribed to him, for writing a Book against Luther as it was given out: but thought to be written by Sir Thomas Moor, or by Fisher Bishop of Rochester; of which Book (saith Holingshead) I will only say thus much, that King Henry in his Book, is reported to rage against the Devil and Antichrist, to cast out his foam against Luther, to rase out the Name of the Pope, and yet to allow his Law; which Book Luther answered with as little respect to the King, as the King had done to him. E

In this mean time, many displeasures grew between the two Kings of England and France, specially two: one, that French men seized upon English Ships as they passed: for remedy whereof, one Christopher Cee an expert Sea-man, was sent with six Ships to safeguard the Merchants. Another, that the Duke of Albany was returned into Scotland, contrary to that which was Covenanted by the League, which though the King of France denied to be done with his privy, yet King Henry knew the Duke of Albany had Commission from the French King to return, which did the more exasperate him; and hereupon were Musters made in England, and a note taken of what substance all men were. F

This year dyed the Lord Brook, Sir Edward Poyning Knight of the Garter, Sir John Pecky, and Sir Edward Belknappe, all valiant Captains, suspected to have been poisoned at a Banquet made at Ard, when the two Kings met last.

At this time, Owen Dowglasse Bishop of Dunkell, fled out of Scotland into England, because the Duke of Albany being come thither, had taken upon him the whole Government of the King and Kingdom; whereupon Clarentiaux the Herald was sent into Scotland, to command the Duke of Albany to avoid that Realm; which he refusing, the Herald was commanded to desie him. Thereupon the French King seized all English mens goods in Bourdeaux, and imprisoned their persons; and retained not only the money to be paid for the restitution of Tournay; but also withheld the French Queens Dower: whereof, when King Henry understood, he called the French Ambassadour residing in England, to give account thereof; who though he gave the best reasons he could to excuse it, yet was commanded to keep his house, and the French Hostages remaining here, for the money to be paid for the delivery of Tournay, were restrained of their liberty, and committed to the custody of the Lord of Saint Johns, Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Andrew Windsor, and Sir Thomas Nevyle; each of them to keep one; and withall, all French men in London were committed to prison, and put to their Fines; and all Scotch-men much more. There were then also sent

A sent to Sea under the conduct of Sir William Fitz-williams Vice-Admirall, eight and twenty great Ships, and seven more towards Scotland; who set fire on many Scottish Ships in the Haven, and at length took many prisoners, and returned.

The Emperour comes into England, and with what state he is received.

King Henry hearing, that the Emperour would come to Callice, so to passe into England, as he went into Spain; appointed the Lord Marquesse Dorset, to go to Callice, there to receive him, and the Cardinall to receive him at Dover. The Cardinall taking his Journey thither on the tenth of May, rode through London, accompanied with two Earls, six and thirty Knights, and a hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishops, ten Abbots, thirty Chaplains, all in Velvet and Sattin; and Yeomen seven hundred. The five and twentieth of May being Sunday, the Marquesse Dorset with the Bishop of Chichester, the Lord de la Ware, and divers others, at the water of B Graveling, received the Emperour, and with all honour brought him to Callice, where he was received with Procession, by the Lord Berners Lieutenant of the Town. On Munday he took Shipping at Callice, and landed at Dover, where the Cardinall with three hundred Lords, Knights and Gentlemen received him, and in great state brought him to the Castle, where he was lodged. On Wednesday being Ascension Even, the King came to Dover, and there with great joy and gladnesse the Emperour and he met. On Friday in the afternoon they departed from Dover, and came that night to Canterbury, and from thence next day to Greenwich, where the Queen received her Nephew with all the joy that might be. Here to honour the Emperours presence, Royall Juits and Turneys were appointed; where the King, the Earl of Devonshire and ten Aydes, kept the place against the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquesse Dorset and other ten Aydes, on their part. On Friday the sixth of June, the Emperour and the King with all their companies went to London, where the City received them with Pageants, and other as rare devises, as at a Coronation, and the Emperour was lodged at the Black-fryers, and all his Lords in the new Palace of Bridewell. On Whitsunday, the King and the Emperour rode to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, where the Cardinall sung Masse, and had his Traverse and his Cup-boord. Before Masse, two Barons gave him water, and after the Gospell, two Earls, and at the last Lavatory two Dukes, which pride the Spaniards much disdained. After many Feastings in other places, at last they rode to Windsor, where they stayed a whole week; and there on Corpus Christi day, the Emperor wore his Mantle of the Garter, and sate in his own Stall. On the same day both the Princes received the Sacrament, and took D their Oathes to observe the League concluded between them. On the morrow after, they came to Winchester: before whose coming thither there was come to Hampton, the Earl of Surrey Admirall of England, with all the Kings Navy, and with him the Lord Fitz-water, the Baron Curson, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Richard Winkfield, Sir Richard Jerningham, Francis Brian, Sir William Barentine, Sir Adrian Foskew, Sir Edward Dome, Sir Edward Chamberlain, Sir Richard Cornwall, Sir Anthony Poyns, Sir Henry Skirbourn, and the Vice-Admirall, Sir William Fitz-williams, Sir Edmund Bray, Sir Giles Capell, Sir William Pirton, John Cornwallis, Sir John Wallope, Sir Edward Ichingham, Sir William Sidney, Anthony Brown, Giles Hussey, Thomas Moore, John Russell, Edward Bray, Henry Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Oldball, Thomas Lovell, Robert Ichingham, Anthony Knevet, Sir John Tremaille, Sir William Skewington, Master of the Ordinance, and John E Fabian Serjeant at Arms, by whom chiefly a design was moved, though now noysed only that it was but to scowre the Seas for the safe conducting of the Emperour. For the Earl of Surrey having waisted the Emperour over to the Coast of Biskay; upon his return, made to the Coast of Britain; and there landing seven thousand of his men, marched to the Town of Morleys, and by assault took it: having won this Town, the Earl called to him certain Gentlemen and made them Knights; as Sir Francis Brian, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Richard Cornwall, Sir Thomas Moore, Sir Giles Hussey, Sir John Russell, Sir John Rainsford, Sir George Cobham, Sir John Cornwallis, Sir Edward Ridgley, and some others; and after the Earl had lyen a while on the Coast of Britain, he was commanded home by the Kings Letters: who thereupon brought back his whole Fleet to a place called the Cow under the Ile of Wight, and then went on land, leaving divers of his Ships F under the Governance of the Vice-Admirall Sir William Fitz-Williams.

The Earl of Surrey Admirall, surpriseth Morleys in France.

In this mean time, divers exploits were atchieved between them of the Garrison in the Marches of Callice, and the French men of Bulloign, where the French commonly had the worst: but being of no great moment, may well be passed over without relating. Likewise at the same time the Lord Rosse, and the Lord Daeres of the North, appointed to keep the Borders against Scotland, burnt the Town of Kelfie, and fourscore Villages, and overthrew eighteen Towers of stone, with all their Bulwarks.

King Henry intending now to go seriously on with his Wars in France, levied an Army, which under the conduct of the Earl of Surrey, he sent over to Callice; whither the Earl being come, he divided his Army into three Battails; the first was led by Sir Robert Ratcliffe Lord Fitz-water, the middleward by himself and his Brother the Lord Edmund Howard, the rereward by Sir William G Sands and Sir Richard Winkfield, both of them Knights of the Garter: and Sir Edmund Guilford was Captain of the Horse-men. In this order the Earl entred the French ground the second of September, and took his Journey towards Hedring. By the way there came to him a great Power of Burgognians, sent by the Lady Margaret, according to the Articles of the League. All the Towns, Villages, and Castles in the Countrey through which they passed, they burnt and sacked; as the Town and Castle of Selloys, the Town of Brunbrigge, Senekerh, Botington and Mansfier, with divers others. On the sixteenth of September, they came before the Castle of Hedring, and

The Earl of Surrey wins many Towns in France.

and laid siege unto it; but the Castle being well fortified, and the Earl having not battering Ordnance, which by reason of the foul weather, he could not bring with him, after eleven days he raised his siege, and passing from thence to *Dorlens*, burnt the Town and razed the Castle, as also the Town of *Dortyer*, and then the year being far spent, came back to *Callice* the sixteenth of *October*.

At this time, the Duke of *Albany* being established Governour of *Scotland*, raised an Army of fourscore thousand men, with which he approached the Borders, but made no Invasion, as thinking perhaps that the only report of his great Army, would fright the *English*; but yet this stayed not the Lord Marquess *Dorset*, Warden of the east and middle Marches, to enter into *Trivdale*, and so forward ten miles into *Galloway*, burning all Towns and Villages on every side as he passed. All that night he tarried within the *Scottish* ground, and the next day being good Friday, withdrew back into *England*, with a head of four thousand Cattell; having burned *Grimseley*, *Mowhouse*, *Donford*, *Myles*, *Ackforth*, *Crowling*, and many other Towns and Villages.

An. Reg. 14.
A Parliament
holden at
Black-fryers.

The Speaker
makes two
Petitions to
the King.

A Subsidy with
much ado
granted.

How many
Parishes in the
Kingdom.

The Cardinal
makes a false
report to the
House of
Commons.

In King *Henries* fourteenth year, on the fifteenth of *April* began a Parliament, which was holden at the *Black-fryers*, whither the King came, and there sate down in his Royall Seat; at his feet on the right side sate the Cardinall of *York*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and at the Rail behinde, stood Doctor *Tunstall* Bishop of *London*, who making an Oration, told there the causes of calling this Parliament; which were (as he said) for remedying of mischiefs by the Common Law, as Recoveries, Forain Vouchers, and corrupt Trials; and for making new Lawes for the good of the Common-wealth: whereof notwithstanding, no one word was spoken all the time of the Parliament, nor any other thing done, but a Subsidy granted; but howsoever, being commanded to chuse their Speaker, they chose Sir *Thomas More*, who at first disabling himself, at last made two Petitions to the King; one for himself, that if he should be sent by the Commons to the King on a Message, and mistake their intent, he might then with the Kings pleasure resort again to the Commons, to know their meaning. The other, for the House of Commons, that if in communication and reasoning, any man should speak more largely then of duty he ought to do, yet all such offences should be pardoned, and that to be entred of Record. Which Petitions were granted, and then the Parliament began; where at first a Subsidy was demanded, but as there was much ado in the House of Commons about it, so there was no lesse amongst the Clergy in the Convocation House; for *Richard* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *John* Bishop of *Rochester* were much against it, but most of all, one *Rowland Philips*, Vicar of *Croyden*, and a Canon of *Pauls*; but the Cardinall taking him aside, dealt so with him, that he took him off, so as he came no more to the House; and then the Bell-weather (as one saith) giving over his hold, the rest soon yeilded; and so was granted the half of all their spirituall yearly Revenues, to be paid in five years following. The Clergy being thus brought on, on the nine and twentyeth of *April*, the Cardinall came into the House of Commons, to work them also; and there shewing the great charges the King was necessarily to be at in his present Wars: demanded the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, to be raised of the fifth part of every mans Goods and Lands, which was four shillings of every pound. This demand was enforced the day after by the Speaker Sir *Thomas More*; but the Burgeses were all against it, shewing, that it was not possible to have it gathered in money; for that men of Lands, had not the fifth part thereof in Coyn. And further alleadged, that there be not many Parishes in *England* one with another, able to spare a hundred Marks, except Cities and Towns; and seeing there were not above thirteen thousand Parishes in the Kingdom, (at this day there are but 9285.) how could such a sum be raised? Hereupon certain of the House were sent to move the Cardinall, to be a means to the King to accept of a lesser sum, but the Cardinall answered, he would rather have his tongue plucked out of his mouth with a pair of Pinfers, then make to the King any such motion. Whereupon the Cardinall came again into the House, and desired that he might reason with them that were against the demand; to which it was answered, that the order of that House was to hear, and not to reason, except amongst themselves. When the Cardinall was gone, the Commons after long debating the matter; at last, agreed of two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upward, and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings, twelve pence, and under forty shillings, of every head of sixteen years and upwards, four pence, to be paid in two years: when this was told to the Cardinall, he was much offended; so that to please him, the Gentlemen of fifty pound Land and upward, by the motion of Sir *John Hufsey*, a Knight of *Lincoln-shire*, were charged with twelve pence more in the pound, to be paid in three years. The Cardinall to move them to it, bore them in hand, that the Lords had agreed to four shillings of the pound; which was untrue, for the Lords had granted nothing, but stayed to see what the Commons would do; whereof when the King heard, he reproved the Cardinall for it; saying withall, that ere it were long he would look to things himself, without any Substitute. Which speech of the Kings, though it danted the Cardinall for a while, yet he soon recovered his spirits, and was as peremptory afterwards as he had been before. After this the Parliament was prorogued till the tenth of *June*; during which prorogation, the Common people said to the Burgeses, we hear say, you will grant four shillings of the pound, we advise you not to do so, that you may go home; with many like threatnings. At this time, the Cardinall by his power Legantine, dissolved the Convocation at *Pauls*, convoked by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, calling him and all the Clergy, to his Convocation at *Westminster*: which was never seen before in *England* (saith *Hall*). The one and thirtieth of *July*, the Parliament was adjourned

A to Westminster, and there continuing till the thirteenth of August, was that day at nine of the clock at night dissolved:

The Parliament dissolved at nine a clock at night.

About this time, the Bishop of Durham died, and the King gave that Bishoprick to the Cardinal; who resigned the Bishoprick of Bath to Doctor John Clerke, Master of the Rolles, and Sir Henry Marney, that was Vice-chamberlain, was made Lord Privy Seal, and shortly after was created Lord Marney: also during this Parliament, Sir Arthur Plantagenet, Bastard Son to King Edward the fourth, at Bridewell, was created Viscount Lisle, in right of his Wife who was Wife before to Edmund Dudley, beheaded.

Sir Henry Marney created Lord Marney. Sir Arthur Plantagenet bast Son of King Edward the fourth is created Viscount Lisle.

An. Reg. 15.

B The fifteenth of June, in the fifteenth year of the Kings Reign, Christian King of Denmark with his Queen, driven out of his own Countrey, came into England, and was lodged at Bath place; who after he had been feasted by the King and by the City of London, and received great gifts of both, returned again into Flanders, where he remained as a banished man: some years after, King Henry sent Doctor Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Sir John Baker Knight, into Denmark, to perswade the people to receive him again into his Kingdome; but they could not prevail, he was so much hated for his cruelty.

About this time, the Earl of Kildare having recovered again the favour of the Cardinal, was sent Deputy into Ireland, as he had been before, where he reduced the wilde Irish to indifferent conformity. All this while had England Wars both with the French and with the Scots. In Scotland the Marquesse of Dorset threw down the Castles of Wedderburne, of Nesgate, of Blackater, of Mackwall, and burnt to the number of seven and thirty Villages, yet never came to skirmish. C In France, the Lord Sands, Treasurer of Callice, with twelve hundred men went before Bulloigne, where he skirmished with the Enemy; and after taking divers Churches and Castles in the Enemies Countrey, returned back to Callice, with the losse only of a dozen men. King Henry being advertised that the Duke of Albany was providing of Forces in France, with which to return into Scotland, sent forth his Vice-admirall Sir William Fitz-williams, with divers great Ships to intercept him; but when he could not meet with him, he then landed in the Haven of Trepont; where with seven hundred men, he beat six thousand French that sought to impeach his landing, took their Bulwarks and much Ordinance in them; burned the Suburbs of the Town of Trepont, and all in five hours, and then returned.

The Earl of Kildare doth good service in Ireland.

The Marquess Dorset in Scotland.

The Lord Sands in France.

Sir William Fitz-williams with 700. beat six thousand French.

All this while King Henry had but playd with the French, but now he means to be in earnest, D and therefore sends over the Duke of Suffolk with an Army, the four and twentieth of August; attended with the Lord Montacute and his Brother Sir Arthur Poole, the Lord Herbert, Son to the Earl of Worcester, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Marney, the Lord Sands, the Lord Barkley, the Lord Powis, and the Baron Curson, Sir Richard Winkfield, Chancellour of the Dutchy of Lancaster, Sir John Vere, Sir Edward Neville, Sir William Kingstone, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Andrew Winsore, Sir Robert Winkfield, Sir Anthony Winkfield, Sir Edward Guilford, Sir Edward Greville, Sir Edward Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Everard Digby, Sir Adrian Folkew, Sir Richard Cornwall, Sir William Courtney, Sir William Sydney, Sir Henry Owin, and many other Knights and Gentlemen. In the whole Army were six hundred Demy-launces, two hundred Archers on Horseback, three thousand Archers on foot, and five thousand Bill-men. Also seventeen hundred

The Duke of Suffolk is sent with an Army into France.

E taken out of the Garrisons of Hamme, Guisnes, and Callice, in all ten thousand and five hundred, besides two thousand six hundred Labourers and Pioners. With this Army the Duke of Suffolk took the field, his Vauntguard was led by the Lord Sands; Captain of the right Wing, was Sir William Kingstone; of the left, Sir Everard Digby; Captain of all the Horse men was Sir Edward Guilford Marshall of Callice; the Duke himself led the Battail, and Sir Richard Winkfield the Rere-ward. The Dukes first enterprise was the winning of Bell Castle, which the Lord Sands and the Lord Ferrers assaulted, and had it yeilded to them: and then Sir William Skevington was placed Captain in it. At this time, the Duke of Bourbon, high Constable of France, began to have his minde alienated from the King of France, and to draw him the more on, the Duke of Suffolk sent Sir John Russell (afterward created Duke of Bedford) to him, who passing

How marshalled.

F in disguised apparell, so prevailed with him, that he professed to take part with the Emperour, and the King of England, who having ten thousand Almans in his pay: it was thought fit (for encouragement of the English) to proclaim in the Army, the accesse of so powerfull an assistant; and thereupon the Duke of Suffolk removed to Ard, and so forward into Picardy. At Corder between Terwin and Saint Omers, there came to him the Lord of Isilstein, and with him of Spaniards, Almans and others, three thousand footmen, and five hundred Horse. With these Forces, the Duke marching on, took first the rich Town of Anchor, then the Castle of Boungnard, and then by assault the Town of Bray, though two thousand good men of War were in it. After this, the Towns of Cappe, and Roy, Liborne and Davenker, and then came before the Town of Mount-Dedher, in which were a thousand foot and five hundred Horse; yet upon Sir Will. Skevingtons Batteries,

He wins many Towns.

G was yeilded to him. From hence he removed to Roy, where he rested a while with his whole Army: and there on Allbolland day, in the chief Church of Roy, made Knights, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Powis, Oliver Manners, Arthur Poole, Richard Sands, Robert Jerningham, Robert Salubury, Edward Benningfield, Richard Corbet, Thomas Wentworth, William Storton, Walter Mantell, George Warram, and Edward Seymour (that was after Duke of Somerset.) The day after, the Army removed to a place called Neele, from thence to Veane, and then to Beauford, where the Duke made John Dudley, and Robert Utreight Knights, and from thence on the eighth of November, to a place called Mount Saint Martin; here the Welshmen began to marmure, that they might

not return home, the Winter being so far spent; but there was to the number of a thousand A persons, under the leading of Sir John Walloppe, who having no wages but what they could get by booties, and were therefore called Adventurers, and by some Kreekers, and these had more desire to stay, then the *Welchmen* had to be gone; for the great gains they made, by the spoils of so many Towns that were taken. The thirteenth of November, the Duke removed to a place within two miles of *Begban* Castle, defended by great Marishes, that lay before it, but the frost being at that time so great that many lost their Fingers and Toes with cold, and some dyed; Sir Edward Guilford acquainted the Duke, that he thought the Marishes were hard enough frozen to bear great Ordinance; whereupon the Duke bid him venture it then and go on, which he resolutely did, and had the Castle presently delivered up to him. In this mean time, the King hearing in what state the Army stood, had prepared six thousand men to be sent B to the Duke for a relief, under the leading of the Lord Montjoy; but before they could be put in order to passe the Sea, the Duke, partly by extremity of the weather, and partly by the murmuring of the Souldiers, was constrained to break up his Army, and return to *Callice*.

A great Frost.

A policy of the Duke of Albany.

The Earl of Surrey his service against the Scots.

In this mean time, the Scots knowing that the strength of England was gone into France, took boldnesse to invade the Marches; but then the Earl of Surrey, Treasurer and high Admirall of England, with six thousand men, being sent against them, took divers of their Castles and Holds; and at *Tedworth*, skirmishing with a great Garrison of Scots, overthrew them, and took and burned both the Town and Castle. And now the French King finding that the Scots did not work any great trouble to the English, whereby to keep them from molesting of France, and thinking it to be for want of the Duke of Albanies presence, whom they accounted their Governor; he therefore prepared a Navy of Ships to transport him into Scotland; but when the Duke of Albany heard that Sir William Fitz-Williams was sent with a great Fleet to stop his passage, he brought his Ships into the Haven of *Brest*, and gave it out that he would not goe into Scotland that year; which being told to the King of England, he commanded that his Ships also should be laid up in Havens, till the next Spring. And now see the cunning of the Scot; for when he saw the Kings Ships discharged, he then boldly took Shipping himself, and sayled into Scotland; whither being come he presently levied a great Army, and approached the English Borders; but when he heard the Earl of Surrey was coming against him with a mighty power, he then sent a Herald to him, promising of his Honour, to give him Battail; and if he took him prisoner, to give him good quarter. To whom the Earl answered, that he would not fail to abide his Battail; but if he took him prisoner, the quarter he would give him, should be to cut off his head, and send it for a Present to his Master the King of England. At this time to the Earl of Surrey being at *Alnwick*, came the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, the Lords Clifford, Dacres, Lumley, Ogle, and Darcie, with many Knights, Gentlemen and other Souldiers, to the number of forty thousand; and from the Court, came the Master of the Horse, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Edward Baynton, and others. The last of October, the Duke of Albany sent two or three thousand men over the water to besiege the Castle of *Warke*; who by battery of their Ordinance won the outermost Ward, called the *Barnekens*; and continuing their battery, won the second Ward; but then Sir William Lisle, that was Captain of the Castle, issuing forth with those few he had left, drove the French-men from the place, and E slew of them to the number of three hundred: a memorable service, and for which the Earl of Surrey afterwards gave him great thanks. The Earl would gladly have followed his enemies into their own Borders, but that his Commission was only to defend England, and not to invade Scotland. Shortly after the Queen of Scots, Mother to the King, sent to her Brother the King of England, for an abstinence from War, till a further communication might be had; which being granted, the English Army brake up, and the Earl of Surrey returned to the Court.

And now for a while we must be content to hear of petty occurrences, because greater did not happen; which if it make us like the Story the worse, it may make us like the times the better; seeing they are ever the best times that afford least matter to be talked of: but this time F will last but a while; for shortly we shall come to hear Occurrences, that have been matter of talk to this day, whereof the like have never scarce been seen, and will hardly be beleived, when they are heard; a Marriage dissolved after twenty years consummation; Houses built in Piety, under pretence of Piety demolished; a King made a Captive; a Pope held a prisoner; Queens taken out of love, put to death out of loathing; and the Church it self so shaken, that it hath stood in distraction ever since.

Presents sent to the King and Queen by the Emperour.

At this time, the Emperour Charles sent to the King of England two Mules trapped in Crimson Velvet, richly embroydered; also eleven goodly Jennets, trapped with russet Velvet, richly wrought; four Spears, and two Javelins of strange Timber, and work richly garnished; and five Brace of Grey-hounds. To the Queen he sent two Mules richly trapped, and high G Chairs after the Spanish fashion: which Presents were thankfully received both of the King and Queen.

The Cardinall requires the Subsidy to be paid by Anticipation.

At this time in the moneth of October, the Cardinall sent out Commissions, that every man being worth forty pounds, should pay the whole Subsidy before granted, out of hand; which he called an Anticipation: which fine new word, he thought would make them pay their money the more willingly; but they loved their money better then any words he could devise.

A In this year the King sent the Lord Morley, Sir William Hussey Knight, and Doctor Lee his Almoner, to Ferdinand Archduke of Austria, with the Order of the Garter; which he received in the Town of Noremberg, to his great contentment.

In this year, through Books of Prognostications, foreshewing much hurt to come by waters and floods, many persons withdrew themselves to high grounds, for fear of drowning; specially one Bolton, Prior of Saint Bartholomewes in Smithfield, builded him an House upon Harrow on the Hill, and thither went and made provision for two moneths. These great waters should have fallen in February, but no such thing happening, the Astronomers excused themselves, by saying, that in the computation they had miscounted in their number an hundred years.

A great Inundation threatened by Prognostications, but mistaken,

B In this mean time, many enterprises were attempted, between the English-men of Calice, and Guynes, and the French-men of Bulloigne, and the Frontiers of Picardie, and still Sir William Fitz-Williams, Captain of Guynes, Sir Robert Jerningham, Captain of Newnham Bridge, Sir John Walpole and Sir John Gage, were the men that did the French most hurt.

This year, the first of September, was Doctor Thomas Hannibell Master of the Rolles, received into London, by Earls, Bishops, and divers Lords and Gentlemen, as Ambassadour from Pope Clement: who brought with him a Rose of Gold for a present to the King: and on the day of the Nativity of our Lady after a solemn Masse sung by the Cardinall of York, the said present was delivered to the King, which was a Tree forged of fine Gold, and with branches, leaves, and Flowers resembling Roses.

A present sent to the King from the Pope.

C About the beginning of Winter, the Adventurers called Kreekers, being not above two hundred; and of them, five and twenty Horse-men, made an attempt to fetch some booty from a Village not far from Muttrell; whereof the Earl of Dammartin having notice, he set upon them with a far greater number, and slew most of them, and this was the end of the Kreekers, as brave men as ever served any Prince.

The Adventurers called Kreekers all destroyed.

In December this year, there came to London divers Ambassadours, out of Scotland, about a Peace to be had, and a marriage to be concluded, between the King of Scots, and the Lady Mary Daughter to the King of England.

At this time, the Lord Leonard Gray, and the Lord John Gray, Brothers to the Lord Marquesse Dorset, Sir George Cobham Son to the Lord Cobham, William Carye, Sir John Dudley, Thomas Wyat, Francis Poynts, Francis Sidney, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Edward Seymour, Oliver Manners, Percivall Hart, Sebastian Nudgate, and Thomas Calen, Esquires of the Kings Household; made a challenge of Arms against the Feast of Christmase, which was proclaimed by Windsor the Herauld, and performed at the time appointed very Nobly, at Tilts, Turneys, Barriers, and the assault of a Castle erected for that purpose, in the Tilt-yard at Greenwich, where the King held his Christmase that year with great state and magnificence.

E About this time, John Jokyn Steward of the Household to the French Kings Mother, came into England, and was received in secret manner, into the House of one Doctor Larke, a Prebendary of Saint Stephens; who oftentimes talked with the Cardinall, about a Peace to be concluded between the two Kings of England and France; of whose often meetings Monsieur de Prate the Emperours Ambassadour, grew very jealous. The four and twentieth of January, Monsieur Brynton President of Roan, came to London as Ambassadour from the French King, and was lodged with the said John Jokyn; which small things should not be related, but that they were preparatives to great matters afterward.

F On Sunday the fifth of March, were received into London Monsieur de Bever Lord of Campher, Admirall of Flanders, Monsieur John de la Coefe President of Malines, and Master John de la Gache, as Ambassadours from the Lady Margaret in the name of the Emperour, who required three things. First they demanded the Lady Mary the Kings only Daughter, to be presently delivered, and she to be named Emperesse, and as Governesse take possession of all the Low-Countryes. Secondly, that all such sums of money as the King should give with her in marriage, should be paid incontinently. Thirdly, that the King of England should passe the Sea in person, and make War in France the next Summer. The first two demands were not agreed to for certain causes; and as to the third, the King said he would take time to advise. On Thursday the ninth of March, a Gentleman came in Post from the Lady Margaret, with Letters signifying, that whereas the King of France had long lyen at the siege of Pavia, he had now been forced to raise his siege, and was himself taken prisoner by the Imperialists; for joy whereof, Bonfires and great Triumph was made in London, and on the twentieth of March being Sunday, the King himself came to Pauls, and there heard a solemn Masse. But for all this shew of joy, it was thought if the King of France had not now been taken prisoner, that the King of England would have joyned in amity with him, as being angry with the Flemings, for Inhanfing his Coyne in Flanders, which caused much money to be conveyed out of England thither. The King of France being taken prisoner, was after some time conveyed into Spain, and at last brought to Madril, where he fell so sick, that the Physitians had little hope of his life, unlesse the Emperour would be pleased speedily to visit him; upon whose visitation he recovered his health, though not presently his strength: In which time many propositions were made for his delivery, but the Emperour would accept of none, without restitution of the Dutchy of Burgoigne. At last, the French King weary of imprisonment, and longing for liberty, was content to agree to any conditions: the chief whereof were, that the French King by a certain day should be set at liberty, and within six weeks after should resign to the Emperour the Dutchy of Burgoigne; with all Members pertaining

The King of France is taken prisoner.

Upon delivery of the Dutchy of Burgoigne to the Emperour, he is set at liberty.

to it; and at the same instant, should put into the Emperours hands, the Dauphin of France, and A with him either the Duke of Orleans his second Son, or else twelve principall Lords of France, whom the Emperour should name; and that there should be between them a League and perpetuall confederation for defence of their estates. Of whose atonement when King Henry heard, as before he had expressed gladnesse that he was taken prisoner, so now he sent Sir Thomas Cbeiney to him, to expresse his joy for being set at liberty; so sudden is the enterchange of love and hate amongst great Princes. The French King being thus delivered, the Emperour married the Lady Isabel, Daughter to Emanuel King of Portugal; and had with her in Dowry eleven hundred thousand Duckats; though three years before being at Windsor, he had covenanted to take to Wife the Lady Mary King Henries Daughter.

The Cardinall suppresseth forty Monasteries, towards the erecting of two Colledges.

At this time Cardinall Woolsey obtained license of the King to erect a Colledge at Oxford, and B another at Ipswich; and towards the charge of them, got leave also to suppress certain small Monasteries, to the number of forty; and after got a Confirmation of the Pope, that he might employ the Goods and Lands belonging to those Houses, to the maintenance of those two Colledges; a pernicious Precedent, and that which made the King a way afterward, to make a generall suppression of all Religious Houses, though indeed there be great difference between converting of Monasteries into Colledges, and utter subverting them.

In March King Henry sent Cuthbert Tunstall Bishop of London, and Sir Richard Winkfield Chancel- C lour of the Duchy of Lancaster, into Spain, to conferre with the Emperour about matters of great importance, and particularly about War to be made in France, and yet were these two Princes at this time in League: but he that shall observe the carriage of these three Princes to- wards one another, and how convertible their Leagues were into War, and their War into Peace; shall finde it a strange Riddle of *Ragion di stato*, and their Leagues to have been but meer complements, where the skale was turned with the least grain of a circumstance; and though they were bound by Oath, yet that Oath made the Leagues but little the firmer, seeing the League might be broken, and yet the Oath kept: for while one gave the occasion, and the other took it, though they were both accessaries, yet neither was principall; and where there is not a principal, the Oath remains inviolate. And upon those hinges did the friendship of these Princes turn, as at this time the Emperour, though not long before he had parted with the King of England, in the greatest kindenesse that could be; yet gave not the English Ambassadors so kinde enter- D tainment now, as he had formerly done; but for what cause was not apparent, unlesse upon some sinister report made to him, by Monsieur de Prate: who having been his Legier with the King of England, was without taking leave of the King departed, and come to the Emperour before the English Ambassadors came.

The Cardinall seeks to raise money by a Commission: which the people oppose, and the King dis- claims.

But howsoever, King Henry being determined to make War in France himself in person, his Councell fell into consideration how the charge of the War should be maintained: which care the Cardinall takes upon him; and thereupon appoints Commissioners in all Shires, to sit and draw the people to pay the sixth part of every mans substance, in Plate or Money: but the people opposed it, alleadging, that it was against the Law of the Realm, for any man to be charged with such payments, unlesse by Parliament: and as the Cardinall continued to presse it, so the people continued to deny it; and when some for denying it were committed to prison, the E Commons in many Countreys made great assemblies for their defence: the report whereof at last came to the King, who thereupon came to Westminster and protested openly, that it was done without his knowledge, and that it was never his meaning, to ask any thing of his Sub- jects but according to Law: and therefore desired to know by whose Authority it was done. Here the Cardinall excused himself and said, that it was the opinion of all the Judges, and of all his Councell, that he might lawfully demand any sum, so it were done by Commission, and thereupon it was done. But the King liked not to take advantage of a distinction to draw money from his Subjects; and thereupon gave warning for doing any such thing hereafter: and signified so much by his Letters into all the Shires of England: giving also a generall Par- F don to all that had offered to rise upon it; which though he did of his own free grace, yet the Cardinall to win a good opinion in the Commons; gave out, that it was by his means the King granted the Pardon.

An Reg. 17. Dukes and Earls created.

King Henries seventeenth year, was honoured with the advancing of many in honour, for on the eighteenth of June at his Palace of Bridewell, the Kings Son (which he had by Elizabeth Blunt Daughter to Sir John Blunt Knight) called Henry Fitz-Roy, was created first Earl of Noring- ham, and after on the same day Duke of Richmond and Somerset, Henry Courtney Earl of Devonshire was created Marquesse of Excester, the Lord Brandon, Son to the Duke of Suffolk and the French Queen (a childe of two years old) was created Earl of Lincoln, Sir Thomas Mannors Lord Rosse, was created Earl of Rutland, Sir Henry Clifford, was created Earl of Cumberland, Sir Robert Rastliffe Lord Fitz-Water, was created Viscount Fitz-Water, and Sir Thomas Bullen Treasurer G of the Kings Household, was created Viscount Rochford.

A Peace be- tween England and France, for which a great sum of money paid to King Henry.

At this time the French Kings mother, as then Regent of France, procured by her Ambassa- dones, at first a Truce, and afterward a Peace with England, which was proclaimed in London, the eighth of September. By the Covenants of which Peace, the King of England should receive at certain dayes twenty hundred thousand Crowns, which in sterling money amounted to the sum of four hundred thousand pound; whereof fifty was to be paid in hand. Sir William Fitz-William, and Doctor Tylour, was sent to the Lady Regent, to take her corporall Oath, and

A and likewise King Henry the four and twentieth of April, at Greenwich, in presence of the Ambassadors of France, Rome, and Venice, took his corporall Oath, to observe the Peace between him, and his loving Brother the French King, during his life, and one year after.

In this Winter was a great mortality in London, so as the Term was adjourned, and the King kept his Christmasse at Eltham, with a small number, and was therefore called the still Christmasse. At which time, the Cardinall coming to the Court, took order for altering the state of the Kings House: many Officers and other servants were discharged, and put to their pensions, in which number were fourscore and four Yeomen of the Guard: who before having had twelve pence the day with check, were now allowed but six pence the day without check, and commanded to go into their Countreys.

The still Christmas by reason of the sicknesse.

B On Shrove Tuesday this year, a solemn Jufts was held at Greenwich, the King and eleven other on the one part, the Marquesse of Excester and eleven other of the other part.

In his nineteenth year, King Henry kept a solemn Christmasse at Greenwich, with Revels, Masks, disguisings, and Banquets, and the thirtieth of December and third of January were solemn Jufts holden, when at night the King and fifteen other with him, came to Bridewell, and there putting on masking apparell, took his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinalls place, where were at supper many Lords and Ladies, who danced with the Maskers, and after the dancing was made a great Banquet. This Christmasse was a Play at Grayes-Inne, made by one Master Roe a Serjeant at Law, the effect whereof was, that Lord Governance was ruled by Dissipation and Negligence, by whose evill order Lady Publick Weale was put from Governance. This the Cardinall took to be meant by him, and thereupon sent the said Master Roe to the Fleet, though the Play were made long before the Cardinall had any authority: by which we may see how inseparable a companion suspicion is to a guilty conscience.

An. Reg. 19. The King visits the Cardinall in a mask.

C The fourteenth of January came to the Court Don Hugo de Mendoza, a Grandee of Spain, as Ambassadour from the Emperour to the King, with a large Commission, to make King Henry Judge; how just the conditions were, which the Emperour required of the King of France: and about this negotiation carryed two years in England, so desirous the Emperour was to continue good correspondence with the King of England.

King Henry made arbitrator between the Emperour and the King of France.

On Shrove Tuesday the King and the Marquesse of Excester with others, in most sumptuous attire came to the Tilt, and ran so many courses, till two hundred fourscore and six Spears were broken; and then disarming themselves went into the Queens Chamber, where a sumptuous Banquet was provided. But this Banquet was one of the last of the Queens preparing; for hitherto there had been no exception taken to the lawfulness of her marriage, but now came over Ambassadors from the King of France, requiring to have the Kings Daughter the Lady Mary, to be given in marriage to the Duke of Orleans second Son to their Master the French King, wherein they that were the suiters for it, were the hinderers of it; for amongst them was the President of Paris, who made a doubt whether the marriage between King Henry and the Lady Katherine of Spain, having been his Brothers Wife, were lawfull or no: But howsoever the French Ambassadors at Greenwich on Sunday the fifth of May, in the name of their Master the French King, took their Oathes to observe the League concluded between them during their lives. And shortly after were sent Sir Thomas Bullen Viscount Rochford, and Sir Anthony Brown Knight, as Ambassadors to the King of France, to take his Oath in person for performance of the League.

The first exception taken to the lawfulness of the Kings marriage.

D But enough of small Occurrences, and indeed there will be Occurrences now more worthy to be related, but more lamentable to be heard; for now the Duke of Bourbon Generall of the Emperours Army in Italy, was slain by a shot from the Walls of Rome, as he was passing by; upon whose death the Army entered and sacked the City, made the Pope flee to the Castle of Saint Angelo, and there cooped him up; abused the Cardinalls, and put them to grievous ransomes, spared neither Sacred places, nor Religious persons, but committed all manner of barbarous and inhumane cruelty. These Insolencies of the Emperours Army committed against the Pope; together with the hard conditions the Emperour had imposed upon the King of France, for setting him at liberty; and the Emperours breach of promise in not marrying the Lady Mary King Henries Daughter, were the apparent causes of King Henries breaking League with the Emperour Charles: but a more enforcing though concealed cause, perhaps was the growing greatness of the Emperour, by his conquests in Italy and other places; enough to breed a jealousy in all neighbouring Princes; and indeed King Henry had some cause to think the Emperours spirits were grown higher with his Victories, seeing where before he was wont alwayes to write Letters to King Henry with his own hand, and subscribe them, Your Son and faithfull friend, now after his Victories in Italy, he caused his Secretaries to write them, subscribing only Charles. And yet a more pressing cause though not avowed, might be the Cardinalls spleen against the Emperour, for denying him the Bishoprick of Toledo in Spain. But whichsoever of these was the predominant cause, all of them together made a cause sufficient for King Henry to fall off from amity with the Emperour; and his falling off from the Emperour, cause sufficient to fall in with the King of France: and thereupon, the two Kings send their severall Heralds to the Emperour: King Henry Clarentius, the French King his Heralde Gujens, to expostulate their grievances with the Emperour, and he refusing to return a satisfactory Answer, to defie him as their enemy. The Emperour heard the Heralds with great temper, and answered Clarentius very mildly; that he knew his Masters grievance was grounded upon misinformation, wherein

Rome sacked by the Imperialists and the Pope and Cardinalls cooped up as prisoners.

Causes of King Henries breaking League with the Emperour.

E lives. And shortly after were sent Sir Thomas Bullen Viscount Rochford, and Sir Anthony Brown Knight, as Ambassadors to the King of France, to take his Oath in person for performance of the League.

The King of France gives the Emperour the lye, and challengeth him to a Combate.

The Cardinall goeth into France with a train of 1200. Horse.

King Henry begins to be troubled in minde about his marriage.

The Queen is allowed her Councell to debate the lawfulness of her marriage.

The Pope sends his Legat to hear the cause.

King Henry is cited to the Court and appears.

wherein he would shortly rectifie him by his Letters, as desiring nothing more then to continue his friend; but *Guyen* he answered roughly, bidding him tell his Master that he had broken his faith, in not performing the Covenants agreed upon for his liberty; and with these answers dismissed them, only *Guyen* not thinking it fit to deliver his answer, being in such terms, by word of mouth, obtained to have it sent in writing. The Heralds being returned home, and delivering the answers; the King of France was so incensed, to be charged with breach of faith; that soon after he sent another defiance to the Emperour, telling him in plain terms, that he lyed in his throat; and thereupon challenged him to the Combate, requiring him to appoint the field, and himself would the weapons. The Emperour accepted the challenge, but other occurrences intervening, hindered the performance.

In this mean time, the Cardinall was appointed to go Ambassadour to the King of France; B carrying with him twelve score thousand pounds, to be employed by the French King, and other the Confederates, in a War against the Emperour, who the eleventh of July took shipping at Dover, and landed that day at Callice; with whom was *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of London, the Lord *Sands* Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of Derby, Sir *Henry Guilford*, Sir *Thomas More*, with other Knights and Gentlemen, in all to the number of twelve hundred Horse. At *Amyens* he was received by the French King himself, and by his Mother, and by all the chief Peers of France: By whom it was agreed, that Articles of Accord should be offered to the Emperour; which if he refused, then the French King should marry the Lady *Mary King Henries* Daughter, and they both to be enemies to the Emperour. These things concluded, the Cardinall returned, and on the last of September came to the King at Richmond. In October C following, there came Ambassadors from the French King, to take King *Henries* Oath, for observing the League with the King of France: and on Sunday the tenth of November, King *Henry* at Greenwich received the Order of Saint Michael, by the hands of the Lord *Annas de Memorancie* great Master of the Kings Household, and Monsieur *Harnieres*: as likewise the same day at Paris the French King received the Order of the Garter by the hands of the Lord *Liste*, Doctor *Taylor* Master of the Rolls, Sir *Nicholas Carew* Master of the Kings Horse, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothesly* Knight, otherwise called Garter King of Arms, who were sent thither with the whole Habit, Collier and other habiliments of the Order.

Upon King *Henries* defiance of the Emperour in the French Kings quarrell, English Merchants their Ships and goods were attached in Spain, and in the Low Countreys, as likewise all Spanish and Flemish Merchants were attached here; which being very detrimental to both Nations; at last, by mediation of *Hugo de Mendoza*, the Emperours Ambassadour Legier, a reconciliation was made, and free traffique between the Nations was revived.

In this twentieth year, on the two and twentyeth of February, Sir *Piers Butler* of Ireland, was created Earl of *Osory*. And now King *Henry* began to be troubled in minde about his marriage with Queen *Katherine*; but whether his trouble of minde grew for scruple of Conscience, or from desire of change, was by many men doubted; some thought he had set his affection upon the Lady *Anne Bullen*, whom afterward he married, and to make way for that marriage moved this scruple, that he might be divorced; but this is not likely, for he married not the said Lady, till above three years after this doubt had been moved; and three years was a long time to have E affection be delayed, which commonly is impatient of delay: if King *Henries* own protestation may be taken, it was very scruple of Conscience that troubled his minde; but then by what means this scruple came first into his head, is another doubt; some thought it was first moved by his Confessor Doctor *Longland*, telling him, that the marriage with the Relict of his Brother, could not be lawfull; but neither is this likely, for Doctor *Longland* was not like to tell him so, who knew the marriage had been made by dispensation from the Pope, an authority in that time beyond exception; some thought it was a plot of *Woolseys*, thereby to make variance between King *Henry* and the Emperour, with whom he was at variance himself, and for spleen to the Nephew, be revenged upon the Aunt; but neither is this likely: or else the Cardinall was much deceived in his plot; for though the Emperour laboured *Milan* and some other Universities, to forbear giving sentence against the marriage, yet he continued amity with King F *Henry* as much afterward as before: If we will beleve the King himself, it was the President of Paris, coming Ambassadour from the King of France, that first moved it, upon a proposition of marriage between the Lady *Mary*, King *Henries* Daughter, and the Duke of *Orleanse*, second Son to the French King: but by what means soever his scruple had beginning, King *Henries* desire was now it should have an ending; and that the matter might be debated with indifference; he allowed the Queen to make choyce of what Councell she thought best; who thereupon chose *William Warham* Archbishop of Canterbury, and *Nicholas West* Bishop of Ely, Doctors of the Law; *John Fisher* Bishop of Rochester, and *Henry Standish* Bishop of Saint Asaph, Doctors of Divinity, with many other; in the mean time he sent to all the Universities in Italy and G France, to have their opinions, but specially to the Court of Rome, desiring the Pope to send his Legat to hear the cause; who thereupon sent Cardinall *Campeius*, and joyned Cardinall *Woolsey* in Commission with him. The place appointed for the Cardinals to sit and to hear the cause, was at the Black-friers: where in the great Hall preparation was made of seats, and all things necessary for such a session. Amongst other Officers of the Court, *Stephen Gardiner* (afterward Bishop of *Worcester*) sat as chief Scribe. The Court being set, the Judges commanded silence, whilst their Commission was read; which done, the Scribes commanded the Crier to call

- A call the King, by the name of King Henry of England, come into the Court; who answered Here: then called he the Queen, by the name of Katherine Queen of England, come into the Court: The Queen is cited and appears: but making her protestation departs: and appeals to the Pope.
- B the Queen though present, yet answered not, but rising from her seat, went to the place where the King sat, and kneeling down, said in effect; Sir, I humbly desire you to take pity upon me, for I am a poor woman and a stranger, and I have here no indifferent Council, where all are your Subjects, and lesse assurance of friendship when they all depend upon your favour; I have been your Wife these twenty years, and have born you divers children, if you can charge me with dishonesty or undutifulnesse, I am content to depart from you to my shame; but if you cannot, I then desire you to do me justice, and to spare me until I may know what counsel my friends in Spain will give me; but if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled: and having so said, she rose up, and making a low courtesie, departed. The King being advertised that she was going out of the House, commanded the Cryer to call her again; who thereupon called her, saying Katherine Queen of England, come into the Court, which her Gentleman-usher Master Griffith hearing, told her, Madam, you are called; Well (said she) it makes no matter, I will not tarry, go your way: and thus she departed, and never after would appear in any Court, but appealed from the Cardinals to the Pope himself. The Queen being gone, the King said, I confesse she hath been to me the most dutiful and loving wife, that ever Prince had; and if it were not for this scruple of my conscience, I would not leave her for any woman living: and having now referred the judgement of the cause to these Commissioners, I should be most glad they could finde the marriage between us to be in such sort lawful, that with obedience to the Law of God, we might continue together; for
- C I take God to witnesse, there is nothing I more desire. This said, the King rose, and the Court was adjourned to another day; for notwithstanding the Queens Appeal (from which she would by no means be drawn) the Cardinals continued their Session weekly, and heard all of both sides: the Point that was chiefly stood on, was, whether Prince Arthur had ever had carnal knowledge of her, or no; the Kings council alleged, he had, and proved it; first, by Prince Arthurs speech, the next morning after his marriage, that he had been that night in the midst of Spain; and then by the words of the last dispensation, *Vel forsan cognitam*: the Queens Advocates alleged the contrary; appealing to the Kings own conscience; whom the Queen charged that he knew her to be a Virgin when he married her; (though, to say the truth, it were strange, Prince Arthur and she having lyen five moneths together, and he no lesse then almost sixteen years old) But whilest Arguments
- D were thus urged on both sides, and no certainty could appear; the King sent the two Cardinals to the Queen, lying therein *Bridewell*, to perswade her, she should submit her self to the Kings pleasure, and not stand so peremptorily to her Appeal. The Cardinals coming to her found her at work amongst her Maids, with a skain of white thread about her neck: who having heard their message, answered, That in all other things she would willingly submit her self to the Kings will, but in this which concerned her honesty, and the legitimatenesse of her children, she durst not, but would relie upon the wisdom and piety of both their Fathers, who (she knew) would never have assented to the marriage, if there had been the least scruple of unlawfulness in it; and other answer she would not give. Upon their return to the King, when he perceived she could not be removed from her opinion; he commanded the Court to go on; so that at last it came to judgement; which every man expected should be the next day. At which day the King came thither (but in so secret manner that he might hear and not be seen) where the Kings Council at the Bar calling for Judgement; Cardinal Campejus, as being chief Commissioner, stood up and said; I finde the case very doubtful, and the party defendant standing to her Appeal, I will therefore give no Judgement, till I have conferred with the Pope; and therefore I adjourn the Court for this time, according to the order of the Court of Rome, which hears no causes judicially from the last of July till the fourth of October; at which protraction of time, King Henry was not a little angry, and the Duke of Suffolk being present, in a great rage said; it was never merry in England, since we had Cardinals amongst us. Soon after this, the Cardinal took his leave of the King, and returned to Rome: he was indeed commanded so to do by the Pope who would else most willingly have gratified King Henry, that had bestowed upon him the Bishoprick of Salisbury. Whilst these things were in setting, Cardinal Woolsey had an inkling of the Kings affection to Anne Bullen, Daughter of the Viscount Rochford; and that the Divorce once passed, he meant to marry her; which Match, because for many reasons, he misliked, one perhaps, because she was a Lutheran, he sent privily to the Pope, that by no means he should give sentence for the Divorce, till he had framed the Kings minde another way: for his desire was, that the King should marry the Dutchesse of Alanson the French Kings Sister. This packing of Woolsey was not so closely carried, but that it soon came to the Kings knowledge; and the King finding him a rub in his way, whom he expected to have expedited his proceeding, began to think it necessary to remove him, and to take him off from that greatnesse which had made him so presuming; and indeed he made short work with him; for soon after he sent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to him for the Seal, which yet he would not deliver to them, till they brought him a Warrant under the Kings own hand. When the Seal was brought to the King, he delivered it to Sir Thomas More, Speaker then of the Parliament (the first Lay-man that bore that Office in any memory;) and in his room was chosen Speaker Thomas Andeley, Attorney of the Dutchie. Woolsey now removed from his Chancellourship, was in the Parliament then holden, charged with points of treason; but that charge was so clearly taken off by his servant Thomas Cromwell, who was then of the House, that the Cardinal was acquitted, to the great commendation of Cromwell, both for abilities in himself, and faithfulness to his Master.
- E
- F
- G

King Henry justifieth his Queens dutifulnesse.

The chief point of difference was, whether Prince Arthur had ever carnal knowledge of her.

The Queen continues in her Appeal.

Cardinal Campejus adjourns the Court.

Woolsey seeks to crosse the King about his marrying the Lady Anne Bullen, and why.

Woolsey hath the Great Seal taken from him: and is charged with Treason, but acquitted.

After

Woolsey is in a
Præmunire :
and is confin-
ed to *Asber*.

After this, the King being informed, that all those things which the Cardinal had done by his A power Legantine, were within the case of Præmunire; he caused his Attourney *Christopher Hales* to sue out a Præmunire against him; and thereupon the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were sent unto him, to let him know, the Kings pleasure was, he should go to *Asber*, a House neer to *Hampton-Court*, belonging to his Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and there to reside: whereupon the Cardinal having first delivered up all his Moveables to the Kings use; (the greatest store and richest that was ever known of any Subject) went presently to *Putney* by water; and from thence rode to *Asber*, where he and his family continued three or four weeks, without either Bed, Sheets, Table-cloathes, or Dishes to eat their meat in, or money wherewith to buy any, but what he was forced to borrow of the Bishop of *Carlisle*. After this, his matter for the Præmunire being called upon in the Kings Bench, his two Attornies confessed the Action, and thereupon had B Judgement to forfeit all his Lands and Goods, and to be out of the Kings protection; but the King of his clemency sent him a sufficient Protection, and left him the Bishopricks of *York* and *Winchester*, with Plate and stufte convenient for his dignity. His Bishoprick of *Durresme* was given to Doctor *Tunstall*, Bishop of *London*; his Abbey of *Saint Albans* to the Prior of *Norwich*; and the Bishoprick of *London* to Doctor *Stokesley*, Embassadour then beyond the Seas.

In this mean while, *Margaret Dutchesse of Savoy*, Aunt to the Emperour, and the Lady *Loyis Dutchesse of Angoulesme*, Mother to the French King, met at *Cambray* to treat of a Peace between the Emperour, the Pope and the Kings of *England* and *France*, where were present Doctor *Tunstall* Bishop of *London*, and Sir *Thomas More*, then Chancellour of the Dutchie of *Lancaster*, Commis- C sioners for the King of *England*; after long debating, through the diligence of the said Ladies, a Peace was concluded; and was thereof called, The Womans Peace, and was indeed as fickle as women, for it was soon broken, and neither of the Princes trusted the other ere the more for it.

The Com-
mons in Par-
liament com-
plain against
the Clergy :
and wherein:

King *Henry* before this time had been wholly ruled by the Cardinal and by the Clergy, but now growing sensible of that error, he called his High Court of Parliament; in which the Commons complained sharply of their grievances against the Clergy, specially in six things.

The first, for that they exacted unreasonable sums of money, as due fees, for the probate of mens last Wills and Testaments: in so much, that Sir Henry Guilford, Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the Kings House declared openly, that he and others being Executors to Sir William D Compton, payed for the probate of his Will to the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury a thousand marks.

The second, the extreme exaction, which spiritual men used in taking of corps or mortuaries.

The third, that spiritual men became Farmours of great Granges and Farms to the prejudice of Husbandmen and Graziers.

The fourth, because many Abbots, Priors, and other spiritual men, kept Tan-houses, and bought and sold Wooll, Cloth, and other wares, as temporal Merchants.

The fifth, because such Clergy men as had the best livings, would take the uttermost of their right, and yet live in the Court or in Noblemens or Bishops houses, where they spent nothing.

The sixth, because divers ignorant men amongst them, held ten or twelve Benefices to themselves se- E verally, and yet lived not upon any one of them, but kept great scholars at small pension.

These things before this time might not be touched, because the Bishops were Chancellours, and had all the rule about the King: but now the King looking better into the matter, gave way to these complaints: whereupon the Bargeses drew up three Bills; one of the probate of Testaments; another for Mortuaries: and the third for Non-residence, Pluralities, and taking of farms by spiritual men. The Bill of Mortuaries passed first the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords: within two days after, was sent up the Bill of probate of Testaments, at which the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all the Bishops much frowned, but specially *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, who rose up and said; My Lords, you see what Bills come daily from the Commons House, and all is to the destruction of the Church; for Gods sake, consider what a Realm *Bohemia* was, and when the Church went down, then fell the glory of that Kingdom. Now with our Commons is nothing but down with the Church; and all this me seemeth, is for lack of faith only. When these words were reported to the House of Commons, they took the matter very hainously; and thereupon sent their Speaker *Thomas Audeley*, with thirty of the House, to the King, complaining what a dishonour to the King and the whole Realm it was to say, that they which were elected for the wisest men of all Shires, should be charged to lack faith, which was all one as to say, they were Infidels & no Christians, so as what Acts or Laws soever they made should be taken as laws made by *Paynims* and *Heathen*, and not worthy to be kept by Christian men. And therefore humbly besought his Majesty, to call the said Bishop of *Rochester* before him, to give an accompt of the words he had spoken. Whereupon within few daies after, the King sent for the Bi- G shop, & acquainted him with the Commons complaint against him, who excused himself, by saying he meant the doings of the *Bohemians* was for lack of faith, and not the doings of the House of Commons; of which excuse, the King sent word to the House by Sir *William Fitz Williams* Treasurer of his household, but it pleased the Commons nothing at all. After divers meetings between the Lords and the Commons, about the Bills of probate of Testaments and Mortuaries, the Temporality laid to the Spirituality their own laws, and constitutions, and the Spirituality defended them, by prescription, and usage; to whom a Gentleman of *Grayes-Inne* made this answer, The

An Inconfide-
rate Speech of
Fisher Bishop
of *Rochester*;

And how he
excused it.

A The usage hath ever been of thieves, to rob on Shooters hill; is it therefore lawful? Whilst these Bills were in debate an Act was passed, which released to the King all such sums of money as he had borrowed at the Loane, in the fifteenth year of his Reign; which Bill at first was much opposed but the most part of the House being the Kings servants, it was at last assented to, which once known in the Country abroad, made much murmuring, and the Parliament to be ill spoken of; for every man counted it a sure debt, so as some made their Wills of the money, and some turned it over in satisfaction to their creditors. To qualifie which grievance, the King granted a general pardon for all offences (certain excepted) and was a means also to have the three Bills passed; one for probate of Testaments, another for Mortuaries; and the third against plurality of Benefices, Non-residence, buying and taking of Farms by spiritual persons, though this last with some qualifying.

Prescription not enough to make a thing lawful.

B During this Parliament, the King created Viscount Rochford, Earl of Wiltshire, the Viscount Fitz-Walter Earl of Suffex, and the Lord Hastings Earl of Huntingdon.

Earls created.

By this time, the Lords of the upper House, had drawn certain Articles against the Cardinal, and sent them down to the House of Commons, the chief whereof were these:

Articles drawn by the Parliament against the Cardinal.

First, that without the Kings assent, he hath procured himself to be made a Legat, by reason whereof he took away the right of all Bishops and spiritual persons.

Secondly, that in all his writings which he wrote to Rome, or to any forain Prince, he wrote Ego & Rex meus, I and my King; so preserving himself before the King.

Thirdly, that without the Kings assent, he carried the great Seal of England with him into Flanders.

Fourthly, that having the French-pax, he presumed to come and breathe upon the King.

Fifthly, that he caused the Cardinals hat to be put upon the Kings Coin.

Sixthly, that he would not suffer the Kings Clerk of the Market to sit at Saint Albanes.

Seventhly, that he had sent infinite store of treasure to Rome, for purchasing of his dignity.

The Articles were read in the House, and if not otherwise proved, yet confessed afterward under the Cardinals own hand, which added to the former Premunire; all his Lands and goods were seized on to the Kings use.

This Parliament being ended, the King removed to Greenwich; and there kept his Christmas with his Queen Katherine in great state; for though this matter of making void the marriage between them, was hotly perturbed by the King, yet abstaining only from her bed, he conversed with her still, and they kept Court together, in as loving manner as they had done before. And now King Henry understanding that the Pope and the Emperour was to meet at Bologna, he sent Embassadors thither, the Earl of Wiltshire, Doctor Stokely Elect of London, and Doctor Lee, to declare both to the Pope and to the Emperour, the opinions of divers learned men in the matter of his marriage; who all agree that it was against the law of God; and thereupon requiring the Pope to do him Justice, and shewing to the Emperour, that the King moved this matter for discharge of his Conscience only, and to no other end. To which the Pope answered, that when he came to Rome, he would hear the matter disputed, and do the King right. The Emperour answered, that he would in no case be against the Law of God, and if this marriage were judged such by

D the Court of Rome, he would rest contented: with these Answers the Embassadors returned.

An. Reg. 22. The Island of Malta given by the Emperour to the Master of Saint Johns of Hierusalem.

E It was now the two and twentieth year of King Henries reign, when the Emperour gave to the Master of S. Johns of Hierusalem the Island of Malta, in supplying of the Island of Rhodes, which the Turk sometime before had won from that Order.

In this year, the New Testament having been Translated into English, by Tindall, Joy, and others, was forbidden to be read; and many for reading it, were sharply punished by command of the Bishops and Sir Thomas More then Lord Chancellour; but none was more violent in the matter then the Bishop of London, who caused all the Books to be brought into Pauls Church-yard, and there burned.

F King Henry having heard by good information, that when Campejus was sent Legate into England, he had brought with him a Bull of Divorce; but was afterward upon change of the Popes mind, commanded to burn it; saw plainly by this, that the Pope had no meaning of proceeding really in the matter, but to keep it a foot for his own ends; neither to displease the Emperour by granting it, nor King Henry by not granting it, but promising expedition to keep him in expectation; yet using delays to keep him in dependence; and therefore resolved now to take such a course, that he should not need to care whether the Pope granted it or no; and thereupon caused a Proclamation to be published, that no person of what estate or condition soever should purchase, or attempt to purchase from the Court of Rome, any thing prejudicial to the Jurisdiction, or Prerogative of this his Realm, upon pain of imprisonment, and other punishments at his Graces pleasure; and shortly after an Act was made, that Bishops should pay no more Annats, or money for Bulls to the Pope; for as much as it was proved, there had been paid for Bulls of Bishops, since the fourth year of King Henry the seventh, an hundred and threescore thousand pounds, besides what had had been paid for Pardons and other dispensations. Another Act was then also made, that no person should appeal for any cause, out of this Realm to the Court of Rome, but from the Commissary to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King: and all causes of the King to be tried in the upper House of the Convocation.

An Act made that no more Annats should be paid to Rome.

Nor no Appeals to the Pope.

At this time the Cardinal lying still at Asher, and his Adversaries doubting lest lying so near the King, he might one time or other get access to the Kings presence, and come again into favour; they

The Cardinal
is commanded
to his Diocese
of York.

He prepares to
be Installed,
and sends to
the King for
his rich Miter
and Pall.

He is arrested
by Sir Walter
Walsh one of
the Kings
Privy-cham-
ber.

He falls sick.

And dies.

His many
honours and
great retinue.

White-hall
given by the
Cardinal to
the King.

they used means to have him sent further off, and thereupon the King appointed him to go to his A
Diocese of York, and not to come Southward without special licence; whereupon in Lent he
made great preparation for his journey, and having in his train to the number of an hundred and
threescore persons, by easie journeys came to Peterborough, and there kept his Easter; the week after
he went to Stamford, then to Newark, and so to Southwell, where he continued most part of all that
Summer: and then rode to Scarsby, where he stayed till Michaelmas, and then came to Cawood Castle,
within seven miles of York, where he kept a plentiful house for all comers: and repaired the Cas-
tle, being greatly in decay, having above three hundred Artificers in daily wages. At last, he
determined to be installed at York, the next Munday after Alhollanday; against which time great
preparation was made, and the Cardinal sent to the King, to lend him the Miter and Pall, which
he used to wear at any great solemnity. At which presumption the King marvelled not a little; B
saying to those that were about him, What a thing is this, that pride should thus reign in a man
that is quite under-foot? but before the day of Instalment came, he was arrested in this manner;
Sir Walter Walsh one of the Kings Privy-chamber, was sent down to the Earl of Northumberland,
with whom he was joyned in Commission to arrest the Cardinal; whereupon they go together
to Cawood, where the Cardinal lay: and being entred into the house, it was told the Cardinal,
that the Earl of Northumberland was come, and in the Hall; then (quoth the Cardinal) I am sorry
we have dined, for I doubt our Officers are not provided of any good cheer. With that he went
and brought the Earl up, welcoming him in a complemental manner, as if he had come but only
to visit him: but being come into the chamber, the Earl with a soft voyce, laying his hand upon
the Cardinals arm, said, My Lord, I arrest you of high treason: the Cardinal somewhat astonished, C
asked to see his Commission, which the Earl denying to shew; then (saith the Cardinal) I will
not obey your arrest; at that instant Master Walsh came in, and kneeled down to the Cardinal;
who asked him if he were joyned in Commission with the Earl; who answered, he was: well then,
said the Cardinal, I trow you are one of the Kings Privie-Chamber, your name is Walsh: I am
content to yeeld to you, but not to my Lord of Northumberland, unlesse I see his Commission: the
meanest of the Kings Privie-Chamber is sufficient to arrest the greatest Peer of the Realm, by the
Kings commandement, without any Commission. Then the Earl took the Cardinals keys from him,
and put him in custody of his Gentlemen: some few days after, he was conveyed from Cawood to
Pomfret, and after to Sheffield Park, where he had kinde entertainment, and staid with the Earl
of Shrewsbury and his Lady eighteen days, till at last sitting one day at dinner, his colour was ob- D
served to change, and being asked how he did; not well (saith he) I have something suddenly at
my stomach, as cold as a whetstone, which I know is winde; I desire to have something from the
Apothecary, to break winde; which was brought, and the Earl seeing the same taken, he took it,
and thereupon broke winde indeed; but whether it were he took it in too great a quantity, or
that there was some foul play used, he fell soon after into such a looseness, that the night following
he had above fifty stools; yet the next day he rode to Nottingham, and the day after to Leicester
Abbey; being so sick by the way, that he was ready to fall off his Mule; coming to the Abbey
gates, the Abbot with all the Covent met him; to whom he said, Father Abbot, I am come hi-
ther to lay my bones among you; and then was led up into his chamber; and went to bed; where
growing sicker and sicker, the next morning Master Kingston Lieutenant of the Tower, who E
had been sent to bring him up, coming to him, and asking him how he did; I do but tarry (saith
he) the pleasure of God, to render up my poor soul into his hands; for this is my case, I have a
Flux with a continual Feaver, the nature whereof is, that if there be no amendment within eight
days, either excoriation of the entrails will ensue, or frenzie, or else present death; and the best
of them is death; and (as I suppose) this is the eighth day. Sir (saith Master Kingston) you are afraid
of that you have no cause; for I assure you, the King commanded me to say unto you, that you
should be of good cheer, for that he beareth you as much good will as ever he did; No, no
(Mr. Kingston) said the Cardinal, I see how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as
I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs; but it is a iult reward
for my study to do him service, not regarding the service of God, to do him pleasure: and having F
so said, his speech failed, and incontinent the clock struck eight, and then he gave up the ghost;
which made some about him remember, how he had said before: that at eight of the clock they
should lose their Master. Being dead he was buried in the Abby of Leicester. This man held at
once the Bishoprick of York, Winchester, and Durham, the dignities of Lord Cardinal Legat and
Chancellour of England, the Abbey of Saint Albans, divers Priories, and sundry great Benefices
in Commendaru: he had also in his hands, as it were in Farm, the Bishoprick of Bath, Worcester and
Hereford, which having been given by King Henry the Seventh to strangers, that lived out of the
Realm, they suffered Woolsey to enjoy them, receiving of him a Pension only. The retinue of
this Prelate is scarce credible, a thousand persons daily in his household, of whom many
Knights and some Lords; all which greatnesse as it came by the Kings favour, so by the with- G
drawing of his favour, it was overthrowen: so true is that saying of Salomon, The Kings favour is
as dew upon the grasse; but his wrath is as the roaring of a Lion, and as a messenger of death. After this
the King removed from Hampton-Court to Greenwich, where with his Queen Katherine he kept a
solemn Christmas, and on the twelfth night he sat in state in the Hall, where was divers Enterludes,
costly Masques, and a sumptuous Banquet. After Christmas he came to his Manor of Westminster,
which before was called York Place; for the Cardinal had made a Feoffment of it to the King,
which the Chapter of York confirmed, and then it was no more called York Place, but the Kings
Manor of Westminster, now White-hall. About

A About this time was a Call of eleven Serjeants at Law : namely *Thomas Audeley*, *Walter Luke*, *John Bawdewine*, *John Hynde*, *Christopher Jennye*, *John Densel*, *Edward Mervyne*, *Edmund Knighly*, *Roger Chomely*, *Edward Mountague*, and *Robert York*; who kept their Feast at *Ely House* five days together : where on the last day the King and Queen dined : which *John Densell* of *Densell* in the County of *Cornwall*, was of *Lincolns Inne*, and died the third day of *January*, Anno Christi 1535. and lieth buried within the Church of *S. Giles* in the fields, in *Middlesex* : Leaving by *Mary* his Widow the Daughter of Sir — *Lucas* in *Warwick shire* Knight, two Daughters and Coheirs, *Anne* the eldest married unto Sir *William Hollis* of *Houghton*, in the County of *Nottingham* Knight ; Grandfather unto *John Hollis* Knight Earl of *Clare*, &c. deceased, and *Alice* the other Daughter married unto Master — *Reskimer*.

B At this time the whole Clergy of *England* was charged by the Kings learned Council, to be in a *Præmunire*, for supporting and maintaining the Cardinals Legatine power ; and were thereupon called by processe into the Kings Bench to answer ; but before their day of Appearance came, they in their Convocation concluded an humble submission in writing, and offered the King an hundred thousand pound to have their pardon by Parliament, which offer, after some labour, was accepted, and their pardon promised. In which submission the Clergy called the King Supreme Head of the Church. This Pardon was signed with the Kings hand, and sent to the Lords, who assented to it ; and then sent it to the Lower House : but here, divers of the House excepted against the Pardon, unlesse themselves also might be included in it ; who (they said) having had something to do with the Cardinal, might be brought into the same case as the Clergy were. Hereupon their Speaker *Thomas Audeley*, with a convenient number of the House, was sent to the King about it ; to whom the King made answer, that he was their Sovereign Lord, and would not be compelled to shew his mercy ; and seeing they went about to restrain him of his liberty, he would grant a Pardon to the Clergy, which he might do by his great Seal without them ; and for their Pardon, he would be advised before he granted it : with this Answer the Speaker and Commons returned, much grieved and discontented ; and some said that *Thomas Cromwell*, who was newly come into the Kings favour, had disclosed the secrets of the House, which made the King give this displeasing Answer. But soon after the King of his own accord, caused their Pardon also to be drawn ; and signed it ; which easily passed both Houses, with great commendation of the Kings judgement, to deny it at first when it was demanded as a right, and to grant it afterward, when it

The King first called the Supreme head of the Church.

C D was received as of grace. In this Parliament time, on the thirtieth of *March*, Sir *Thomas More* Lord Chancellour with twelve of the Lords, came into the Lower House, acquainting them, that though in the matter of the Kings Divorce, he might sufficiently rest upon the judgement of learned men in his own Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, yet to avoid all suspicion of partiality, he had sent into *France*, *Italy*, the Popes Dominions, and the *Venetians*, to have their opinions ; and then causing them to be read, Sir *Bryan Tuke* took out of a box certain writings sealed, which were the determinations of the Universities of *Orleanse*, of *Paris*, of *Anjou*, of *Burges*, of *Bolonia*, of *Padua*, and of *Toulouse* : all which were peremptory in these two Points ; That the Brother, by the Law of God, might not marry the Relict of his Brother ; and then being against the Law of God, that it is not in the power of the Pope to dispense with it : and now (said they) you may know, that the King hath not sought this Divorce for his pleasure ; but for discharge of his conscience ; and this said, they departed. The King himself, when he heard of these determinations, was so far from rejoicing at it, that he rather mourned, as for the losse of so good a Wife ; yet he conversed with her as he had done before, in nothing altered but abstaining from her bed. But being willing the Queen should know these determinations ; in *Whitsunweek* after, he sent divers Lords to acquaint her with them, requiring her thereupon to recall her Appeal, and to refer the matter to eight indifferent Lords ; which she utterly refused, using her usual Answer, that she was his lawful Wife, and would abide the Determination of the Court of *Rome*, but of no other. After *Whitsuntide*, the King and Queen removed to *Windsor*, and there continued till the fourteenth of *July*, on which day the King removed to *Woodstock* and left the Queen at *Windsor*, where she remained a while, and after removed to *Easthamstead*, whither the King sent to her divers Lords, first to persuade her to be conformable to the law of God ; which if they could not do, then to let her know, that his pleasure was, she should beat either of these three places, his Manor of *Oking*, or of *East-hamsted*, or the Monastery of *Bisham*, and there to continue without further molesting him with her suits.

The Kings wisdom in granting his Pardons.

The Pope cannot dispense against the Law of God.

Notwithstanding the determinations of Universities : yet the Queen stands still to her Appeal.

The Queen is confined.

And now *Cranmer* in to play his part. It chanced that Doctor *Stephens*, Doctor *Fox* and he met at *Waltham* one day at dinner ; where falling into discourse, about the case then in agitation, of the Kings marriage with *Queen Katherine* ; the other Doctors thought the marriage might be proved unlawful by the Civil Law : but (said *Cranmer*) it may better be proved by the Law of God, and it is no hard matter to do it ; which words of his being made known to the King, *Cranmer* is sent for, and commanded to set his reasons down in writing : which having done, and shewed them to the King ; he was asked whether he would stand to that which he had written : who answered, he would, even before the Pope himself if his Majesty pleased : marry (said the King) and to the Pope you you shall goe : and thereupon sent him to the Court of *Rome*, and with him *Thomas Bulen* Earl of *Wiltshire*, Doctor *Stokesley* Elect of *London*, Doctor *Lee* the Kings Almoner, and others : who coming to *Bolonia* where the Pope was. had a day of audience appointed, but was hindred by a ridiculous accident ; for the Pope holding out his foot for them to kisse his toe ;

Cranmer is sent to *Rome* to prove the Kings marriage unlawful.

The Queen is
by Parliament
divorced.

Sir Thomas
More delivers
up the great
Seal : and
Thomas Audeley
Speaker of the
Parliament is
made Lord
Chancellor.
The Lady
Anne Bullen is
created Mar-
chionesse of
Pembroke.
King Henry
meets the King
of France at
Calice.

He marries the
Lady Anne
Bullen.

Cranmer is
made Arch-
bishop of Can-
terbury.

The Order of
Knighthood
imposed upon
all men of
Forty pounds
Land.

Cromwell is
taken into the
Kings service.

Queen Anne
Bullen is crow-
ned.

An. Reg. 25.

The Queen is
delivered of a
Daughter na-
med Elizabeth.

The Judge-
ment of God
upon an unhal-
lowed oath.

as the manner is, a Dog of the Earls by chance in the room, ran and caught the Popes foot in his A
mouth, and made it for that time unfit to kisse. After this, when Cranmer had made his Propo-
sition, he was was told, it should be answered when the Pope came to Rome : so the Embassadors
were dismissed, and Cranmer went to the Emperours Court ; where in private conference he sa-
tisfied Cornelius Agrippa, the most learned at that time about the Emperour, and brought him to
be of his opinion. Cranmer returning home, and giving the King this satisfaction ; the Kings
marriage with Queen Katherine was soon after dissolved by Parliament, and the Bishop of Can-
terbury accompanied with Doctor Stokesley Bishop of London, Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester,
the Bishop of Bath and Lincoln, and other learned men, rode to Dunstable where Queen Katherine
then lay ; where being cited to appear, and making default fifteen days together, for lack of ap-
pearance, she was divorced from the King, and the marriage declared to be void and of none effect ; B
and from thenceforth it was decreed, she should no more be called Queen, but Princesse Dowager :
after which time, the King never saw her more.

At this time, being the four and twentieth year of King Henries reign, Sir Thomas More, after
long suit, delivered up the great Seal, which was then delivered to Thomas Audeley Speaker of the
Parliament, which Parliament begun at the Black-Friers, was adjourned to Westminster, and there
at nine a clock at night dissolved, and was therefore called the black Parliament. This Thomas
Audeley was first made Lord Keeper, and shortly after Chancellor ; in whose room of Speaker,
Humphrey Wingfield of Grays-Inne was chosen. On the first of September this year, the King being
at Windsor, created Anne Bullen Marchionesse of Pembroke, giving her a thousand pounds land a
year : and then being desirous to talk with the King of France in person, on the tenth of October, C
taking the said Lady with him, and divers Lords, as the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Mar-
quess of Dorset and Excester, the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Surrey, Essex, Derby, Rutland, Sussex and
Huntington, with divers Viscounts, Barons and Knights, he sailed over to Calice ; and on the
twentieth of October met with the King of France at Bulloigne, with whom he staid four days ; in
which time to do him honor, the King of France honored the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk
with the Order of Saint Michael, and then both Kings went to Calice, where the French King
stayed certain days ; in which time to do the King of France honor, King Henry honored two of
his great Lords with the Order of the Garter, and then after great magnificence in revelling and
feasting, on the twentieth of October the French King departed from Calice, and King Henry re-
turned into England, where on the fourteenth of November following, he married secretly the D
Lady Anne Bullen, which marriage was not openly known till Easter after, when it was perceived
she was with childe ; at which time William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury died ; Thomas Cran-
mer was elected Archbishop in his room.

After that the King perceived his new wife to be with childe, he caused all Officers necessary to
be appointed to her ; and so on Easter-eve she went to her closet openly as Queen, and then
the King appointed her Coronation to be kept on Whitsunday following, and writings
were sent to all Sheriffs, to certifye the names of men of forty pounds, to receive the Order of
Knighthood, or else to make fine : the assessement of which fines was appointed to Thomas Crom-
well Master of the Jewel-house, and of the Kings Council ; a man newly come into the Kings
favour, by whose industry great sums of money were by such fines gathered. In the beginning of E
May, the King caused Proclamation to be made, that all men who claimed to do any service at
the Coronation, by way of tenure, grant, or prescription, should put in their claim three weeks
after Easter in the Star-chamber, before Charles Duke of Suffolk, for that time high Steward of
England, the Lord Chancellour and other Commissioners. Two days before the Coronation
were made Knights of the Bath, the Earl of Dorset, the Earl of Derby, the Lord Clifford, the
Lord Fitzwater, the Lord Hastings, the Lord Monteagle, the Lord Vaux, Sir John Mordant, Sir
Henry Parker, Sir William Windsor, Sir Francis Weston, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir John Husson, Sir
Thomas Poynings, Sir Henry Savill, Sir George Fitzwilliams, Sir John Tindall, and Sir Thomas Je-
remy. On Whitsunday the Coronation was kept in as great state and pomp for all circumstances as
ever any was, and the day after a solemn Jufts was holden.

In May this year Pope Clement sent a messenger to King Henry, requiring him personally to F
appear at the general Council, which he had appointed to be kept the year following ; but when
his Commission was shewed, there was neither time nor place specified for keeping of this said
Council ; and so with an uncertain Answer to an uncertain Demand, the Messenger departed.

It was now the five and twentieth year of the Kings reign, when on Midsummer day, Mary
the French Queen, and then Wife to Charles Duke of Suffolk, died ; and was buried at St. Ed-
mundsbury ; and on the seventh of September following, between three and four a clock in the
afternoon, the Queen was delivered of a Daughter that was named Elizabeth ; the Godfather
at the Christning was the Archbishop of Canterbury ; the Godmother the old Dutcheffe of
Norfolk, and the old Marchionesse Dorset widow ; and at the Confirmation the Lady Marchionesse G
of Excester : the Christning was performed with exceeding great state, and great gifts were given
by the Gossips.

This year, one Pavier the Town-clerk of London hanged himself, whom Hollinshead saith he
heard once swear a great oath ; that if he thought the King would set forth the Scripture in
English, rather then he would live to see that day, he would cut his own throat : which I therefore
relate, that the judgement of God may be seen upon such unhallowed oaths.

A A little before this time one *Elizabeth Barton*, named the Holy maid of *Kent*, came to be discovered; whose abettors were *Richard Maffer* a Priest Parson of *Aldington* in *Kent*, *Ed. Bocking* Doctor of Divinity, a Monk of *Canterbury*, *Richard Deering* a Monk, *Edward Thwyats* Gentleman, *Henry Gold* Parson of *Aldermay*, *Hugh Rich* a Fryer Observant, *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Gold*, Gentlemen. This Maid had learned to counterfeit falling into Trances; in which she would deliver many strange things, and amongst others, said, that by Revelation from God and his Saints she was informed; that if King *Henry* proceeded to the Divorce, and married another, he should not be King of *England* one moneth after. And here we may see how credulous oftentimes great Scholars are, in believing Impostures, when *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Roche-*
 B who though he gave credit to many lying miracles, yet they were such as had more probability in them then this; which consisted in nothing but making of faces, as upon Examination of the Maid and her Abettors was confessed; and thereupon she and most of them were condemned, drawn to *Tyburn* and there hanged.

The holy maid of *Kent* her Imposture discovered and she hanged.

In this mean time the *Scots* had been troublesome, and made Inrodes upon the Borders; till at last, Commissioners being sent to treat of agreement, a Peace was concluded, to continue both the Kings lives; which on the twentieth of *May* this year, was openly Proclaimed.

About this time, at the suit of the Lady *Katherine* Dowager, a Bull was sent from the Pope, which cursed both the King and the Realm; which Bull was set up in the Town of *Dunkirk* in
 C *Flanders*, the Messenger not daring to come neerer: and because it was known that the Lady Dowager had procured this curse to be sent, the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to her, lying then at *Bugden* besides *Huntington*, to discharge a great part of her household servants; yet leaving her a convenient number, like a Princeesse.

It was now the six and twentieth year of King *Henries* reign, when in a Parliament holden, an Act was made for establishing the succession in the Crown, upon the Lady *Elizabeth*; to which, first all the Lords, Knights and Burgeses were sworn; and after Commissioners were sent into all parts of the Realm, to take the oath of all men and women to the said Act. Another Act was also made, which authorized the King to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and the Popes authority to be utterly abolished. But Doctor *John Fisher*, Bishop
 D of *Rocheester*, Sir *Thomas More* Knight, and Doctor *Wilson* Parson of *Saint Thomas Apostles* in *London*, expressly denied at *Lambeth*, before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to take the Oaths; of whom Doctor *Wilson* recanted, but the other two persisting in their opinion, were both of them beheaded. Of these two Bishop *Fisher* was much lamented, as reputed a man both of great learning and good life. The Pope had elected him Cardinal, and his Hat was come as far as *Calice*, but before it could come into *England* his head was off. Sir *Thomas More* was both learned and very wise, but so given to a vein of jesting and marry scoffing, that he could not refrain it at the very time of his death: as when he was carried to the Tower, being demanded his upper garment (meaning his Gown) you shall have it, said he, and gave them his cap; saying, it was the uppermost garment he had: also, when being upon the Scaffold, the Hangman
 E kneeled down and asked him forgiveness; I forgive thee (said he) but I promise thee, thou wilt never have credit by cutting off my Head, my neck is so short: and when he was to lay his head down upon the block, having a great gray beard, he stroked it out, and said to the Hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard over the block, lest you should cut it; for though you have Warrant to cut off my head, you have none to cut my beard. But his Devotion was no jesting matter, for he used to wear a shirt of hair next his skin, for a perpetual penance; and oftentimes in the Church he would put on a Surplice, and help the Priest to say Masse; which he forbore not to do even when he was Lord Chancellor of *England*, as one time the Duke of *Norfolk* coming to the Church found him doing it. Two memorable things are recorded of him; one, which shews his great integrity, and the small reckoning he made of riches; that having passed through so many great employments, and born so many great Offices; yet in all his time, he never purchased above one hundred pounds land a year, nor left any great stock of money behinde him, when he died. The other, which shews his filial piety, that being Lord Chancellour of *England*, at the same time that his Father was a Judge of the Kings Bench, he would always at his going to *Westminster*, go first to the Kings Bench and ask his Father blessing, before he went to sit in the Chancery.

The Popes authority in *England* abolished by Parliament.

Fisher Bishop of *Rocheester* and Sir *Thomas More* beheaded: and why, Sir *Thomas More* given to jesting at his Devotion.

The ninth of *July*, this year, the Lord *Dacres* of the North was arraigned at *Westminster* of high treason, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, as high Steward of *England*; his Inditement being read, he so answered every part and matter therein contained, that by his Peers he was found Not guilty; a rare thing to stop a current that ran with such violence. The one and twentieth of *September* Doctor *Tallour* Master of the Rolls, was discharged of that Office; and the nineteenth of *October* following, *Thomas Cromwell* was sworn in his place.

The Lord *Dacres* arraigned of high Treason.

Cromwell is made Master the Rolls.

This year the King of the *Scots* was intalled Knight of the Garter, by his Deputy the Lord *Erskin*; and *Stephen Gardiner*, who after the Cardinals death, was made Bishop of *Winchester*, was sent Embassadour Legier into *France*, where he remained three years. Also in *January*, of this year, *Katherine* Princeesse Dowager, fell into her last sickness; to whom the King sent the Emperours Embassadour Legier, desiring her to be of good comfort; but she finding her death to approach, caused only one of her Gentlewomen to write a Letter to the King; commending to
 D d him

Queen *Katherine* Dowager dies at *Kimbolton*.

Queen Anne is delivered of a child before her time; and born dead.

All religious Houses of a certain value given by Parliament to the King.

William Tindall burnt in Flanders, for translating into English the New Testament.

Queen Anne is committed to the Tower.

She is beheaded.

Her Parentage.

Her Religion and Almshouses.

Her Innocency.

him her Daughter and his, and beseeching him to be a good Father to her; and then desiring A him further, to have some consideration of her Servants. On the eighth of January, at Kimbolton, she departed this life, and was buried at Peterborough. A woman of so vertuous a life, and of so great obsequiousnesse to her husband, that from her only merit, is grown a reputation to all Spanish wives. Also the nine and twentieth of January this year, Queen Anne was delivered of a child before her time, which was born dead.

And now King Henry began to fall into those great disorders, which have been the blemish of his life, and have made him to be blotted out of the Catalogue of our best Princes; for first, in October this year, he sent Doctor Lee and others, to visit the Abbeyes, Priories, and Nunneries in England; who set at liberty all those religious persons, that would forsake their habit, and all that were under the age of four and twenty years; and in December following, a survey was taken B of all Chuntries, and the names of such, as had the gift of them. After which, in a Parliament holden the fourth of February, an Act was made, which gave to the King all Religious houses, with all their lands and goods, that were of the value of three hundred marks a year and under: the number of which Houses, was three hundred seventy and six: the value of their lands yearly, above two and thirty thousand pounds, their moveable goods, one hundred thousand, the Religious persons put out of the same houses at ove ten thousand. This year William Tindall was burnt at a Town in Flanders, between Brussels and Mechlyn, called Villefort, for translating into English the New Testament, and divers parts of the Old; who having been long imprisoned, was upon the Lord Cromwells writing for his Deliverance, in all hast brought to the fire, and burnt.

It was now the eight and twentieth year of King Henries Reign, when on Munday there were C solemn Jufts holden at Greenwich, from whence the King suddenly departed and came to Westminster, whose suddain departure stroke great amazement into many, but to the Queen especially, and not without cause; for the next day, the Lord Rochford her Brother, and Henry Norris were brought to the Tower of London, prisoners, whither also the same day at five a clock in the afternoon, was brought Queen Anne her self, by Sir Thomas Audeley Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Cromwell Secretary, and Sir William Kingston Lieutenant of the Tower, who at the Tower-gate, fell on her knees before the said Lords, beseeching God to help her, as she was innocent of that whereof she was accused: on the fifteenth of May, she was arraigned in the Tower, before the Duke of Norfolk, sitting as high Steward of England. D When her Inditement was read, she made unto it so wise and discreet answers, that she seemed fully to clear her self of all matters laid to her charge: but being tried by her Peers, whereof the Duke of Suffolk was chief, she was by them found guilty, and had Judgement pronounced by the Duke of Norfolk; immediately the Lord Rochford her Brother, was likewise arraigned and condemned: who on the seventeenth of May, together with Henry Norris, Mark Smeton, William Brierton, and Francis Weston, all of the Kings Privy-chamber, about matters touching the Queen, were beheaded on the Tower-hill, Queen Anne her self on the nineteenth of May, on a Scaffold upon the Green within the Tower, was beheaded with the sword of Callice by the hangman of that Town; her body with the head was buried in the Quire of the Chapel there. This Queen Anne, was the Daughter of Thomas Bullen Earl of Wiltshire, and of E Lady Elizabeth Daughter of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk; the Earls Father was the Son of Sir William Bullen, whose Wife was Margaret the second Daughter and Coheir of Thomas Butler Earl of Ormond, and the said Sir William was the Son of Sir Godfrey Bullen, Lord Maior of London, who lieth buried in Saint Leonards Church in the Jewry, whose Wife was Anne eldest Daughter and Coheir to Thomas Lord Hoo and Hastings: and his descent was out of the house of the Bullens in the County of Norfolk; thus much for her Parentage: for her Religion, she was an earnest Professor, and one of the first Countenancers of the Gospel: in Almshouses so liberal, that in nine moneths space, it is said, she distributed amongst the poor, to the value of fifteen thousand pounds: Now for the crimes for which she died, (Adultery and Incest:) F proofs of her guiltinesse there are none recorded; of her Innocency, many; first, her own clearing of all objections, at the time of her arraignment: then Cromwells writing to the King, after full examination of the matter; that many things have been objected, but none confessed, only some circumstances had been acknowledged by Mark Smeton: (and what was Mark Smeton, but a mean fellow, one that upon promise of life, would say any thing; and having said something which they took hold of, was soon after executed lest he should retract it:) lastly, they that were accused with her, they all denied it to the death: even Henry Norris, whom the King specially favoured, and promised him pardon if he would but confesse it. It was a poor proof of Incest with her Brother, that coming one morning into her chamber before she was up, he leaned down upon her bed, to say something in her ear; yet this was taken hold for a proof: and it need be no marvail if we consider the many adversaries she had; as G being a Protestant, and perhaps in that respect, the King himself not greatly her friend: (for though he had excluded the Pope, yet he continued a Papist still) and then who knows not, that nature is not more able of an Acorn to make an Oak, then Authority is able of the least surmise to make a certainty. But howsoever it was, that her death was contrived: certain it is, that it cast upon King Henry a dishonorable Imputation; in so much, that where the Protestant Princes of Germany had resolved to choose him for head of their League; after they heard of this Queens death, in such a manner, they utterly refused him as unworthy of the honor: and it is memo-

A memorable what conceit Queen Anne her self had of her death; for at the time, when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, she called one of the Kings Privy-chamber to her, and said unto him, Commend me to the King, and tell him; he is constant in his course of advancing me, for from a private Gentlewoman, he made me a Marquesse, from a Marquesse, a Queen; and now, that he had left no higher degree of worldly honor for me, he hath made me a Martyr.

Immediately after her death, in the week before Whitsuntide, the King married Jane Seymour, Daughter to Sir John Seymour, who at Whitsuntide was openly shewed as Queen: and on Tuesday in the Whitsun-week her Brother Sir Edmund Seymour, was created Viscount Beauchamp, and Sir Walter Hangerford, was made Lord Hangerford.

The King marries the Lady Jane Seymour.

The eight of June, the Parliament began; during the which, the Lord Thomas Howard, without the Kings assent, had affianced the Lady Margaret Douglas, Daughter to the Queen of Scots, and Niece to the King: for which he was attainted of Treason, and an Act was made for like offenders hereafter; and so he died in the Tower, and she long time remained there a prisoner; yet afterward was set at liberty, and married Matthew Earl of Lenox, who by him had Henry, Father of James the first King of Great Britain.

In the time of this Parliament, the Bishops and all the Clergy had a solemn Convocation at Pauls Church in London; where after much disputation and debating of matters, they published a Book of Religion; intituled, Articles devised by the Kings Highnesse: in which Book are specially mentioned but three Sacraments: namely Baptisme, Eucharist, and Penance; also certain Injunctions were set forth, whereby many of the old Holy-days were abrogated, specially those that tell in Harveft time.

Articles devised by the Kings Highnesse.

The two and twentieth of July Henry Duke of Richmond and Somerset, base Son of King Henry by Elizabeth Blunt, died at Saint James, and was was buried at Thetstone in Norfolk.

The nine and twentieth of June the King held a great Jufts and Triumph at Westminster, but a disastrous Sea-fight on the water, where one Gates a Gentleman was drowned in his harnesse, and by the breaking of a Gun two Mariners were sore maimed: in July following, Thomas Cromwell, Secretary to the King, and Master of the Rolles, was made Lord Keeper of the Privy seal: and the nineteenth of July the Lord Fitz-Warren was created Earl of Bath; and the day after, the said Cromwell was made Lord Cromwell; and on the eighteenth of July, Vicar General under the King over the Spirituality; who sate divers times in the Convocation House, amongst the Bishops as head over them: and now was the state of Religion in England come to a strange passe; because always in passing, and had no consistence; for at first, the authority of the Pope was excluded in some cases only, a while after in all; but yet his Doctrine was wholly retained. Afterward, his Doctrine came to be impugned, but in some few points only: a while after, in many more: that the fable of Proteus might no longer be a fable, when the Religion in England might be his true Moral: and indeed, it could be no otherwise; the distance between the two Religions being not possible to be passed *per saltum*; but must be done by degrees, which degrees may be observed in the progresse of the story: for where at first, it was permitted only to read the Bible in English, now it came to be permitted to pray in English; for now in September, the Lord Cromwell set forth Injunctions, to have the Lords Prayer, the Ave, the Creed, the ten Commandements, and all Articles of the Christian Faith translated into English, and to be taught by all Parsons and Curates to their Parishioners: which Innovation so stirred up the people, that in Lincolnshire they assembled to the number of twenty thousand; against whom the King himself went in person, who winning by perswasion their chief leaders, brought the rest upon pardon to submit themselves: but when he had himself done the work of mercy, he afterward sent the Duke of Suffolk, with Sir Francis Brian and Sir John Russel, to do the work of Justice; who caused Nicholas Melton, and a Monk naming himself Captain Cobler, and thirteen other (Ringleaders of the sedition) to be apprehended, and most of them to be executed. But this Commotion was scarce appeased, when presently there rose another in the North-parts, where forty thousand were assembled, giving themselves out for an holy Pilgrimage, where on one side of their Ensignes, they had Christ hanging on the Crosse, on the other side, the Cup and Bread of the Sacrament, as taking Arms only for maintenance of the Faith of Christ, and deliverance of the holy Church now oppressed: but these were opposed by George Earl of Shrewsbury, who having raised an Army without Commission, though to resist the Rebels, yet began to be much troubled, whether in so doing he had not committed Treason, and was never quiet till he had sent to the King for pardon and Commission to proceed: at which time a rumor being raised amongst his Souldiers, that the Earl so well liked the Rebels cause, that what shew soever he made, yet when it should come to the trial, he would not stick to joyn with them, and take their parts: to remove which Opinion out of their mindes, he caused all his souldiers to come before him, and made his Chaplain give him an oath; by which he swore in their hearing, to be true to the Crown, and never to be assisting to any Rebels; to his aid were sent the Duke of Norfolk, with the Marquess of Exeter, the Earls of Huntington and Rutland: who with a mighty Army approaching the Rebels, beyond Doncaster, in the way towards York, attempted first to have pacified them without blood-shed; but when no perswasions would serve, it was resolved of both sides to come to a battel; but see here the great goodnesse of God, for the night before the day appointed for battel, it happened that a little Brook called Dun, running between the two Armies, upon a small rain grew to such a height, that it was not passable by either foot or horse; so as the Armies having time to consider,

Cromwell is made Lord Keeper. The Lord Fitz-Warren is created Earl of Bath.

Cromwell is made Lord Cromwell: and Vicar General over the Spirituality. Religion altered in England by degrees.

An Insurrection in Lincolnshire for Innovation of Religion.

The King goes in person; and suppresseth it.

Another Insurrection in the North: for suppressing whereof the Earl of Shrewsbury raised an Army: and having done it without a commission, was glad to ask the Kings Pardon.

A miracle of the suddain swelling of the River Dun.

Sir Ralph Evers
his valiant car-
riage.

Another In-
surrection.

And yet ano-
ther.

And yet ano-
ther.

Queen Jane is
delivered of a
childe named
Edward; but
dieth.

The miserable
dissolution of
the Family of
the Geraldines
or Fitz Garrets
in Ireland.

Edw. Seymour
Viscount
Beauchamp is
made Earl of
Hartford.
Sir William
Fitz-Williams
Lord Admiral
is created Earl
of Southam-
pton.

Frier Forrest
hanged by the
middle and
withall burnt:
by which a
prophecie ful-
filled.

and considering perhaps this miracle as sent of God, they came to agreement, and upon pardon A
disbanded and returned to their houses: but in the mean time they had besieged the Castle of Scar-
borough, where the resolute carriage of Sir Ralph Evers is memorable; who held the Castle by only
his own servants and Tenants; and that, when for twenty days together, he had no other susti-
nance but bread and water. But all Commotions were not yet appeased, for at this very time,
there was another great Army assembled out of Cumberland, Westmerland, and the North-
parts of Lancashire, marching South-wards; but by the diligence of the Earl of Darby, to whom
also the Earl of Sussex was sent, they were suppressed, and their chief Leaders, as the Abbots
of Wally, Sauley, and others, apprehended and hanged. But neither is there yet an end of
Commotions, for now in February, Nicholas Musgrave, Thomas Tilby, with others to the number of
twelve thousand, began a Rebellion, and besieged Carlisle, but by the power of the City were first B
beaten back, and then were encountered by the Duke of Norfolk, who caused seventy four of them
by Martial law to be hanged on the walls of Carlisle. But neither was there yet an end of
Commotions, for now in Settrington, Pickering, Leigh and Scarborough, began a new Rebelli-
on, by procurement of Francis Bigot; who had a great power, and meant to have taken Hull,
but by the industry of Sir Ralph Ellerker, and the Maior of the Town, threescore of the
Rebels were taken and hanged, and the rest put to flight, and glad to be quiet. But neither yet was
there an end of Commotions, for in the latter end of this eight and twentieth year, the Lord
Darcy, the Lord Hussy, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer and his wife, Sir Thomas Piercy Brother
to the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempess Esquire, and others began to
conspire, although each of them before had been pardoned by the King: but this as being but C
the fagge end of the Commotion, was soon suppressed, the Lord Darcy was beheaded on the Tow-
er-hill, the Lord Hussy at Lincoln, Sir Robert Constable was hanged in chains at Hull, Sir John Bulmers
Paramour was burnt in Smithfield, and most of the other were executed at Tyburn: *Tanta mo-
lis erat*, so great a matter it was, to make the Realm be quiet, in so great innovations of
Religion.

This year on Saint Georges Feast, the Lord Cromwell was made Knight of the Garter, and on the
twelfth of October, which is Saint Edwards-even, at Hampton-Court, the Queen was delivered of a
Son; (but with so hard a labour that she was fain to be ript) the child was named Edward, whose
Godfathers at the Christning were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Norfolk, his God-
mother was his Sister the Lady Mary: at his Bishoping, his Godfather was the Duke of Suffolk: D
on the eighteenth of October, he was made Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester:
but the birth of his Son brought not so much joy to the King, as the death of his Queen brought
him sorrow; for within two days after she died, and was buried at Windsor, and so much was the
Kings grief for her death, that he continued a widower two years after.

It is not unworthy the relating, what a miserable dissolution befell the family of the Geraldines
or Fitz-Garrets (Earl of Kildare in Ireland) about this time; for Gerald Fitz-Garret, who had been
ten years Deputy in Ireland, upon the complaint of some fault, was sent for over into England,
where not making a satisfying answer, he was committed to the Tower; but before his coming
over, had with the Kings leave, left Deputy there his own Son, a young man of not above
twenty years of age, but yet ripe of understanding and fit for the place: this young Lord E
hearing that his Father was committed prisoner to the Tower; and soon after, as the rumour
encreased, that he was put to death; in rage to be revenged, rose up in Arms; and having five
Uncles in the Countrey (men of great estimation) drew them (though some of them unwilling-
ly) to take his part; amongst other outrages he committed, the Archbishop of Dublin was slain
in his presence: the Father in the Tower hearing hereof, with very grief died; the Son and his
Uncles, upon the Kings sending an Army, were all either taken or submitted; and being sent for
over into England, those of his Uncles, that against their wills had been drawn into the Action
had good hopes of their lives, till entering the ship of passage, which was called the Cow; they
then presently despaired, because of a Prophecie, that five Sons of a certain Earl should be carried
into England in the belly of a Cow, and never after return: and indeed it fell out true, for through F
the malice of their adversaries, (exasperating the King against them, and saying, there would never
be quietnesse in Ireland, as long as any of the Geraldines were left alive) they were all put to
death: one only Son of the family remained, a youth of thirteen years of age, who though at
that time sick of the Small-pox, yet made shift to save himself by flight; fled first into France,
and frighted from thence, afterward into Flanders, and driven from thence, at last into Italy, where
protected by Reginald Poole, at that time made Cardinal by Pope Julie the third, he was afterward,
by his means, reitored to his dignity and his patrimony.

This year Edward Seymour, Viscount Beauchamp, the Queens Brother was created Earl of Hart-
ford, and Sir William Fitz-Williams Lord Admiral, was created Earl of Southampton, Master Paulet
was made Vice-Treasurer, Sir John Russell was made Controller of the Kings House, and divers G
Gentlemen were made Knights.

In February divers Roods were taken down by the Kings commandement, as the Rood of
Boxeley, called the Rood of grace, which was made with vices to move the eyes and lips, al-
so the Rood called Saint Saviour at Bermondsey Abbey in Southwark, and divers others. In
May a Frier Observant, called Frier Forrest, who had taken the Oath of Supremacy himself,
yet privately perswaded others, that the King was not Supreme head of the Church; was there-
upon examined, and for his defence said, that he took the oath with his outward man, but
his

A his inward man never consented to it: but this answer served not his turn from being condemned; and on a pair of Gallows prepared for him, in *Smithfield*, he was hanged by the middle, and arm-holes, all quick, and under the Gallows was made a fire wherewith he was consumed: A little before his execution, a huge great Image was brought to the Gallows, fetched out of *Wales*, which the *Welsh* men had in great reverence, called *Darvel Gaiheran*, of which there went a Prophecie, that this Image should set a whole Forrest on fire, which was thought to take effect, in setting this Frier *Forrest* on fire, and consuming him to nothing.

In September, by the special motion of the Lord *Cromwell*, all the notable Images, unto which were made any special Pilgrimages and offerings, were taken down and burnt; as the Images of *Walsingham*, *Ipswich*, *Worcester*, the Lady of *Wilsdon*, with many other; and forthwith by

All Images put down.

B means of the laid *Cromwell*, all the orders of Friers and Nuns, with their Cloysters and Houses, were suppressed and put down: also the Shrines of counterfeit Saints; amongst others, the Shrine of *Thomas Becket* in the Priory of Christ-Church was taken to the Kings use, and his bones, scull and all which was there found, with a piece broken out by the wound of his death, were all burnt in the same Church by command of the Lord *Cromwell*: and the one and twentieth of October, the Church of *Thomas Becket* in London, called the Hospital of Saint *Thomas of Acres* was suppressed: the sixteenth of November the *Black-friers* in London was suppressed; the next day the *White-friers*, the *Gray-friers*, and the Monks of the *Charter-house*, & so all the other immediately after: only three Abbots resisted, the Abbot of *Colechester*, the Abbot of *Reading*, and the Abbot of *Glastenbury*, who therefore were all taken and executed. The four and twentieth of

All orders of Friers and Nunneries suppressed by *Cromwell*.

C November the Bishop of *Rocheſter* preached at *Pauls-crosse*, and there shewed the bloud of *Hales*, affirming it to be no bloud, but Honey clarified and coloured with Saffron, as it had been evidently proved before the King and Council. The number of Monasteries suppressed, were six hundred forty five, besides four score and ten Colledges, one hundred and ten Hospitals, and of Chantryes and free Chappels two thousand three hundred seventy four. But now to make amends for the suppressing of so many Monasteries, the King instituted certain new Bishopricks, as at *Westminster*, *Oxford*, *Exeterborough*, *Bristol*, *Chester*, and *Gloucester*; and assigned certain Canons and Prebends to each of them.

The number of Monasteries suppressed.

In lieu of the suppressed Monasteries the King erected six new Bishopricks.

The third of November *Henry Courtney* Marquesse of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Devonshire*, *Henry Poole* Lord *Mountacute*, *Sir Nicholas Carew* of *Bedington*, Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Kings Horse, and *Sir Edward Nevill*, Brother to the Lord *Aburgeiny*, were sent to the Tower; being accused by *Sir Geoffrey Poole* the Lord *Mountacute* Brother of high Treason; they were indited for devising to promote and advance one *Reinold Poole* to the Crown, and put down King *Henry*. This *Poole* was a neer kinsman of the Kings (being the Son of the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Salisbury*, Daughter and Heir to *George Duke of Clarence*) he had been brought up by the King in learning, and made Dean of *Exeter*; but being sent after, to learn experience by travail, he grew so great a friend of the Popes, that he became an enemy to King *Henry*, and for his enmity to the King, was by Pope *Jules* the third made Cardinal; for this mans cause, the Lords aforesaid being condemned, were all executed, the Lord Marquess, the Lord *Mountacute*, and *Sir Edward Nevill*, beheaded on the Tower-hill, the ninth of January, *Sir Nicholas Carew*, the third of March, two Priests

Divers Lords and Knights executed: and why.

Cardinal *Poole* his parentage: and education.

E condemned with them were hanged at *Tibur*; *Sir Geoffrey Poole* though condemned also, yet had his pardon.

About this time one *Nicholson*, alias *Lambert*, being accused for denying the Real presence in the Sacrament, appealed to the King, and the King was content to hear him; whereupon a Throne was set up in the Hall of the Kings Palace at *Westminster*, for the King to sit: and when the Bishops had urged their arguments; and could not prevail, then the King took him in hand, hoping perhaps to have the honor of converting an Heretick, when the Bishops could not do it, and withall promised him pardon, if he would recant; but all would not do, *Nicholson* remained obstinate, the King mist his honor, the delinquent mist his pardon; and shortly after was drawn to *Smithfield*, and there burnt.

F About this time King *Henry* being informed that the Pope, by instigation of Cardinal *Poole*, had earnestly moved divers great Princes to invade *England*; he as a provident Prince, endeavoured as earnestly to provide for defence; and to that end rode himself to the Sea-coasts to see them fortified, and in needful places Bulworks to be erected: He caused his Navy to be rigged, and to be in readinesse at any short warning: He caused Musters to be taken in all Shires; and lists of all able men in every County, in London specially; where *Sir William Forman* the then Maior, certified the number of fifteen thousand, not that they were no more, but that so many were ready prepared; and these on the eight of May, the King himself saw Mustered in Saint *James Park*; where the Citizens strove in such sort to exceed each other in bravery of arms, and forwardnesse of service, as if the City had been a Camp, and they not men of the gown, but all profest souldiers; which they performed to their great cost, but greater commendation.

G It was now the one and thirtieth year of King *Henries* reign, and the nine and fortieth of his age; when having continued a widower two years, he began to think of marrying again; and he needed not to be a suitor for a wife, for he was sued unto to take a one. The Emperor solicited him to marry the Dutchesse of *Milan*; but to marry her he must first obtain a Licence from the Pope, and King *Henry* was resolved rather to have no wife, then to have any more to do with the Pope. Then the Duke of *Cleves* made suit unto him, to marry

An. Reg. 31. The King inclines to marry again.

And by the commendation of *Cromwell* marries the Lady *Anne* Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*.

Sir *William Hollys* Knight Lord Maior of *London*.

The Lord *Cromwell* is made Earl of *Essex*.

How the Earldom of *Essex* came to the family of *Devereux*.

Earls created.

The Lord *Cromwell* is committed to the Tower.

Is beheaded.

His Parentage and education.

The Kings marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, is by Parliament judged unlawful.

Leonard Gray beheaded, and why.

the Lady *Anne* his his Sister, and he was a Protestant Prince; and so, though differing in points A of Doctrine, yet in the main point of excluding the Pope, both of one minde. Many about the King were forward for this Match, but the Lord *Cromwell* specially; and indeed it concerned him more then any other, that the King should take a Protestant Wife, seeing his actions had been such as none but a Protestant Queen would ever like; and if the Queen should not like them, the King, though done by his leave, would not like them long. Hereupon such means was used, that Embassadors came from the Duke of *Cleve* to conclude the match; and then, the eleventh of December, the Lady her self in great state was brought, first to *Callice*, and then over to *Dover*; and being come to *Rocheſter*, the King secretly came to see her, afterward she was conducted to *London*, met by the way in several places, by all the great Lords and Ladies of the Kingdom. The third of January she was received into *London* by Sir *William Hollys* Knight, then Lord Maior, with B Orations, Pageants, and all complements of State, the greatest that ever had been seen. On Twelfth day the Marriage was solemnized, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* did the Office, the Earl of *Overſtein* a German Lord gave her. In April following the Lord *Cromwell*, as though he had won the Kings heart for ever by making this match, was made Earl of *Essex*; for in March before, *Henry Bourcbier* Earl of *Essex*, and the ancientest Earl of *England*, had broken his neck by seeking to break a young Horse, leaving only one Daughter, and she dying without issue, the Earldom came to the Family of *Devereux*, which yet enjoyed not the honor, till afterward in Queen *Elizabeths* time, and then made but not restored.

The ninth of March, the King created Sir *William Paulet* Treasurer of his House, Lord *Saint-John*, Sir *John Russel* Controller, Lord *Russel*, and shortly after Sir *William Par* was created Lord C Par. The eight and twentieth of April began a Parliament at *Westminster*, in the which *Margaret* Countesse of *Salisbury*, *Gertrude* Wife to the Marquesse of *Exceſter*, *Reynold Poole* Cardinal Brother to the Lord *Mountacute*, Sir *Adrian Forkew*, *Thomas Dingley* Knight of *Saint Johns*; and divers others were attainted of high Treason; of whom *Forkew* and *Dingley* the tenth of July were beheaded, the Countesse of *Salisbury* two years after; and in this Parliament the act of the six Articles was established, and Sir *Nicholas Here* was restored to his place of Speaker in the Parliament.

It was now five moneths after the Kings marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*; and though the King at the first sight of the Lady, did not like her person; yet, whether as respecting the honor of Ladies, he would not disgrace her at the first meeting; or whether he meant to try D how time might work him to a better liking; or indeed, that he would not give distast to the German Princes at that time; for some ends he had a working, he dissembled the matter, and all things went on in a shew of contentment on all hands. But for all these shews, the crafty Bishop of *London* *Stephen Gardiner*, finding how the world went with the Kings affection towards his Queen; and for her sake with *Cromwell*; to neither of whom he was greatly affected (not to the Queen, as misliking her Religion; not to *Cromwell*, as envying his greatnesse;) he so wrought upon the Kings inclination, what by suggesting, and what by aggravating, that the Lord *Cromwell*, the ninth of July, sitting in the Councel Chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower; and the nineteenth of the same moneth was attainted by Parliament, and never came to his Answer; by a Law, which (as some reported) he himself had caused to be made; and the eight and twentieth of July was beheaded on the Tower-hill; for crimes (as appears in Record) of Heresie and Treason. This Lord *Cromwell* was born at *Putney*, a Village in Surrey near the Thames sides, Son to a Smith, after whose decease his Mother was married to a Sheerman; for the pregnancy of his wit he was first entertained by Cardinal *Woolsey*, and by him employed in many great affairs; the Cardinal falling, the King took him into his service; and finding his great abilities, first advanced him for his worth, and then for his pleasure overthrew him. But the greatest part of *Stephen Gardiners* practise had been done before; for at Midsummer before, the King caused the Queen to remove to *Richmond*, as for her health and pleasure; and in the time of her absence, on the sixt of July, sent certain Lords to the Lower House of Parliament, who there declared certain causes, for which the Kings marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, R was not to be counted lawful; and so carried the matter, that the Convocation clearly determined, the King might marry any other; and so might she. Being thus Divorced; it was further Enacted, she should no more be called Queen, but the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*. The fault for which this Divorce was decreed, is not expressly delivered; some say, a precontract of the said Lady with a Lord of *Germany* was pretended; but it seems to have been for some womanish defect in her body; as she spared not to affirm that she had never been carnally known by the King in all the time of their lying together; and as it is said, when her Ladies one time said unto her, that they looked now every day to hear of her great belly; she should answer, they might look long enough, unlesse, saying, How dost thou sweet heart? God morrow sweet heart, and such like words, could make a great belly; for (said she) more then this, there never passed between the King and me. How ever it was, she willingly submitted to the Decree, whether out of fear, or perhaps as little liking the King as the King did her; and afterward led a private life here in England, well respected of the King, and dying sixteen years after, in the fourth year of Queen Mary, was buried at *Westminster*.

About this time *Leonard Gray* Deputy of *Ireland*, was on the Tower-hill beheaded, for suffering his Nephew *Gerald Fitz-Garret* to escape, who had been declared an enemy unto the State, and then also was *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dares*, a young man of four and twenty years of age, hanged at

A at Tyburn, for killing a mean person upon a sudden affray; also the fourth of August, Thomas Ep-
 son a Monk of Westminster, for denying to take his Oath, to be true to the King, had his Monks
 garment plucked from his back, the last that was seen in such habit in England till Queen Maries
 days.

Thomas Fines
 Lord Dacres
 hanged at Ty-
 burn, and why.

The sixth of July in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, King Henry had been divorced from
 the Lady Anne of Cleve, and now the eight of August following, the Lady Katherine Howard, Niece
 to the Duke of Norfolk and Daughter to the Lord Edward Howard, was shewed openly as Queen
 at Hampton-court.

King Henry
 marries the
 Lady Katherine
 Howard.

On the tenth of June the year following, Sir Edmund Knevet of Norfolk, Knight, was arraigned
 before the Officers of the Green-cloth, for striking one Master Cleere of Norfolk, within the Ten-
 nis-court of the Kings House; being found guilty, he had judgement to lose his right hand, and
 to forfeit all his lands and goods; whereupon there was called to do execution, first the Serjeant
 Surgeon, with his Instruments pertaining to his Office, then the Serjeant of the Woodyard, with
 a mallet and a block to lay the hand upon, then the Kings Master Cook with a knife to cut off
 the hand, then the Serjeant of the Larder to set the knife right on the joint, then the Serjeant
 Farrier with searing Irons to sear the veins, then the Serjeant of the Poultry with a Cock, which
 Cock should have his head smitten off upon the same block, and with the same knife; then the
 Yeoman of the Chandry with Sear-cloaths, then the Yeoman of the Scullery, with a pan of fire
 to heat the Irons, a chafer of water to cool the ends of the Irons, and two forms for all Officers
 to set their stuffe on, then the Serjeant of the Cellar with Wine, Ale and Beer, then the Ser-
 jeant of the Ewry, with Bason, Ewre, and Towels: all things being thus prepared, Sir William
 Pickering Knight Marshal, was commanded to bring in his prisoner, Sir Edmund Knevet, to whom
 the Chief Justice declared his offence, which the said Knevet confessed, and humbly submitted
 himself to the Kings mercy, only he desired, that the King would spare his right hand and take his
 left, because (said he) if my right hand be spared, I may live to do the King good service: of whose
 submission, and reason of his suit, when the King was informed, he granted him to lose neither of
 his hands, and pardoned him also of his lands and goods.

Sir Thomas
 Knevet is ad-
 judged to lose
 his right hand,
 and the solemn
 manner of do-
 ing it.

Is pardoned;
 and why.

The Summer of his three and thirtieth year, King Henry with his Queen Katherine,
 made a progresse into the North-parts, and returning at Albhollandide to Hampton-court he
 was there informed of the Queens dissolute life first before her marriage with one Francis Deer-
 bam, a Gentleman of Norfolk, whom employed afterward in Ireland, she had lately again at Pom-
 fret received into her service; and now since her marriage with one Thomas Colepepper, of the Kings
 Privy-chamber; whereupon the thirteenth of November, Sir Thomas Wriothesley Knight, Secretary
 to the King, was sent to the Queen at Hampton-Court, to charge her with these crimes, and dis-
 charging her household, to cause her to be conveyed to Sion, there to remain, till the Kings
 pleasure should be further known: the Delinquents being examined, Deerham confessed, that be-
 fore the Kings marriage with the Lady Katherine, there had been a pre-contract between himself
 and her; but when he once understood of the Kings liking towards her, he then waded and con-
 cealed it for her preferment: so the first of Decemb. these Gentlemen being arraigned at the Guild-
 hall, they confessed the Indictment, and had Judgement to die, as in cases of Treason: the tenth

King Henry is
 informed of
 the dissolute
 life of Queen
 Katherine with
 Deerham and
 Colepepper.

E of December, they were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, where Colepepper was beheaded, and
 Deerham was hanged and dismembred; Colepeppers body was buried in Sepulchers Church in London,
 but both their heads were set on London-bridge: the two and twentieth of December, there were
 arraigned at the Kings Bench, the Lord William Howard and the Lady Margaret his Wife, Katherine
 Tilney, and Alice Rastwold Gentlewomen, Joane Bulmer, Wife to Anthony Bulmer Gentleman, Anne
 Howard Wife to Henry Howard Esquire, and Brother to the Queen, with divers others, who
 were all condemned for misprision of Treason, for concealing the Queens misdemeanor, and ad-
 judged to forfeit all their lands and goods during life, and to remain in perpetual prison. The
 sixteenth of January the Parliament began at Westminster, where the Lords and Commons peti-
 tioned the King, that he would not vex himself with the Queens offence, and that both she and the
 F Lady Rochford might be attainted by Parliament; and that to avoid protracting of time, he
 would give his Royal assent unto it, under the great Seal, without staying for the end of the Par-
 liament. Also, that Deerham and Colepepper having been attainted before by the Common Law,
 might be attainted likewise by Parliament: all which was assented to by the King; and after, on
 the thirteenth of February, the Queen and the Lady Rochford were beheaded on the Green within
 the Tower, where they confessed their offences, and died penitently: yet something to take off the
 offences of this Queen; it is certainly said, that after her condemnation, she protested to Doctor
 White Bishop of Winchester, her last Confessor, that as for the act for which she was condemned, she
 took God and his holy Angels to witnesse, upon her souls salvation, that she died guiltlesse.

Colepepper is
 beheaded, and
 Deerham han-
 ged.

Queen Kath-
 erine is behea-
 ded.

G Before this, on the three and twentieth of January, King Henry was proclaimed King of Ireland,
 whereas before this time, the Kings of England were only entituled Lords of Ireland: and this title
 was given him both by the Parliament here, and by the Parliament holden in Ireland, before Sir
 Anthony Soinleger Knight, the Kings Deputy there.

King Henry is
 proclaimed
 King of Ire-
 land.

About this time Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisle, base Son to King Edward the fourth, having
 been imprisoned upon suspicion of a practice, for betraying of Callice to the French, whilst he was
 the Kings Lieutenant there, was now found to be innocent of the Fact: and thereupon the King
 to make him some reparation for his disgrace, sent him a Ring and a very gracious message, by
 Sir Thomas Wriothesley his Secretary; whereat the said Viscount took so great joy, that the night
 following,

Arthur Planta-
 genet Viscount
 Lisle dieth of
 Joy,

Sir John Dudley Son to Edmund Dudley beheaded, is made Viscount Lisle.

Burgesses of the Parliament and their servants free from arrest.

The Commands of the Parliament to be executed by their Serjeant without any Writ, by shewing only his Mace.

King Henry will maintain the Privileges of Parliament.

The Scots enter the English borders: against whom the King sends an Army and repels them.

following, of that very joy he died: so deadly a thing is any passion, even joy it self, if it be extreme. After his death Sir John Dudley, his Wives Son, was created Viscount Lisle. This Sir John Dudley was Son to Edmund Dudley, beheaded in the first year of this Kings reign, and was made Viscount Lisle in right of his Mother.

During this Parliament, one George Ferrers Gentleman, servant to the King and Burgesse for the Town of *Plimmouth* in *Devonshire*, in going to the Parliament House, was arrested in *London* by a Proceſſe out of the Kings Bench, for a Debt wherein he was late afore condemned, as surety for one *Welden*, at the ſuit of one *White*; which arrest being ſignified to Sir *Thomas Mowl* Knight, Speaker then of the Parliament, and to the Knights and Burgesses there; order was taken, that the Serjeant of the Parliament, called *Saint-John*, should be sent to the Counter in *Bredstreet* (whither the said *Ferrers* was carried) and there demand to have him delivered: but the Officers of the Counter not only refused to deliver him, but gave the Serjeant such language, that they fell at last to an affray; at which time the Sheriffs coming, they also took their Officers part; so as the Serjeant was faine to return without the Prisoner; which being signified to the Speaker and the Burgesses; they took the matter in so ill part, that they would sit no more without their Burgesse; and thereupon rising up, repaired to the upper House, where the whole Case was declared by the Speaker, before Sir *Thomas Audeley* Lord Chancellor, and the Lords and Judges there assembled: who judging the contempt to be very great, referred the punishment thereof to the House of Commons it self: whereupon returning to their places again, upon new debate of the Case, they took order that their Serjeant should once more repair to the Sheriffs of *London*, and demand the prisoner, without carrying any Writ or Warrant for the matter. It is true, the Lord Chancellor offered to grant a Writ, but the House of Commons refused it; being of a clear opinion, that all commandements from the nether House were to be executed by their Serjeant without Writ, only by shewing his Mace, which is his Warrant: but before the Serjeants return into *London*, the Sheriffs better advised, became more mild, and upon the second demand, delivered the prisoner without any denial; but then the Serjeant had further in charge, to command the Sheriffs and Clerks of the Counter, to appear personally the next morning before the House of Commons: where appearing, they were charged by the Speaker with their contempt, and compelled to make immediate answer, without being admitted to any counsel; Sir *Roger Chomely* Recorder of *London*, offered to speak in the cause, but was not suffered, nor any other but the parties themselves: in conclusion, the Sheriffs and *White* who had caused the Arrest were committed to the Tower, the Officer that did the Arrest, with four other Officers to Newgate; but after two or three days, upon the humble suit of the Maior, were set at liberty; and because the said *Ferrers* being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and set at large by priviledge of Parliament, was not by law to be brought again into execution; and so the creditor without remedy for his debt, against him as his principal debtor; therefore after long debate, by the space of nine or ten days together, they at last resolved to make an Act of purpose, to revive the execution of the said debt, against *Welden* who was principal debtor, and to discharge *Ferrers* that was but surety: wherein notwithstanding, the House was divided, and the Act passed but by fourteen voices: the King being advertised of this proceeding, called before him the Lord Chancellor and the Judges, the Speaker and divers of the Lower House, to whom he declared his opinion to this effect: first commending their wisdom, in maintaining the priviledges of their House. (which he would not have to be infringed in any point) he alleged, that he being the head of the Parliament, and attending in his own Person upon the business thereof, ought in reason, to have priviledge for himself and all his servants attending upon him, so as if the said *Ferrers* had been no Burgesse, but only his servant; yet in that respect, he was to have the priviledge as well as any other: for I understand (saith he) that you, not only for your own persons, but also for your necessary servants, even to your Cooks and Horse-keepers, enjoy the same Priviledge; in so much, as my Lord Chancellor here present, hath informed us, that whilst he was Speaker of the Parliament, the Cook of the Temple was arrested in *London*, and in execution upon a Statute of the Staple, and for so much, as the said Cook during all the Parliament served the Speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution by priviledge of Parliament; the Prerogative of which Court, (as our learned Council informeth us) is so great, that all Acts and Proceſſes coming out of any other Court; must for the time cease and give place to it: and touching the party himself, though for his presumption he was worthy to have lost his debt, yet I commend your equity, that have restored him to his debt against him that was the principal: When the King had said this, Sir *Edward Mountacute* Lord chief Justice, rose up, and confirmed by many reasons, all that the King had said, as likewise did all the other Lords, none speaking anything to the contrary.

It was now the four and thirtieth year of King *Henries* Reign, when in *May* he took a loan of money of all such as were valued at fifty pounds and upwards in the Subsidie Book, the Lord Privy-seal, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *Thomas Baker*, and Sir *Thomas Wrightley* were Commissioners for the loan in *London*, who so handled the matter, that of some chief Citizens they obtained a thousand marks in prest to the Kings use: for which Privy Seals were delivered to repay it again within two years.

At this time, were many complaints made by the *English*, against the *Scots*, partly for receiving and maintaining divers *English* Rebels, fled into *Scotland*, and partly for invading the *English* Borders; but still when the King of *England* was preparing to oppose them, the *Scottish* King would

A would send Embassadors to treat of reconcilement, till at last, after many delusory pranks of the Scots, the King of England, no longer enduring such abuses, sent the Duke of Norfolk his Lieutenant General, accompanied with the Earl of Shrewsbury, Darby, Cumberland, Surrey, Harford, Angus, Rutland, the Lords of the North-parts, Sir Anthony Brown Master of the Kings Horse, and Sir John Gage Controller of the Kings House, with others, to the number of twenty thousand men; who on the one and twentieth of October entred Scotland, where staying but eight days only he burnt above eighteen Towns, Abbeyes, and Castles, and then without having battail offered, for want of victuals returned to Barwick; as soon as he returned, comes abroad the King of Scots, raiseth a power of fifteen thousand men, and using great threatnings what he would do, invaded the West Borders, but the edge of his threatening was soon taken off, for the Bastard Dacres, with Jack of Mulgrave, setting upon them with only an hundred Light-horse, and Sir Tho. Wharton with three hundred, put them to flight; upon a conceit, that the Duke of Norfolk with all his Army had been come into those parts; where were taken prisoners of the Scots, the Earl of Cassil and Gencarne, the Lord Maxwell Admiral of Scotland, the Lord Flemming, the Lord Somerwell, the Lord Oliphant, the Lord Gray, Sir Oliver Sinclair, the Kings Minion, John Ross Lord of Gragy, Roger Erskin Son to the Lord Erskin, Car Lord of Gredon, the Lord Maxwells two Brothers, John Lesly Bastard Son to the Earl of Rothes, George Hame Lord of Hemetton, with divers other men of account, to the number of above two hundred, and more then eight hundred of meaner calling; so as some one English man, and some women also had three or four prisoners in their hands: at which overthrow, the King of Scots took such grief, that he fell into a burning Ague, and thereof died, leaving behinde him one only Daughter; and here King Henry began to apprehend a greater matter then the victory, for he and his Council conceived, that this Daughter, would be a fit match for his Son Prince Edward, thereby to make a perpetual union of the two Kingdoms; and to this purpose they conferred with the Lords whom they had taken prisoners, who exceeding glad of the proposition, and promising to further it by all the possible means they could, were thereupon set at liberty, and suffered to return home. Coming into Scotland, and acquainting the Earl of Arraine with the motion, who was chosen Governor of the young Queen and of the Realm; the matter with great liking was entertained, and in Parliament of the three Estates in Scotland, the marriage was confirmed, and a peace between the two Realms for ten years was proclaimed, and Embassadors sent into England, for sealing the conditions. But Beton Archbishop of Saint Andrews, being Cardinal, and at the Popes devotion, and therefore an utter enemy to King Henry, so crossed the businessse that it came to nothing, but ended in a war between the two Kingdoms; so as in March the year following, the Lord Seymour Earl of Hartford, with an Army by Land, and Sir John Dudley Lord Lisle, with a Fleet by Sea, met at New-castle, and there joyned together, for invading of Scotland; with the Earl of Hartford, were the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Cobham, Clinton, Conyers, Sinton; the Lord William Howard, with Knights and others, to the number of ten thousand; with Sir John Dudley the Admiral, were two hundred sail of ships: on the fourth of May, the whole Army was landed two miles from the town of Lieth, at a place called Granter Grag; and there the Lord Lieutenant putting his men in order, marched towards the Town of Lieth: the Lord Admiral led the forward, the Lieutenant the Battel, and the Earl of Shrewsbury the Rearward. Before they came to the Town of Lieth, the Cardinal with six hundred Horse, besides Foot, lay in the way to impeach the passage; but they were so assailed by the Harquebusars, that they were glad to flie, and the first man that fled was the Cardinal himself, and then the Earls of Huntley, Murrey, and Bothwell; hereupon the English made forward to Lieth, and entred it without any great resistance: the sixth of May they marched towards Edinburg, and as they approached the Town, the Provost with some of the Burgers, came and offered the Keys of the Town to the Lord Lieutenant, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage, and the Town to be preserved from fire; but the Lord Lieutenant told them, their falsehood had been such, as deserved no favour, and therefore unless they would deliver the Town absolutely without any condition, he would proceed in his enterprise and burn the Town. Here we may see, what it is to make men desperate, for to this the Provost answered, they were better then to stand upon defence, and so indeed they did, and made the English glad to retire, for the Castle shot so fiercely upon them, that having burnt only a part of the Town, they returned to Lieth; but whilst they lay there, they so wasted the Countrey, that within seven miles every way of Edinburg, there was not a Town, nor Village, nor house that was left unburnt: at Lieth, the eleventh day of May, the Lord General made Knights, the Lord Clinton, the Lord Conyers, Sir William Wroughton, Sir Thomas Holecraff, Sir Edward Dorel, Sir Francis Hatbam, and others, to the number of at least threescore: in Lieth Haven, they seised upon all the Scottisb Ships; whereof two were of notable fairnesse, the one called the Salamander, given by the French King, at the marriage of his Daughter into Scotland, the other called the Unicorn, made by the late Scottisb King; the ballast of which two Ships was Canon-shot, whereof they found in the Town, to the number of fourscore thousand. On the fifteenth of May, their Army and their Fleet departed from Lieth, both in one hour, having first set the Town on fire and burned it to the ground: from Lieth the English Army marched to Seaton, from thence to Haddington, from thence to Dunbar, from thence to Ranton, all which Towns and Castles with divers others they burnt and utterly defaced; and on the eighteenth of May came to Barwick, not having lost in all the journey above fourteen men.

In the mean time, in King Henries five and thirtieth year, on Trinity Sunday a new league was entred into and sworn, between the King and the Emperor at Hampton-court, to be both offensive and defensive.

The Scots
trighted with a
conceit.

The King of
Scots with grief
thereof dieth,
leaving be-
hinde him one
only daughter.
King Henry
seeks to match
his son Prince
Edward with
this daughter;
and is embrac-
ed by all the
States of Scot-
land.

Only Beton
Archbishop of
Saint Andrew
and Cardinal
crosseth it.
Whereupon a
war between
the two King-
doms.

And the Earl
of Hartford is
sent with an
Army into
Scotland.
Where he takes
Lieth and ma-
ny other
Towns.

No policy to
make the ene-
my desperate.

In

Lords impriso-
ned for eating
flesh in Lent.

Obrine is crea-
ted Earl of
Thowmond:
whose posterity
enjoyeth the
Honor to this
day.

King Henry
marries the La-
dy Katherine
Par widow of
the Lord Lati-
mer.

She is accused
to the King of
Heresie.

And by what
means she a-
voids the dan-
ger.

King Henry
sends over an
Army to aid
the Emperor
against the
King of
France.

Lords made.

In this year, Proclamation was made, whereby the people were licensed to eat white meats in A Lent; but straightly forbidden the eating of flesh, whereupon shortly after, the Earl of Surrey with divers other Lords, and Knights, were imprisoned for eating of flesh contrary to the Proclamation.

The third of June this year, there came out of Ireland three Lords, of whom Obrine was here created Earl of Thowmond, (which honor his posterity enjoyeth to this day) Mack William a Bary, was created Earl of Clarrinckford, and Mack Gilparick, was made Baron of Ebranky.

King Henry had already had five Wives all of them Maids, and no good luck with any of them, he will now therefore try his fortune with a Widow, and thereupon the twelfth of June, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign he took to wife the Lady Katherine Par, widow of the Lord Latimer late deceased, who was then proclaimed Queen; but how lucky would this match have proved, if the King had longer lived, God knows, seeing in the short time of three years they lived together, it was no small danger she escaped, which though it happened not till a year or two after this time, yet will not unfitly be spoken of in this place, that so her story may come together; this Queen as being an earnest Protestant had many great adversaries, by whom she was accused to the King, to have Heretical Books found in her closet; and this was so much aggravated against her, that they prevailed with the King, to signa Warrant to commit her to the Tower, with a purpose to have her burnt for Heresie; this Warrant was delivered to Wriothesley Lord Chancellor, and he by chance, or rather indeed by Gods providence, letting it fall from him, it was taken up and carried to the Queen; who having read it, went soon after to visit the King, at that time keeping his chamber, by reason of a sore leg; being come to the King, he presently fell into talk with her, about some points of Religion, demanding her resolution there- in, but the knowing that his nature was not to be crost, specially considering the case she was in, made him answer, that she was a woman accompanied with many imperfections, but his Majesty was wise and judicious, of whom she must learn as of her Lord and Head; Not so by Saint Mary (said the King) for you are a Doctor Kate to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us, as often we have seen heretofore: Indeed Sir (said she) if your Majesty have so conceived, I have been mistaken, for if heretofore I have held talk with you touching Religion, it hath been to learn of your Majesty some point, whereof I stood in doubt, and sometimes that with my talk I might make you forget your present infirmity: And is it even so sweet heart? (quoth the King) why then we are friends, and so kissing her, gave her leave to depart. But soon after, the day was appointed by the Kings Warrant for apprehending her; on which day, the King being disposed to walk in the Garden, had the Queen with him, when suddenly the Lord Chancellor with forty of the Guard, came into the Garden with a purpose to apprehend her: whom as soon as the King saw, he stept to him, and calling him knave and fool, bid him avant out of his presence: the Queen seeing the King so angry with him, began to intreat for him, to whom the King said; Ah poor soul, thou little knowest what it is he came about, of my word sweet heart, he hath been to thee a very knave; and thus by Gods providence was this Queen preserved, who else had tasted of as bitter a cup, as any of his former wives had done.

About this time King Henry and the Emperor sent Garter and Teyson d'or, Kings at Arms, to demand performance of certain Articles of the French King: which if he denied, they were then commanded to defie him: but the French King would not suffer them to come within his land, and so they returned: whereupon King Henry caused the said demands to be declared to the French Ambassador at Westminster; and in July sent over six thousand men, under the leading of Sir John Walloppe accompanied with divers Knights and Gentlemen, Sir Thomas Seymour was Marshal of the Army, Sir Robert Bower Treasurer, Sir Richard Cronwal Captain of the Horse, and Sir George Carew his Lieutenant. There were likewise Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir John Rainsford, Sir John Saint John, and Sir John Gascoigne Knights, that were Captains of the Foot. Their Commission was to join with the Emperor, and together to make war upon France. The third of August open war was proclaimed in London, between the Emperor and the King of England on the one part, and the French King on the other, as mortal enemy to them both; and to all other Christian Princes besides, as he that had confederated himself with the Turk. Sir John Walloppe marching forth of Callice with his Army, joyned with the Emperors Forces, who together went and besieged Landersey a Town lately fortified by the French, lying within the borders of the Emperors Dominions: to raise the siege, this French King had raised a mighty Army; with which he came on as if he meant to give the Emperor battail; and thereupon the Emperor raising his siege, with a purpose to encounter him, the French King took the opportunity to put men and victuals into the Town, which was the thing he intended: and having done this, the night following departed with his Army; and then the Emperor seeing him gone, and finding the winter coming on, and no hope of sudden getting the Town, being now newly supplied, he also broke up his Army, and returned home.

This year the Sunday before Christmase, the Lord William Parre, Brother to the Queen, who had married the Daughter and Heir of Henry Bouchier Earl of Essex, was at Hampton Court created Earl of Essex, and Sir William Parre Knight Uncle to them both, was made Lord Parre of Horton and Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; and on New-years day Sir Thomas Wriothesley, the Kings Secretary, was made Lord Wriothesley of Titchfield.

A In June this year, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* fled out of *Scotland* and came into *England*, whom King *Henry* received kindly, and gave him in marriage the Lady *Margaret* his Sisters Daughter, by whom he had *Henry*, Father of our late King *James* of blessed memory.

King *James*
his parentage.

Thomas Audeley Lord Chancellour, being lately dead, *Thomas* Lord *Wriothesley* succeeded him in the place; and now was an Army levied to go for *France*; the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Lord Privy Seal, accompanied with the Earl of *Surrey* the Dukes Son, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley* and his Son *Sir Robert Devereux*, *Sir Thomas Chaine* Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Lord *Montjoy*, *Sir Francis Bryan*, *Sir Thomas Poynings* Captain of *Guyssnes*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, about *Whitsuntide* passed over to *Callice*; and marched toward *Mutrel*, joyned with the Emperours Forces, under the leading of the Count *de Buren*; which

B two Armies laid siege to *Mutrel*, whereof *Monsieur de Bies*, one of the Marshals of *France* was Captain, but being then at *Bulloigne*, and hearing of the siege of *Mutrel*, he left *Bulloigne*; and with his Forces came thither, which was the thing that was desired, to draw him from *Bulloigne*; and thereupon was the Duke of *Suffolk* appointed to passe over with the Kings Army, accompanied with the Earl of *Arundel* Marshall of the Field, the Lord *Saint-John*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Sir John Gage* Controller of the Kings House, *Sir Anthony Brown* Master of the Kings Horse, with divers others; who the nineteenth of *July* came and encamped before *Bulloigne*; the four and twentieth of *July* the King in person, accompanied with divers of the Nobility, came to *Callice*; and the six and twentieth encamped before *Bulloigne* on the North side: many batteries and assaults were made, so long, till at last the Town upon composition yeelded, and the Duke

King *Henry*
lays siege to
Bulloigne.

C of *Suffolk* entred and took possession, suffering six thousand *French*, as was agreed, with bag and baggage to depart. The eighth of *September* King *Henry* entred the Town himself, and then leaving the Lord *Lisle* Lord Admirall, his Deputy there, he returned into *England*, landing at *Dover* the first of *October*. Many enterprises after this were made by the Daulphin of *France* and by *Monsieur de Bies* for recovery of *Bulloigne*, but they were still repulsed, and the *English* kept the Town in spight of all they could do; although at one time there came an Army of eighteen thousand foot, at another time an Army, wherein were reckoned twelve thousand Lance Knights, twelve thousand *French* foot-men, six thousand *Italian*, four thousand of Legionary Souldiers of *France*, a thousand men of Arms, besides eight thousand light Horse; great Forces certainly to come and do nothing.

He takes the
Town and re-
turns.

D Whilest these things were doing about *Bulloigne*, the Ships of the West Countrey and other places wafted abroad on the Seas, and took above three hundred *French* Ships; so that the *Gray-fryers* Church in *London* was laid full of Wines, the *Austin-fryers* and *Black-fryers* full of Herrings and other Fish, which should have been conveyed into *France*.

Three hun-
dred *French*
Ships taken,
laden with
Wine and
Herrings.

About this time the King demanded a Benevolence of his Subjects, towards his Wars in *France* and *Scotland*; to which purpose, the Lord Chancellour, the Duke of *Saffolk*, and other of the Kings Councill sate at *Baynards* Castle, where they first called before them the Maior and Aldermen, and because *Richard Read* Alderman, would not agree to pay as they set him, he was commanded to serve the King in his Wars in *Scotland*, which the obblinate man rather chose to do, then he would pay the rate he was required; but being there, he was taken prisoner by the *Scots*,

King *Henry*
demands a Be-
nevolence
towards his
wars in *France*.

E to his far greater damage, then if he had agreed to the Benevolence required: For at this time, *Sir Ralph Ivers* Lord Warden of the Marches, after many fortunate Roads into *Scotland*, assembled four thousand men, and entring *Scotland* now again, was encountred by the Earl of *Arraine*, by whom he and the Lord *Oagle*, and many other Gentlemen were slain, and divers were taken prisoners, of whom Alderman *Read* was one.

Richard Read
Alderman re-
fusing to pay
his Assesment
is sent a Soul-
dier into *Scot-*
land; and there
taken prisoner.
Sir Thomas
Wriothesley Lord
Chancellour
is made
Knight of the
Garter.

It was now the seven and thirtieth year of King *Henries* Reign, when on *Saint Georges* day *Sir Thomas Wriothesley* Lord Chancellour was made Knight of the Garter: also *Trinity* Term was adjourned by reason of the Wars, but the Exchequer and the Court of the Tenthis were open.

F At this time, the *English* Fleet went before *New-haven*, but being there encountred by a far greater Fleet of *French*, they returned; with whose retreat, the *French* Admirall emboldened, came upon the Coast of *Suffex*, where he landed Souldiers, but upon firing of the Beacons was driven back, after which he landed two thousand men in the Isle of *Wight*, but was there repelled, though reported to have in his Ships threescore thousand men.

In *August* this year, died the valiant Captain the Lord *Peynings*, the Kings Lieutenant of his Town of *Bulloigne*; and the same moneth also, died at *Gailford*, the noble Duke of *Suffolk*, *Charles Brandon*, Lord great Master of the Kings House, whose Body was honourably buried at *Windsor*, at the Kings cost.

Charles Brandon,
Duke of *Suffolk*
dyeth.

G About this time, the *Scots* having received aid out of *France*, approached the *English* Borders, but durst attempt nothing, whereupon the Earl of *Hartford*, Lieutenant of the North parts, raising an Army of twelve thousand men, *English* and Strangers, entred *Scotland*, and burnt a great part of *Mers* and *Tividale*, as *Kelsay* abbey, and the Town, the Abbeyes of *Medrosse*, *Driborne*, and *Tedworth*, with a hundred Towns and Villages more; when on the sixteenth of *September*, an Army of *Scots* and *French* attempted to enter into *England* on the East Borders, but in a straighe were set upon by the *English*, who slew and took of them to the number of seven score, amongst whom was the Lord *Humes* son, and a principall *French* Captain; in another road, which they made into the West Borders, the Lord *Mutrel* Son, and divers other were taken, but then at another time (such is the chance of War) five hundred *English* entring the West Borders of *Scotland* were discomfited, and the greatest part of them either taken or slain.

And

And now to revenge the presumptuous attempts of the French upon the Isle of *Wight*, the Lord Admirall with his Fleet approached the Coasts of *Normandy*, landed six thousand men at *Treport*, burnt the Suburbs of that Town with the Abbey, destroyed thirty Ships there in the Haven, and then returned, not having lost above fourteen persons in the whole voyage.

A Peace is concluded between the two Kings of England and France.

At this time the Earl of *Hertford* lying at *Bulloigne*, had in his Army above fourscore thousand men, and many skirmishes passed between him and the French, till at last, by mediation of the Emperour and divers other Princes, a meeting was appointed to treat of a Peace between the two Kings of England and France; hereupon there came to *Guines* for the King of England, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *John Dudley* Viscount *Lisle*, Baron of *Mannes* and high Admirall of England, Sir *William Paget* the Kings Secretary, and Doctor *Nicholas Wootton* Dean of *Canterbury*. For the French King there came to *Ard*, *Claude Danbolt* Admirall of France, the Bishop of *Eureux*, Monsieur *Raymond* chief President of *Roan*, and the Secretary *Beuchetell*. Divers times they met betwixt *Ard* and *Guines*, and after long debating of matters; and divers breakings off; at length, the seventh of June, a Peace was concluded, and proclaimed in the City of *London*, on *Whitsunday* the thirtieth of June, by sound of Trumpet; and the same day in like manner at *Paris* and *Roan*; the chief Article of which Peace was this, that the French King paying to the King of England eight hundred thousand Crowns, within the term of eight years, should have *Bulloigne* again restored to him, which in the mean time should remain in possession of the King of England, as a pledge for assurance of the said money; and now for a full establishment of this Peace, the Viscount *Lisle* Lord Admirall, with the Bishop of *Duresme*, and divers other Lords were sent into France, to take Oath of the French King and of the Dauphin; as likewise at the same time divers Lords came from the French King to take Oath of King *Henry*, who by the way were met by the young Prince and many Lords, and conducted to the King at *Hampton-Court*.

Bulloigne is restored to the French upon payment of eight hundred thousand Crowns.

All Colledges and Chantries are given to the King by Parliament.

The King answers the Speakers speech himself: and the effect of his speech.

In his seven and thirtieth year, the three and twentieth of November, a Parliament began at *Westminster*, wherein was granted to the King, a Subsidy both of Spirituality and Temporality, and all Colledges, Chantries and Hospitals were given to him to dispose of: the four and twentieth of December the Parliament was prorogued, on which day the King coming to the Parliament House, the Speaker made to him an Oration, which the Lord Chancellour was used to answer, but at this time the King would answer himself: the effect whereof was, that where Master Speaker had commended him for many excellent qualities that were in him, he thanked him for it, not that he had them, but for putting him in minde how necessary it was, he should have them; then he thanked the whole House for their Subsidy, and for giving him the Colledges and Chantries, which he promised to see bestowed to the glory of God and good of the Realm; lastly, he acknowledged their love to himself, but found fault with want of love to one another; for what love, where there is not concord? and what concord, when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptist, and he again calleth him Papist and Hypocrite? and this not only amongst those of the Temporality, but even the Clergy-men themselves preach one against another, inveigh one against another, without Charity or Discretion; some be so stiffe in their old *Mumpsimus*, and others so curious in their new *Sumpsimus*, that few or none Preacheth truly and sincerely the word of God; now therefore let this be amended, fear and serve God, be in Charity amongst your selves, to the which I as your supreme Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you: and this said, the Acts were openly read, to some he gave his Royall assent, and to divers assented not.

The Lord Gray obeyeth a message from the King before the Kings Letter.

Whilst the Oath for the Peace was thus taken by both Kings, *Bulloigne* remaining still in King *Henries* possession, Monsieur de *Cbatillon* Captain of *Mont-pleasier* began to make a new Bastilion at the very mouth of the Haven of *Bulloigne*, naming it *Cbatillons* Garden: hereof the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* as then Deputy of *Bulloigne* advertised the King by Sir *Thomas Palmour*, requiring to know his pleasure whether he should raze it, as a thing very incommodious to the Town, or let it stand; the King asked advice of his Councell, who all agree, that the conditions of the Peace ought in no wise to be infringed, and therefore to let the Bastilion stand; whereupon the King caused his Secretary the Lord *Paget*, to write a Letter to the Lord *Gray*, to that purpose, but then called Sir *Thomas Palmour* secretly to him, bidding him tell the Lord *Gray*, that whatsoever he had written in his Letter, yet with all speed possible, he should raze the Fortification to the ground; Sir *Thomas Palmour* replying, that a message by word of mouth being contrary to his Letter, would never be beleaved, Well (said the King) do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing it to his choice; upon the coming back of Sir *Thomas Palmour*, the Lord *Gray* called a Councell, shewing them the Kings Letter, and withall Sir *Thomas Palmours* message, and then asked their advise, what in this case he should do? who all agreed without any question that the Letter was to be followed, and not the Message: To which the Lord *Gray* himself said nothing, but caused the Message to be written *verbatim* from Sir *Thomas Palmours* mouth, and those of the Councell to set their hands to it: this done, the night following he issued forth with a company of Armed men and Pioners, and overthrew the Fortification to the ground, and then sent Sir *Thomas Palmour* with Letters to the King, who as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, What, will he do it or no? Sir *Thomas Palmour* delivering his Letter, said, Your Majesty shall know by these; but then the King half angry, Nay tell me (saith he) will he do it or no? being then told it was done, and the Fortification clean razed, he turned to his Lords and said, What say you my Lords to this, *Cbatillons* Garden is razed to the floor? Whereto one presently answered, that

A that he that had done it, was worthy to lose his head; to which the King straightly replied, That he would rather lose a dozen such heads as his was, that so judged, then one such servants as had done it: and therewith commanded the Lord *Grays* Pardon should presently be drawn, the which he sent with Letters of great thanks, and promise of reward; the cause why the King took this course, was this, lest if he had written the razing of the Fortification in his Letter, it might have come to the *French-mens* knowledge, before it could have been done, and so have been prevented, and by this may be taken a scantling of King *Henries* great Capacity.

It is now the eight and thirtieth year of his Reign, when about *Michaelmas*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Henry* Earle of *Surrey* his Son and Heir, upon certain surmises of Treason, were committed to the Tower of *London*; and the thirteenth of *January*, the King then lying at the point of death, the said Earle was arraigned in the *Guild-hall*, before the Lord Maior, the Lord Chancelour, and other Lords there in Commission; the speciall matter wherewith he was charged, was the bearing of certain Arms that were said to belong to the King and to the Prince; though the Earle justified the bearing of them, as belonging to divers of his Ancestors; affirming withall, that he had the opinion of Heraulds therein: But this notwithstanding being no Lord of the Parliament, he was tryed by a common Jury, and by them was found guilty, and thereupon had judgement of death; and the nineteenth of *January* was beheaded on the *Tower-hill*. The Duke was attainted by Parliament and kept in prison, till in the first year of *Queen Mary* the Attaindour was reversed. The death of this Earle might lay an imputation of cruelty upon King *Henry*, if a just jealousie growing from the many circumstances of the Earls greatnesse, in the tender age of his own Son, did not excuse him.

The Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son the Earle of *Surrey* committed to the Tower: and why.

The Earle is beheaded.

Soon after the death of this Earle, the King himself dyed; having made his last last Will, in which he took order, that his Son *Edward* should succeed him in the Crown, and hedying without issue his Daughter *Mary*, and she dying without issue his Daughter *Elizabeth*; although another order of succession had passed before by Act of Parliament. The Executors of his last Will were these sixteen; *Thomas Crammer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Wriothesley* Lord Chancelour, *Sir William Pawlet* Lord *Saint-John*, and great Master of the Household, *Sir Edward Seymour* Earle of *Hartford* and high Chamberlain of *England*, *Sir John Russel* Lord Privy Seal, *Sir John Dudley* Viscount *Lisle*, Lord Admirall; *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, *Sir Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, *Sir Edmund Montacute* Lord chief Justice of the Common Pleas, *Sir Thomas Bromley* one of the Justices of the Kings Bench, *Sir Edward North* Chancelour of the Augmentation, *Sir William Paget* Knight of the Order, *Sir Anthony Dennie*, *Sir William Herbert*, *Sir Edward Wootton* Treasurer of *Callice*, and *Nicholas Wootton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. To whom were adjoynd as Assistants these twelve, *Henry Fitz Allan* Earle of *Arundell*, *William Par* Earle of *Essex*, *Sir Thomas Cheyney* Treasurer of the Household, *Sir John Gage* Controllor, *Sir Anthony Wingfield* Vice-Chamberlain, *Sir William Peter* Principall Secretary, *Sir Richard Rich*, *Sir John Baker* of *Sissingberst* in *Kent*, Chancelour of the Exchequer, *Sir Ralph Sadler*, *Sir Thomas Seymour*, *Sir Richard Southwell*, and *Sir Edward Peckham*. And it was not without need to leave a full Councell Table, considering in what terms he left the Kingdome when he dyed. Abroad, in League with the Emperour, at Peace with the King of *France*; but whether these were not personall only, and no longer binding then King *Henry* lived, might be doubted; with the Scots at deadly feud; with the Pope at utter defiance; from both which Coasts there could be expected but little fair weather: at home the frame of Religion extremely disjoynted; and the Clergy that should set it in frame, out of frame themselves: the mindes of the people extremely distracted; and the Nobility that should cement them, scarce holding themselves together: And in this state was the Kingdome when King *Henry* the eighth dyed, in the year 1547. the fifty sixth of his life, and of his Reign the eight and thirtieth.

King *Henry* dyeth.

His Executors who.

Assistants to his Executors.

Of his Taxations.

F IN his fourth year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, was granted to the King, two Fifteens of the Temporality, and two Tenths of the Clergy, and Head-money; of every Duke ten Marks, an Earle five pound, a Baron four pound, a Knight four Marks, and every man valued at eight hundred pounds in Goods, to pay four Marks, and so after that rate till him that was valued at forty shillings, and he paid twelve pence, and every man and woman of fifteen years and upward four pence. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein divers Subsidies were granted to the King, towards the charges of his Wars in *France*: in his fourteenth year, order was taken by the Cardinall, that the true value of all mens substance might be known, and he would have had every man sworn, to tell what they were worth, and required a tenth part thereof, towards the Kings charges in the present Wars, as the Spirituality had granted a fourth part: this the *Londoners* thought very hard, and thereupon were excused for taking oath, and were allowed to bring in their bills upon their honesties; but when all was done, after much labouring by the Cardinall, the Clergy granted one half of all their yearly Spirituall Revenues, for five years, and the Temporality two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upwards, and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings twelve pence; and under forty shillings, of every head of sixteen years and upwards four pence, to be paid in every two years. In his sixteenth year, the Cardinall of his own head attempted by Commission, to draw the People

Every man sworn what he was worth, and to give the Tenth part to the King.

to pay the sixth part of every mans Substance in Plate or Money; but this was generally opposed, and the people in many Countreys rise upon it, so as coming to the Kings knowledge, he utterly disavowed it, and blamed the Cardinall exceedingly for attempting it. In his four and twentieth year, in a Parliament then holden, a fifteen was granted to the King, towards his charges of making fortifications against Scotland. In his one and thirtieth year, a Subsidy of two shillings in the pound of lands and twelve of goods, with four fifteens were granted to the King, towards his charges of making Bullwarks. In his five and thirtieth year, a Subsidy was granted to be paid in three years, every *English man* being worth in goods twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, to pay four pence of every pound, and from five pounds to ten pounds eight pence, from ten pounds to twenty pounds six pence, from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound two shillings; Strangers as well Denizens as others, being Inhabitants to pay double: and for lands, every *English-man* payd eight pence of the pound, from twenty shillings to five pounds, and from five pounds to ten pounds sixteen pence, and from ten pounds to twenty pounds two shillings, and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound three shillings, strangers double; the Clergy six shillings in the pound of Benefices, and every Priest having no Benefice, but an Annual stipend, six shillings eight pence yearly, during three years.

Of Lawes and Ordinances in his time.

Inclosures
commanded to
be laid open.

Dice and
Cards forbid-
den.

Coyne inhaun-
ced.

A Register of
all Weddings,
Christnings
and Burialls,
when first kept.

The Gentle-
men Pension-
ers when first
ordained.

The Stews put
down.

Butchers ap-
pointed to sell
their meat by
weight.

The President
of the North
when first or-
dained.

IN a Parliament holden in his sixth year, divers Lawes were made, but two most spoken of; one for Apparell, another for Labourers. In his twelfth year, he caused the Statutes against Inclosures to be revived, and commanded that decayed houses should be built up again, and that inclosed grounds should be laid open; which though it did some good, yet not so much as it might have done, if the Cardinall for his own benefit, had not procured liberty for great men, to keep up their Inclosures, to the oppression of poor men. In his seventeenth year, the King lying at *Eltham*, divers Ordinances were made by the Cardinall touching the Governance of the Kings House, and were long after called the Statutes of *Eltham*. In his eighteenth year, in the moneth of May, Proclamation was made against all unlawfull Games, so that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cards and Bowls, were taken and burnt; but this Order continued not long, for young men being restrained from these Games, fell some to drinking, some to stealing of Conies and Deer, and such other misdemeanors: Also in this year, was an inhancing of Coyne, for the preventing the carrying it over to places where it went at higher rate, so that the Angel that went before but for seven shillings, should now go for seven and six pence, and every ounce of Gold should be five and forty shillings, which was before but forty, and other Coynes accordingly. In his twentieth year, Sir *James Spencer* being Maior of *London*, the Watch used on Midsummer night was laid down. In his three and thirtieth year, in a Parliament then holden, an Act was made, that whosoever should poyson any person should be boyled to death, by which Statute one *Richard Roope*, who had poysoned divers persons in the Bishop of *Rocesters* place, was boyled to death in *Smithfield*, to the terrible example of all other. In his two and twentieth year, three Acts were made, one for probate of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, the third against plurality of Benefices, Non-residence, buying and taking of Farms by spirituall persons. In his thirtieth year it was ordained by *Cromwell* the Kings Vicar General, that in all Churches a Register should be kept of every Wedding, Christning, and Buriall within the same Parish for ever. In his one and thirtieth year, the King first instituted and appointed fifty Gentlemen called Pensioners, to wait upon his person, assigning to each of them fifty pounds a year, for the maintenance of themselves and two Horses. In his six and thirtieth year, Proclamation was made for the inhancing of Gold to eight and forty shillings, and silver to four shillings the Ounce: also he caused to be coyned base money, mingling it with Brasse, which was since that time called down the fifth year of *Edward* the sixth, and called in the second year of *Queen Elizabeth*. In his seven and thirtieth year, the Brothell-houses called the Stews on the *Bank-side* in *Southwark*, were put down by the Kings Commandement, and was done by Proclamation and sound of Trumpet. In his three and twentieth year, it was enacted, that Butchers should sell their meat by weight, Beef for a half-peny the pound, and Mutton for three farthings: also at this time foreign Butchers were permitted to sell their flesh in *Leaden-ball-market*, which before was not allowed; in his time also the Government of the President in the North was first instituted, and the first President there, was *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

Luther brings
in a reforma-
tion of Religi-
on.

IN the year 1517. the eighth year of this Kings Reign, *Martin Luther* of *Wittenberg* in *Germany* a Frier of the Order of the *Hermites*, taking occasion from the abuse of Indulgences, began to Preach against the Authority of the Pope, and to bring in a Reformation of Religion; for repressing of whom, the Councell of *Trent* was called by Pope *Paul* the third, in the year 1542. which continued above forty years, but was never received in the Kingdome of *France*; which Councell, by decreeing many things to be points of faith, which were not so accounted before, hath made no small distraction amongst Papists themselves: against this *Luther*, King

A King Henry wrote a Book with great bitterness, and with as great bitterness was answered. At the same time with Luther, there arose also in the same Countrey other Reformers of Religion, as Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Melancthon, who differing from Luther in some few points, made the difference which is at this day of Lutherans and Protestants, so called at first at *Ausburg*, for making a Protestation in defence of their Doctrine; which soon after spread all *Christendome* over. King Henry in the six and twentieth year of his Reign, had excluded the Popes Authority out of his Realm; but thinking the work not sufficiently done, as long as Abbeyes and Priories kept their station, which were, as it were, his Fortresses and Pillars; there was not long after means found to have them suppressed, for aspersions being laid upon them (and perhaps no more then truth) of Adulteries and Murthers, they by Act of Parliament in his eight and twentieth year, at least neer four hundred of them were suppressed, and all their lands and goods conferred upon the King. In his one and thirtieth year all the rest; and lastly, in his five and thirtieth year, all Colledges, Chantries and Hospitals; so as the Hives being now all removed, there have never since any Bees or Drones been seen in the Countrey. In this Kings time the City of Rome was taken and sacked by the Imperiall Army, forcing the Pope to flie to his Castle Saint Angelo, and there kept a prisoner, till he agreed to such conditions as his Adversaries propounded. In the two and twentieth year of this Kings Reign, a Proclamation was set forth that no person should purchase any thing from the Court of Rome; and this was the first blow given to the Pope in England. In his three and twentieth year, the Clergy submitting themselves to the King, for being found guilty of a *Præmunire*, were the first that called him Supreme head of the Church. In his four and twentieth year a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made, that Bishops should pay no more Annates or money for their Bulls to the Pope, and another that no person should appeal for any cause out of this Realm, to the Court of Rome, but from the Commissary to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King, and all causes of the King to be tried in the upper House of the Convocation. In his six and twentieth year, in July, John Frith was burnt in Smithfield, and with him at the same stake one Andrew Howet a Tailor, both for denying the Reall presence in the Sacrament; and in a Parliament holden this year, an Act was made which Authorised the Kings Highnesse, to be Supreme head of the Church of England, and the Authority of the Pope to be abolished, and then also was given to the King the first Fruits and Tenths of all Spiritual livings; and this year were many put to death, Papiests for denying the Kings Supremacy, Protestants for denying the Reall presence in the Sacrament: and it is incredible what number for these two causes were put to death in the last ten years of the Kings Reign, of whom if we should make particular mention, it would reach a great way in the Book of Martyrs: in his eight and twentieth year, the Lord Cromwell was made Vicar Generall under the King, over the Spirituality, and sate divers times in the Convocation House amongst the Bishops as head over them; and in September this year, he set forth Injunctions, commanding all Parsons and Curates to teach their Parishioners the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave* and Creed, with the ten Commandements and the Articles of the Christian Faith in the English tongue. In his one and thirtieth year, was set forth by the Bishops, the Book of the six Articles, condemning all for Hereticks, and to be burnt that should hold,

The difference between Lutherans and Protestants.

The King when first called Supreme head of the Church.

No more Annates to be paid to Rome: nor Appeals to be made to the Pope.

The first fruits and tenths given to the King.

The six Articles set forth by the Bishops.

1. That the body of Christ was not Really present in the Sacrament after Consecration.
2. That the Sacrament might not truly be administered under one kinde.
3. That Priests entred into Holy Orders might marry.
4. That vows of Chastity entred into upon mature deliberation, were not to be kept.
5. That private Masses were not to be used.
6. That Auricular Confession was not necessary in the Church.

This year also the Religion of St. Johns in England, commonly called the Order of Knights of the Rhodes, was dissolved; and on Ascension day, Sir William Weston Knight, Prior of St. Johns departed this life, for thought (as was reported) after he heard of the dissolution of his Order, for the King took all the lands that belonged to that Order into his own hands: In his six and thirtieth year, the Letany or Procession was set forth in English, with commandement by the King, to be generally used in Parish Churches.

The Order of Saint Johns dissolved.

Works of Piety done by him, or others in his time.

UPON the suppressing of Abbeyes, King Henry instituted six new Bishopricks and six Cathedral Churches, endowing them with convenient maintenance; he also gave competent Penfions during their lives, to such Religious Persons as were turned out of their Cloysters; he also instituted in both the Univerfities, Professors of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, of Divinity, Civill Law and Physick, allowing to each of them forty pound a year: he also founded a Colledge at Cambridge; he gave at his death a thousand Marks to the poor, and to twelve poor Knights of Windfore, each of them twelve pence a day for ever, and every year a long Gown of white cloth: but his greatest work of Piety, was his putting down the Stewes in Southwark, Margaret Countesse of Richmond, the Kings Grandmother, founded two Colledges at Cambridge, Christs Church and Saint Johns. In the fifth year of this Kings Reign, George Monox Maior of London, re-edified the decayed Steeple of the Church of Waltham-stow in Essex, adding there-

Professors of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues first instituted in both the Univerfities.

Corpus Christi
Colledge in
Oxford, when
and by whom
founded.

Christ-Church
in Oxford
founded.

Hampton-Court
by whom built.
Saint James
when first
built.

Christ-Church
Hospicall in
the Shambles
founded.

thereunto a side Isle with a Chappel where he lyeth buried; on the North side of the Church. A yard there he founded a fair Alms-house, for a Priest and thirteen poor men and women, giving them a weekly maintenance; he also for the commodity of Travellours made a Cawsey of Timber over the Marshes, from *Walbam-flow* to *Lock-bridge* towards *London*. In this Kings eighth year *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Windsor* founded *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, minding to have made it an house for Monks, but *Hugh Oldham* Bishop of *Exeter*, perswaded him to make it rather a Colledge for Scholars, and joyned with him in it, contributing great summes of Money towards it, contenting himself onely with the name of a Benefactor. In his seventh year King *Henry* builded the Tower of *Greenwich*. In this Kings time, Cardinall *Woolsey* founded two Colledges, one at *Oxford*, another at *Ipswich*; to his Colledge at *Oxford* he had given four thousand pounds Land a year, but his Lands being all confiscate to the King, the King took the Lands, but yet gave to the Colledge a competent maintenance for a Dean, eight Prebends, and a hundred Fellowes; which Colledge is now called *Christ-Church*, and accounts King *Henry* for their Founder. His Colledge at *Ipswich* was demolished. This Cardinall also built *Hampton-Court*, the chiefest at this day of all the Kings houses, and built or enlarged *White-hall*, called then *York-Place*. King *Henry* in his four and twentyeth year, built also his Mansion house of *Saint James*, where also he made a fair Park. This place before had been an Hospitall of Sisters, with whom the King compounded, giving them Pensions during their lives. In his thirtieth year, *Nicholas Gibson* Grocer, then Sheriffe of *London*, builded a Free-School at *Ratcliffe* neer *London*, with maintenance for a Master and an Usher, he also builded an Alms-house there, for fourteen poor and aged people. In his one and thirtieth year, *Thomas Huntlow* the then Sheriffe of *London*, gave certain Tenements to the Habberdashers, for finding of ten Almsmen of the same Company. In his six and thirtieth year, Sir *John Allen* who had been twice Maior of *London*, and of the Kings Councill, gave at his death to the City of *London*, a rich Coller of Gold, to be worn by the Maior: which Coller was first worn by Sir *William Laxton* on *Saint Edwards* day, at the election of the new Maior, who gave to every Ward in *London* twenty pounds, to be distributed amongst poor Housholders; besides to sixscore persons, whereof threescore men, to every one a Gown of broad-cloth and a black Cap, and threescore women, to every one a Gown of the like Cloth and a white Kerchief. In his eight and thirtieth year, King *Henry* gave to the City of *London*, for relief of poor people in *Saint Bartholomews* Spittle, the Church of the *Gray-friers*, and two Parish Churches, the one at *Saint Nicholas* in the *Shambles*, the other *Saint Ewins* in *Newgate-market*, all to be made one Parish Church of the *Gray-Friers*; and in Lands he gave for the maintenance of the same five hundred Marks a year for ever: and this Church to be named *Christ-Church*, founded by King *Henry* the eighth. The Lady *Elizabeth Hollys*, (the Widow of Sir *William Hollys* Knight, late Lord Maior of the City of *London*) by her last Will and Testament, dated the 17. of *February* 1543. and in the thirty fifth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth, and proved at *London* in the Prerogative Court of *Canterbury* the 28. of *March* 1544. did will her Executors, her Cousin Master *Andrew Jud* Alderman (afterwards Knight and Lord Maior of *London*) and her Brother *Thomas Scopham*, that they should provide a place or plot of ground, whereon should be erected six Alms-houses for six poor aged folks, men or women, or else both, to inhabit and dwell in, for the maintenance of which, he willed that her said Executors should purchase as much Lands or Tenements within the City of *London*, or Liberties of the same, as should amount *de clare* above all charges to the yearly value of ten pound sterling, to be distributed in this manner: that is to say, to every of the said six Alms-people seven pence by the week, to be paid on every Saturday or Sabbath day weekly, and the remainder of the said yearly ten pound to be distributed in Coals yearly, in the Winter season, to and amongst the said six Alms-people, and this to continue for ever whiles the World shall endure, as by the said Will may appear, which was afterwards accordingly effected by her said Executors; which said Lady *Elizabeth Hollys* and Sir *William Hollys*, were great Grandfather and great Grandmother unto *John Hollys* Knight, Earl of *Clare*, &c. deceased.

Casualties in his time.

A Sweating
sickness, of
which many
great men
dyed.

Another sweating
sickness.

IN his ninth year happened a Sweating-sickness, whereof infinite multitudes in many parts of *England* dyed, specially in *London*; and was so violent, that in three and sometimes two hours, it took away mens lives, and spared neither rich nor poor; for in the Kings Court the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, and many Knights, Gentlemen and Officers dyed of it. It began in *July*, and continued to the midst of *December*. In his thirteenth year was a great Mortality in *London*, and other places of the Realm, and many men of Honour and Worship dyed; amongst others, Doctor *Fitz-James* Bishop of *London*, in whose place Doctor *Tunstall* succeeded. In his fifteenth year, after great rains and windes, there followed so fore a Frost, that many dyed for cold; and some lost Fingers, some Toes, and many their Nails. In his nineteenth year, by extremity of rain in seed-time, there followed a great dearth of Corn, which would have caused great calamity, but that it was relieved in *London* by Merchants of the *Steel-yard* out of *Germany*, and a thousand quarters supplied out of the Kings own provision. In his twentieth year, in the end of *May*, began in *London* another Sweating-sickness, which afterwards infected

- A all places of the Realm; by reason whereof the Term was adjourned, and the Circuit of the Assises also, many dyed in the Court, as Sir *Francis Poynes*, Sir *William Compton* Knights, and *William Carew* Esquire of the Kings Privy Chamber; the King himself for a space, removed almost every day, till he came to *Tittinghanger*, a place of the Abbot of Saint *Albones*, where he with the Queen and a small number remained, till the sicknesse was past. In his thirtieth year, the manner of casting Pipes of Lead for conveyance of water under ground, without using of Soder, was first invented by *Robert Brocke* Clerk, one of the Kings Chaplains: a profitable invention, for by this, two men and a boy will do more in one day, then could have been done before by many men in many dayes: *Robert Cooper* Goldsmith, was the first that made the Instruments, and put this Invention in practise. In a Rebellion in the North, in this Kings time, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent with an Army against the Rebels, and that day of Battel between them was appointed, it happened, that the night before a small Brook called *Dun*, running between the two Armies, upon the fall of a small rain, swelled to such a height, that it was not passable by either foot or horse; a thing which had never happened before upon a great rain, and was then accounted (as indeed it was) no lesse then a Miracle. In his three and thirtieth year, was a great Mortality in the Realm, by reason of hot Agues and Fluxes; and withall so great a drought, that small Rivers were clean dried, much Cattell dyed for lack of water, and the *Thames* were grown so shallow, that the Salt-water flowed above *London* Bridge, till the rain had encreased the fresh waters. In his five and thirtieth year, the first cast pieces of Iron that ever were made in *England*, were made at *Buckstead* in *Suffex* by *Ralph Hage* and *Peter Bowde*. In his six and thirtieth year, was a great Plague in *London*, so as *Michaelmas* Term was adjourned to Saint *Albones*, and there kept. In his seven and thirtieth year, on Tuesday in *Easter-week*, *William Foxley* Pot-maker for the Mint of the Tower of *London*, fell asleep, and could not be waked with pinching or burning, till the first day of the next Term, which was full fourteen dayes; and when he awaked, was found in all points, as if he had slept but one night, and lived forty years after. About his fifteenth year, it happened that divers things were newly brought into *England*, whereupon this Rhyme was made:

Casting Pipes of Lead without soder, when and by whom first invented.

A miraculous suddain rising of the River *Dun*.

The first cast Peeces of Iron made.

One that slept fourteen dayes together without waking.

Divers things newly brought into *England*.

Turkeys, Carps, Hoppes, Piccarell and Beer,
Came into ENGLAND all in one year.

D

Of his Wives and Children.

- King Henry had six Wives, his first was *Katherine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother *Arthur*, she lived his Wife above twenty years, and then was divorced from him; after which she lived three years by the name of *Katherine Dowager*, she deceased at *Kimbolton* in the County of *Huntington*, the eighth of *January* in the year 1535. and lieth interred in the Cathedrall Church of *Peterborough*, under a Hearse of black Say, having a white Crosse in the midft. His second Wife was *Anne* second Daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*; she was marryed to him the five and twentieth day of *January*, in the year 1533. lived his Wife three years three moneths and five and twenty dayes, and then was beheaded, and her body buried in the Quire of the Chappell in the Tower. His third Wife was *Jane* Daughter of Sir *John Seymour*, and Sister to the Lord *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*, and Duke of *Somerset*, she was married to him the next day after the beheading of Queen *Anne*, lived his Wife one year five moneths and four and twenty dayes, and then dyed in Childe-bed, and was buried in the midft of the Quire of the Church within the Castle of *Windsor*. His fourth Wife was *Anne* Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*, she lived his Wife six moneths, and then was divorced; she remained in *England* long after the Kings death, and accompanied the Lady *Elizabeth* through *London*, at the solemnising of Queen *Maries* Coronation. His fifth Wife was *Katherine*, Daughter of *Edmund*, and Neece of *Thomas Howard* his Brother Duke of *Norfolk*; she was marryed to him in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign; lived his Wife one year six moneths and four dayes, and then was beheaded in the Tower of *London*, and buried in the Chancell of the Chappell by Queen *Anne Bullen*. His sixth Wife was *Katherine*, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Parre* of *Kendall*, and Sister to the Lord *William Parre*, Marquesse of *Northampton*; she was first married to *John Nevill* Lord *Latimer*, and after his decease to the King at *Hampton-Court*, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign: she was his Wife three years six moneths and five dayes; and then surviving him, was again marryed to *Thomas Seymour* Lord Admirall of *England*, unto whom she bore a Daughter, but dyed in her Childe-bed, in the year 1548. He had children by his first Wife Queen *Katherine*, Henry born at *Richmond*, who lived not full two moneths, and was buried at *Westminster*; also another Son whose name is not mentioned, lived but a short time neither: then a Daughter named *Mary*, born at *Greenwich*, in the eighth year of his Reign, and came afterward to be Queen of *England*. By his second Wife, Queen *Anne Bullen*, he had a Daughter named *Elizabeth*, born at *Greenwich*, in the five and twentieth year of his Reign; who succeeded her Sister *Mary* in the Crown: he had also by her a Son, but born dead. By his third Wife Queen *Jane*, he had a Son named *Edward*, born at *Hampton-Court* in the nine and twentieth year of

his reign, who succeeded him in the Kingdom. Besides these, he had a base son, named *Henry Fitz-Roy*, A begotten of the Lady *Talboysse*, called *Elizabeth Blunt*, born at *Blackmore* in *Essex*, in the tenth year of his reign; who was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*; married *Mary* Daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*; with whom he lived not long, but died at *Saint James* by *Westminster*, and was buried at *Framingham* in *Suffolk*.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was exceeding tall of stature, and very strong; fair of complexion, in his later days corpulent and burley: concerning his conditions, He was a Prince of so many good parts, that B one would wonder he could have any ill; and indeed he had not many ill, till flattery and ill counsel in his latter time got the upper hand of him. His cruelty to his wives may not only be excused, but defended; for if they were incontinent, he did but justice; if they were not so, yet it was sufficient to satisfy his conscience, that he thought he had cause to think them so; and if the marriage bed be honorable in all, in Princes it is sacred. In suppressing of Abbeyes he shewed not little Piety, but great providence; for though they were excellent things being rightly used, yet most pestilent, being abused; and then may the use be justly suppressed, when the abuse scarce possibly can be restrained. To think he suppressed Abbeyes out of covetousnesse and desire of gain, is to make him extremely deceived in his reckoning; for if we compare the profit with the charge that followed, we shall finde him certainly a great loser by the bargain. He was so far from C Pride, that he was rather too humble, at least he conversed with his Subjects in a more familiar manner then was usual with Princes. So valiant, that his whole life almost, was nothing but exercises of valor; and though performed amongst his friends in jest, yet they prepared him against his enemies in earnest, and they that durst be his enemies found it. It may be said, the complexion of his government for the first twenty years, was sanguine and jovial; for the rest, cholerick and bloody; and it may be doubted, whether in the former, he were more prodigal of his own treasure, or in the latter of his Subjects blood: for as he spent more in Fictions, then any other King did in Realities; so in any distemper of his people, he had no other physick, but to open a vein: but we shall do him extreme wrong, to think that all the blood shed in his time, was of his shedding; they were the Bishops that were the *Draco* to make the bloody Laws; the Bishops that were the *Phalaris*, to put D them in execution: the King often times scarce knowing what was done. Certain it is, when a great Lord put a Gentlewoman the second time on the rack, the King hearing of it, exceedingly condemned him for such extreme cruelty. As for Religion, though he brought it not to a full Reformation; yet he gave it so great a beginning, that we may truly say of that he did, *Dimidium plus toto*. They who charge him with the vice of lust, let them shew such another example of continence as was seen in him to lie six moneths by a young Lady, and not to touch her; for so did he with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*: but this is to make Nosegayes, I like better to leave every flower growing upon its stalk; that it be gathered fresh; which will be done by reading the Story of his Life.

Of his Death and Burial.

IT is Recorded of him, that in his latter time he grew so fat and slothful, that engines were made to lift and remove him up and down, but howsoever in the six and fiftieth year of his age, whether by a Dropisie, or by reason of an ulcer, in his leg, he fell into a languishing seaver, which brought him into such extremity, that his Physicians utterly despaired of his life, whereof yet none durst speak a word to him, till Master *Denny* one of his Privy-chamber took the boldness to go to him, telling him of the danger he was in, and withall putting him in minde to think of his soules health; to which he answered, that he confessed his sins to be exceeding great, yet had F such confidence in the mercy of God through Christ, that he doubted not of forgiveness though they had been much greater; and being then asked by Master *Denny*, if he would have any Divine brought to him with whom to confer, he answered he would willingly have the Archbishop *Crammer*, but not yet a while, till he had taken a little rest: whereupon the Archbishop being then at *Croydon*, was presently sent for, but before he could come, the King was grown speechlesse, only seeming to retain a little memory, so as putting out his hand, and the Archbishop desiring him to shew some sign of his faith in Christ, he then wrung the Archbishop hard by the hand, and immediately gave up the ghost, the eighth and twentieth of *January*, in the year 1547. the six and fiftieth of his age, and of his reign the eight and thirtieth: his body with great solemnity was buried at *Windso*r under a most costly and stately Tombe, begun in copper and gilt, G but never finished,

King *Henries*
religious carriage at his death.

A

Men of note in his time.

MEN famous for the sword were many in his time, and in a manner all, that it is hard making choice, without being partial, unlesse we shall prefer Dukes of equal valour before others of meaner calling, and then will the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk hold worthily the place first, and next to them the young Earl of Surrey, who had been more fortunate if he had been lesse valiant. Of men of letters in his time, there were whole Armies in forein parts, the most famous, were *Budeus*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *John Reuchlin*, *Erasmus Roterodamus*, *Ursinus*, *Cornarius*, *Sadolet*, *Martin Bucer*; In England were *John Collet* Dean of Pauls and Founder of the School there. *William Lilly* born at Odibam in Hampshire, first School-master of Pauls-School, *Thomas Linaker* a learned Physitian, *John Skelton* a pleasant Poet, *William Horman* Vice Provost of Eaton, who wrote divers works, *Sir Thomas More*, *William Lindal*, *John Rastal*, a Citizen and Stationer of London, *Christopher Saint-Germaine* an excellent Lawyer, *Sir Thomas Elyot*, *John Leland*, a diligent searcher of Antiquities, *Sir John Bourchier* Knight, Lord Berners, who translated the Chronicles of *Froysard* out of French into English, *Henry Standish* Bishop of Saint Asaph, who wrote a Book against *Erasmus* translation of the New Testament; *Arnold* of London, who wrote certain Collections touching Historical matters, *Thomas Lupset* a Londoner, who wrote sundry vertuous Treatises, *Henry Bradshaw* a black Monk, who wrote the life of Saint Werborough, and also a certain Chronicle, *John Palsgrave* a Londoner, who wrote instructions for the perfect understanding of the French tongue, *John Skuisb* a Cornish man, who wrote certain abbreviations of Chronicles, with a Treatise of the Wars of Troy, *Anthony Fitz-Herbert* a Judge, who wrote an Abridgement of the Law, *Wilfride Holme* who wrote a Treatise of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire, *Thomas Lanquet* who wrote an Epitomy of Chronicles, and also of the winning of Bulloigne, *Thomas Soultman* of Gernsey, who wrote divers notes of History, *Cutbert Tunstall* Bishop of Durham, *Robert Whittington*, who wrote divers Treatises for the instruction of Grammarians, *John Russel*, who wrote a Treatise entituled *super iure Caesaris & Papae*, also Commentaries in Cantica, *Simon Fish* a Kentish man, who wrote a Book called the Supplication of Beggers, *George Bullen* Lord Roosford Brother to Queen Anne, who wrote divers Songs and Sonets, *Francis Bigod* Knight born in Yorkshire, who wrote a Book against the Clergy, intituled *De Impropriationibus*, *Henry Lord Morley*, who wrote divers Treatises, as Comedies and Tragedies, as the life of Sectaries, and certain rhymes, *William Boteville* alias *Tbynne*, who restored the works of *Chaucer*, *Richard Turpin*, who serving in the Garrison of Callice, wrote a Chronicle of his time, and died in the year 1541. *Sir Thomas Wiat* Knight, who wrote divers matters in English meeter, and translated the seven Penitential Psalms, and (as some say) the whole Psalter, he died of the pestilence, as he was going Embassadour to the Emperour, in the year 1541. *Henry Howard* Earl of Surrey, who wrote divers Treatises in English meeter, *John Field* a Londoner, who wrote a Treatise of mans Free-will, *de Servohominis Arbitrio*, and Collections of the Common Laws of England, *Robert Shingleton* born in Lancashire, who wrote a Treatise of the seven Churches, and certain Prophecies, *William Parry* a Welsh man, who wrote a Book intituled *Speculum Iuvenum*.

John Collet
Dean of Pauls.
John Skelton
the pleasant
Poet.

Anthony Fitz-
Herbert, who
wrote an A-
bridgement of
the Law.

Sir Thomas
Wiat Knight.

Maiores and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

<p>In his first year, <i>Thomas Bradbury</i> was Maior for part of the year, <i>Sir William Capell</i> for the rest. <i>George Monox</i>, <i>John Doget</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his second year, F <i>Sir Henry Kebble</i> was Maior. <i>John Milborne</i>, <i>John Rest</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his third year, <i>Sir Roger Acheley</i> was Maior. <i>Nicholas Skelton</i>, <i>Thomas Mersine</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his fourth year, <i>Sir William Copinger</i> was Maior for part of the year, <i>Sir Richard Haddon</i> for the rest. G <i>Rob. Haldernes</i>, or <i>Aldernes</i>, <i>Rob. Fenrother</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his fifth year, <i>Sir William Brown</i> was Maior. <i>John Dawes</i>, <i>John Bruges</i>, <i>Roger Basford</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his sixth year, <i>Sir George Monox</i> was Maior. <i>James Tarford</i>, <i>John Mundy</i>, Sheriffs.</p>	<p>In his seventh year, <i>Sir William Butler</i> was Maior. <i>Henry Warley</i>, <i>Richard Grey</i>, <i>William Bailly</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his eighth year, <i>Sir John Rest</i> was Maior. <i>Thomas Seymer</i>, <i>John</i>, or <i>Richard Ibbotson</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his ninth year, <i>Sir Thomas Exmewe</i> was Maior. <i>Tho. Baldrie</i>, <i>Ralph</i>, or <i>Richard Simons</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his tenth year, <i>Sir Thomas Mersine</i> was Maior. <i>John Allen</i>, <i>James Spencer</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his eleventh year, <i>Sir James Tarford</i> was Maior. <i>John Wilkinjon</i>, <i>Nicholas Patrick</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his twelfth year, <i>Sir John Brug</i> was Maior. <i>John Skewington</i>, <i>John Kyme</i>, alias <i>Kable</i>, Sheriffs.</p>
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In

In his thirteenth year,
Sir John Milborne was Maior.
John Bretton, or Britain, Thomas Pargitor, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir John Mundy was Maior.
John Rudstone, John Champneis, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Sir Thomas Baldrie was Maior.
Michael English, Nicholas Jennings, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Sir William Bailly was Maior.
Ralph Dodmore, William Roche, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Sir John Allen was Maior.
Job. Cauntton, or Calton, Christopher Askew, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir Thomas Seymer was Maior.
Stephen Peacocke, Nicholas Lambert, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir James Spencer was Maior.
John Hardy, William Hollys, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Sir John Rudstone was Maior.
Ralph Warren, John Long, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,
Sir Ralph Dodmer was Maior.
Michael Dormer, Walter Champion, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,
Sir Thomas Pargitor was Maior.
Will. Dauntesey, or Dancy, Rich. Champion, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year,
Sir Nicholas Lambert was Maior.
Richard Gresbam, Edward Altham, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth year,
Sir Stephen Peacock was Maior.
Richard Reynolds, John Martin, Nicholas Pinchon,
John Priest, Sheriffs.

In his five and twentieth year,
Sir Christopher Askew was Maior.
William Forman, Thomas Kitson, Sheriffs.

In his six and twentieth year,
Sir John Champneis was Maior.
Nicholas Ledeson, William Denham, Sheriffs.

In his seven and twentieth year,
Sir John Allen was Maior.
Humphrey Monmouth, John Cotes, Sheriffs.

In his eight and twentieth year,
Sir Ralph Warren was Maior.
Robert, or Richard Paget, William Bowyer, Sheriffs.

In his nine and twentieth year,
Sir Richard Gresbam was Maior.
John Gresbam, Thomas Lewin, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
Sir William Forman was Maior.
William Wilkinjon, Nicholas Gibson, Sheriffs.

In his one and thirtieth year,
Sir William Hollys was Maior.
Thomas Ferrer, Thomas Huntlow, Sheriffs.

In his two and thirtieth year,
Sir William Roche was Maior.
William Laxstone, Martin Bows, Sheriffs.

In his three and thirtieth year,
Sir Michael Dormer was Maior.
Rowland Hill, Henry Suchley, Sheriffs.

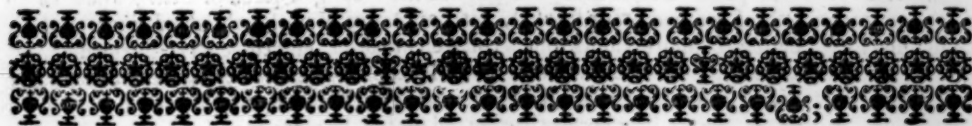
In his four and thirtieth year,
Sir John Cotes was Maior.
Henry Hobbertborne, Henry Amcoates, Sheriffs.

In his five and thirtieth year,
Sir William Bowyer was Maior.
John Tholonse, Richard Dobbes, Sheriffs.


In his six and thirtieth year,
Sir William Laxton was Maior.
John Wilford, Andrew Jud, Sheriffs.

In his seven and thirtieth year,
Sir Martin Bowes was Maior.
George Barne, Ralph Allen, or Alley, Sheriffs.

In his eight and thirtieth year,
Sir Henry Hobbertborne was Maior.
Richard Jarveis, Thomas Curteis, Sheriffs.



THE
R E I G N
O F
KING EDWARD
THE SIXTH.

D  T was now the year 1547. when on the eight and twentieth of *January*, King *Henry* dying, Prince *Edward* his Son, by his third Wife, the Lady *Jane Seymour*, and the only Son he left behinde him, as well by right of Inheritance, as by his last Will succeeded him in the Kingdome; to whom as being but nine years old, and therefore unripe for Government, he had assigned eight and twenty Counsellours; a fit number, if agreeing amongst themselves; too many, if at variance: and at variance they would soon fall, if there were not a Moderator to keep them in concord; the first work therefore necessary to be done in this

Anno Domini
1547.

E new world, was to make choice of such a man as might be to the Counsellours a Moderator, a Protector to the King, and in his minority, to the Kingdom. To this place, by common consent of the King and Councill, *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford* the Kings Uncle, was chosen to hold the place, untill the King should accomplish the age of eighteen years. In which Office the first thing he did, was to make the young King Knight, who presently thereupon, made *Henry Hobblesborn* Maior of *London* Knight, and then King *Henries* Obsequies being solemnly performed; on the seventeenth of *February*, were raised in honour the Earl of *Hartford* Protector, to be Duke of *Somerset*, *William* Ear of *Essex*, to be Marquesse of *Northampton*, *Dudley* Viscount *Lisle*, to be Earl of *Warwick*, *Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor, to be Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Thomas Seymour* the Protectors Brother was made Lord of *Sudeley*, and Admirall of *England*, Sir *Richard Rich* was made Lord *Rich*, Sir *William Willoughby* was made Lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *Edmund Sheffield* was made Lord *Sheffield* of *Butterwick*: On the nineteenth of *February* the King in great state rode from the Tower to the Palace of *Westminster*, where the day following, he was Crowned by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all rites accustomed, in great solemnity. At which time a general Pardon was proclaimed for all offenders, six only excepted, namely the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Poole*, *Edward Courtney*, eldest Son to the Marquesse of *Exceter*, Master *Fortescue*, Master *Trogmorton*, and Doctor *Pates* Bishop of *Worcester*, who was fled to *Rome*, to avoid taking the Oath of Supremacy, all which six continued unpardoned, till the first year of *Queen Mary*, and then were restored. A few dayes after, the Earl of *Southampton* Lord Chancellor, for being contumacious to the rest of the Lords in matters of Counsell, was removed both from his Office of being Chancellor, and from his place in Councill, and the great Seal was delivered Sir *William*

The Earl of
Hartford chosen
Protector.

Advancement
of divers in
honour.

King *Edward*
is Crowned.

F made Lord *Sheffield* of *Butterwick*: On the nineteenth of *February* the King in great state rode from the Tower to the Palace of *Westminster*, where the day following, he was Crowned by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all rites accustomed, in great solemnity. At which time a general Pardon was proclaimed for all offenders, six only excepted, namely the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Poole*, *Edward Courtney*, eldest Son to the Marquesse of *Exceter*, Master *Fortescue*, Master *Trogmorton*, and Doctor *Pates* Bishop of *Worcester*, who was fled to *Rome*, to avoid taking the Oath of Supremacy, all which six continued unpardoned, till the first year of *Queen Mary*, and then were restored. A few dayes after, the Earl of *Southampton* Lord Chancellor, for being contumacious to the rest of the Lords in matters of Counsell, was removed both from his Office of being Chancellor, and from his place in Councill, and the great Seal was delivered Sir *William*

G *Pawlet*, Lord *Saint-John*, and Lord great Master of the Kings Household. Within two moneths after the death of King *Henry*, dyed *Francis* King of *France* also, for whom solemn Obsequies were kept in *Pauls Church*, as he likewise had kept before at *Paris* for King *Henry*: these two Kings were of so consenting natures, that they had certainly been great friends while they lived, if they had not been Kings, and that jealousy of state had not made them oftentimes not to be themselves.

Francis King of
France dyeth.

King

The Protector
enters Scotland
with an Army;
and why.

How he mar-
shalled his
Army.

The profit of
winning time.

The Fire-crofs
erected in Scot-
land; and what
it was.

The battail of
Duffelborough
Field.

The Lord
Huntley chal-
lengeth the
Protector to a
single Com-
bat; and the
Protectors
Answer.

King Henry before his death had left in charge with the Lords of his Councel, by all means A possible, to procure a proceeding in the marriage with the young Queen of Scots; and now in discharge thereof the Lord Protector himself, with an Army of twelve thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, besides Labourers and Pioners thirteen hundred, entred Scotland the third of September: at which time also Edward Lord Clinton with a Fleet of threescore sail assisted by Sea; but before he would do any hostile Act, he caused Proclamation to be made, that his coming was only to have performance of the Articles heretofore agreed on for the marriage, tending to the good of both Kingdoms; which if they would yeeld unto, he would then return in peaceable manner, and the more to draw them on, where before it was demanded to have the Queen brought into England, and there to be brought up, the Protector was content, she should remain in Scotland till years of consent: this demand, the more moderate sort of the Scots accounted very B reasonable, but those of the French and Papal faction, who were the greatest persons, and the greatest number, strongly opposed; whereupon, the Lord Protector presently put his Army into Array, the Lord Gray and Sir Francis Brian, with eight hundred Light-horse, were sent before to provide lodging for the Army, and to give advertisement of the Enemies approaches; then followed the Avant-guard, in number between three and four thousand Foot, one hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Light-horse, led by the Earl of Warwick; then followed the main Battail, consisting of above six thousand Foot, six hundred men at Arms, and one thousand Light-horse led by the Protector himself; lastly followed the Arrear, wherein were between three and four thousand Foot, one hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Light-horse, under the conduct of the Lord Dacres; upon one wing the Artillery was drawn, being sixteen great pieces of great C Ordinance; the other wing was made by men at Arms and Demilances; for the Avant-guard and half the battail, riding about two flight shoot from their side, the other half of the battail, and the whole flank of the Arrear, was closed by the carriages, being nine hundred Carts beside Waggon; the rest of the men at Arms, and the Demilances marched behind. In this order they marched two days, taking in three Castles as they went, with little resistance; where it is memorable, what a sudden device the Defendants of one of them used to save themselves; for finding they were no longer able to defend themselves, and that their obstinacy had excluded all hope of pardon; they made suit, they might not presently be slain, but have some time to commend their souls to God, and afterwards be hanged: which respite being obtained, their pardon afterward did more easily ensue, so much doth the winning of time oftentimes prevail, more then any other D policy. The Governor of Scotland, hearing of the Protectors approach, and having no sufficient Army ready to resist him, sent his Heralds abroad, into all parts of the Realm, and commanded the Fire-crofs to be carried (an antient custom in cases of importance) which was two firebrands set in fashion of a crosse, and pitched upon the point of a spear, and therewith Proclamation to be made, that all above sixteen years of age, and under sixty, should resort forthwith to Musselborough, and bring convenient provision of victuals with them. By this means, having gotten a sufficient Army, he set forward towards the English who were now come to a River called Linne, and here the Earl of Warwick being too venturous, was like to have been entrapped, but by his valour came off bravely; and now the Scottish Horsemen began to hover about the English Army, and to come pricking towards them, sometimes within length of their staves, using provoking E words, to draw the English from their strength, but the Protector, not moved with their provocations, maintained a close march till he came to Salt-Preston by the Firth, where he incamped within two miles of the Scottish Army: and here the Scots having gotten the advantage of a Hill came upon the English with the number of twelve hundred Horse, besides five hundred Foot that lay in ambush behinde the Hill; at which time the Lord Gray and Sir Francis Brian, impatient of such braveries, obtained leave of the General to encounter them, and so as they came scattered upon the spur, within a stones cast of the English, and were beginning to wheel about, the Lord Gray with some Troops of Light Horse-men, charged them home, and was forthwith seconded by certain numbers of Demilances, and both of them backed with a thousand men at Arms; yet the Scots resolutely maintained the fight three hours and more, but in the end, overlaid with number, they were put to flight, and chased almost to the edge of their Camp. In this fight the chieftest force of the Scottish Horse-men was defeated, the Lord Hume by a fall from his Horse lost his life, his Son and Heir with two Priests and six Gentlemen were taken prisoners, and about fifteen hundred slain: the next day, the Protector and the Earl of Warwick rode towards the place where the Scottish Army lay, to view the manner of incamping. As they returned, an Herald and a Trumpeter from the Scots overtook them, who having obtained Audience, the Trumpeter said, that the Lord Huntley his Master, to spare effusion of Christian blood, would fight upon the whole quarrel, either with twenty against twenty, or with ten against ten, or else try it, between the Lord General and himself; the Protector answered, that for number of Combatants, it was not in his power to conclude any bargain, and as for himself, that being in publick charge, it was not fit he should hazard himself against a man of private Conditions, which otherwise he would most willingly accept: here the Earl of Warwick intreated the Lord General, that he might accept the Challenge, and Trumpeter (saith he) bring me word, that thy Master will perform the Combat with me, and thou shalt have an hundred Crowns for thy pains; nay rather (saith the Lord General) bring me word that thy Master will abide and give us battail, and thou shalt have a thousand Crowns, for thy pains: and thereupon, when no other agreement could be made, a general battail was resolved on; in the Army of the Scots, were five or six and thirty thousand

A thousand men; in the Avant-guard, commanded by the Earl of *Angus*, about fifteen thousand; in the battail, over whom was the Lord Governor, about ten thousand, and the Arrear as many, led by the valiant *Gordon* Earl of *Huntley*. *Hackbutters* they had none, nor men at Arms, but about two thousand Horsemen (Prickers as they term them) the rest were all on foot well furnished with Jack and Scull, Pikes, Daggers, Bucklers made of board, and slicing swords broad and thin, every man had a long Kerchiffe, folded twice or thrice about his neck, and many of them had chains of Lattin, drawn three or four times along their hoses and doublet sleeves: they had also to affright the enemies Horses, great rattles covered with parchment or paper, and small stones within put upon staves three ells long. And now both Armies joined in battail, where after a long fight, and much variety of fortune on both sides; at length the victory fell to the *English*; in this

How the *Scott* Army was Marshallled.

B fight, divers of the Nobility of *Scotland* were slain, of the inferior sort about ten, or as some say, fourteen thousand; of the *English* were slain one and fifty Horsemen, and one Footman, but many hurt; the Lord *Gray* was dangerously thrust with a pike in the mouth which struck two inches into his neck: the *Scottish* prisoners accounted by the Marshalls book, were about fifteen hundred, the chief whereof were, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lord *Yester*, *Hobley* and *Hamilton*, the Master of *Sanc-Poole* and the Lord of *Winmer*; the Earl of *Huntley* being asked whilst he was a prisoner, how he stood affected to the marriage; made this answer, that he liked the marriage well enough, but he liked not this kinde of wooing. This victory of *Muskelborough* against the *Scots*, was on the tenth of *December*, the very same day on which thirty years before a victory had been had against them at *Flodden* field; so as it seems this day was

The great number of *Scots* slain, and the small number of the *English*.

C fatal to the *Scots*, and confirms the opinion of Astrologers, that there are days to some men fortunate, and unfortunate to others, if they could be known. This victory struck such a terror into many of the *Scots*, that the Earl of *Bathwell* and divers chief Gentlemen of *Trivdale* and *Meers* submitted themselves to the King of *England*, and were received by the Protector into his protection: after this, the *English* Army took many Towns and Castles, and then for want of Provision, returned into *England*, having not stayed above five and twenty days in *Scotland*, and not lost above three-score men. After the taking of *Muskelborough*, the Duke of *Somerset* made many Knights, but three especially; namely Sir *Ralph Sadler* Treasurer, Sir *Francis Brian* Captain of the Light Horse, and Sir *Ralph Vane* Lieutenant of all the Horsemen: he made Bannerets, which is a dignity above a Knight, and next to a Baron, and these were the last that from that time to this, did ever receive this dignity.

Days to some men fortunate and unfortunate to others.

D But notwithstanding this great overthrow at *Muskelborough*, the Governor of *Scotland* would not yet be quiet; but assembling the people, made unto them an Oration, exhorting them to defend the liberty of their Countrey, and not to be daunted with any event of war.

In this time many distractions and troubles hapned in *England*; partly in matters of Religion, and partly about Inclosures: and first for Inclosures, the Lord Protector caused Proclamation to be set forth, commanding that they who had inclosed any Lands accustomed to lie open, should upon a certain pain, before a day assigned, lay them open again: and then in matter of Religion, certain Injunctions were set forth, for removing of Images out of Churches; and divers Preachers were sent with instructions to dissuade the people from praying to Saints or for the dead, from use of Beads, Athes and Processions; from Masses, Dirges, praying in any unknown tongue;

Inclosures commanded to be laid open.

Injunctions set forth in matters of Religion.

E and for defect of Preachers Homilies were appointed publicly to be read in Churches: and many for offering to maintain these Ceremonies, were either punished or forced to recant. *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of *London*, was committed to the Fleet, for refusing to receive these Injunctions; *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, was likewise committed first to the Fleet, and after to the Tower, for that he had preached; It were well, these changes in Religion should be stayed untill the King were of years to govern by himself: for the like causes *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, *Heath* Bishop of *Kochester*, and *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, were in like manner committed to prison, and all of them dispossessed of their Bishopricks; and that which was worse, the Bishopricks themselves were dispossessed of their Revenues, in such sort, that a very small part remained to the Bishops that came after.

Divers Bishops committed to Prison.

F And now a Parliament was held, in the first year of the King, and by Prorogation in the second; wherein divers Chantries, Colledges, free Chappels, Fraternities and Guildes, with all their lands and goods, were given to the King; which being sold at a low rate, enriched many, and ennobled some, and thereby made them firm in maintaining the change: also it was then ordered, that no man should speak against receiving the Eucharist in both kinds, and that Bishops should be placed by Collation of the King under his Letters Patents, without any election preceding or confirmation ensuing; and that all Processes Ecclesiastical should be made in the Kings name, as in Writs at the Common Law; and that all persons exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, should have the Kings Arms in the Seals of their Office: and further, the Statute of the six Articles and other Statutes concerning punishment of Lollards were repealed, and the Kings Supremacy over the Church of *England* was confirmed.

A Parliament in which many things ordered concerning Ecclesiastical affairs.

G All this while the wars in *Scotland* continued, and were managed by the Lord *Gray of Wilton* with variable successe; & now about this time was sent to him in aid, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with fifteen thousand men; against him in aid of the *Scots*, was sent the *Rhinegrave* with 10 thousand *French*; who entering into consultation, how to remove the young Queen out of the reach of the *English*; provided a Fleet, and sailing round about *Scotland*, notwithstanding the *English* Fleet lay in wait to impeach their passage, yet conveyed her safely into *France*, being then but six years old; accompanied in the journey with *James* her bafe Brother, *John Erskin* and *William Livingston*; and in April following was married to *Francis* the Daulphin of *France*.

The young Queen of *Scots* is conveyed into *France*. She is married at six years old, to *Francis* the Daulphin of *France*.

The troubles
that ensued
upon the alter-
ation of Re-
ligion,

You heard before the alterations in Religion: now hear the troubles; for when the Injunctions were sent abroad into the Countrey, and Commissioners appointed to see them executed: one Master *Bodye* a Commissioner, as he was pulling down Images in *Cornwall*, was suddenly by a Priest stabbed into the Body with a knife. Hereupon the people flocked together in divers parts of the Shire, taking Arms, and beginning to commit outrages; and although the chief Offender was hanged and quartered in *Smithfield*, and many of his complices executed in divers parts of the Realm, and withall a Pardon proclaimed to all that would lay down Arms; yet neither could that severity, nor this lenity restrain them from their insolencies; but in divers Countries, as *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, *Kent*, *Glostershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Worstershire*, but specially in *Somersetshire* and *Devonshire*, great assemblies of people gathered to a head; whose chief Leaders were *Humfrey Arundel*, and about six others of inferior note, but many Priests. Some of these (we may say) were Common-wealth mutiners; and some mutined for Religion: they who were for the Common-wealth could agree upon nothing; some would have no Justices, some no Gentlemen, some no Lawyers, nor ordinary Courts of Justice, but above all, Inclosures must down; but whether all, or which, or how to be employed, none could tell. The religious Mutiners were not altogether so various in their voyces, as having some few amongst them by whom they were guided: these in name of the people hammered up these Articles following; upon granting of which, they professed that both their bodies and goods should be at the Kings devotion.

1. That Curates should administer Baptisme at all times of necessity, as well on week-days as on holy-days.

2. That their children might be confirmed by the Bishop.

3. That the Masse might be celebrated, no man communicating with the Priest.

4. That they might have reservation of the Lords body in their Churches.

5. That they might have holy bread and holy water in remembrance of Christs precious body and blood.

6. That Priests might live unmarried.

7. That the six Articles set forth by King Henry the eighth might be continued, at least till the King should come to full age.

Upon these demands, the King, although he knew that Reasons would little prevail with unreasonable men; yet to discharge the place he held, he sent them in writing Answers to them all, and withall a general pardon, if they would desist and lay down arms. But the seditious growing the more outrageous, the fairer they were intreated; and finding themselves unable to subsist with their own estates, began to think upon the spoil of Cities; and first they came to *Excester*, and demanded entrance, which the Citizens refusing, they fell to set fire on the gates; but the Citizens prevented this, by casting in wood and maintaining the fire, till they had cast up a half Moon within; upon which when the Seditious attempted to enter, they were presently hewen and cut in pieces. After this they mined the wals, laid powder, and rammed the mouth; but the Citizens prevented this also, by making a countermine, whereinto they poured such plenty of water, that the wet powder could not be fired. All this while, the Lord *Russel* Lord Privy Seal, who had been sent down to suppress the Commotion, lay at *Huntington*, expecting more Forces; whilst these Citizens of *Excester* for twelve days together endured so great famine, that they were faine to eat Horses, and make bread of course Bran moulded in cloathes, for that otherwise it would not cleave together. At last the Lord *Gray* came to the Lord *Russel* with supply of Forces; who after many conflicts with the Rebels, forced them to raise their siege at *Excester*; and thereby freed the City from many miseries: to whom the King afterward gave the Manor of *Evyland*, in reward for their loyalty. After this, the Rebels rallying their Forces, were again set upon by the Kings Army, and the greatest part of them slain, the rest fled; many were taken and executed by Martial Law; the chief Leaders were sent to *London*, and there executed. The sedition being thus suppressed; it is memorable what sport Sir *William Kingston* the Provost Marshal made, by vertue of his Office, upon men in misery. One *Boyer* Maior of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, had been amongst the Rebels, not willingly but enforced; to him the Provost sent word he would come and dine with him; for whom the Maior made great provision; a little before dinner, the Provost took the Maior aside, and whispered him in the ear, that an execution must that day be done in the Town, and therefore required to have a pair of Gallows set up against dinner should be done; the Maior failed not of his charge; presently after dinner the Provost taking the Maior by the hand, intreated him to lead him to the place where the Gallows was, which when he beheld he asked the Maior if he thought them to be strong enough; yes (said the Maior) doubtlesse they are; Well then (said the Provost) get you up speedily, for they are provided for you. I hope (answered the Maior) you mean not as you speak: In faith (said the Provost) there is no remedy, for you have been a busie Rebel; and so without respite or defence he was hanged to death: a most uncourteous part, for a guest to offer his host. Neer the said place dwelled a Miller, who had been a busie actor in that Rebellion; who fearing the approach of the Marshal, told a sturdy fellow his servant, that he had occasion to go from home, and therefore bid him, that if any man came to enquire after the Miller, he should not speak of him, but say that himself was the Miller, and had been so for three years before. So the Provost came and called for the Miller, when out comes the

Excester endured a siege of the Rebels to extreme famine.

For which loyalty the King gave them the Manor of *Evyland*.

Sir *William Kingston* mercy cruelty.

A the servant, and saith, he was the man: the provost demanded how long he had kept the Mill; these three years, answered the servant: then the Provost commanded his men to lay hold on him, and hang him on the next tree. At this the fellow cryed out, that he was not the Miller, but the Millers man; Nay Sir (said the Provost) I will take you at your word: and if thou beest the Miller, thou art a busie knave; if thou beest not, thou art a false lying knave; and howsoever, thou canst never do thy Master better service then to hang for him; and so without more ado he was dispatched.

When this sedition in *Devonshire* was appeased, there rose another in *Norfolk*, and that specially upon a grievance for enclosures; the Rebels had got one Robert Ket a Tanner of *Wimondham* to be their Leader, and were grown to a body of twenty thousand, seating themselves at *Monkbold*, neer *Mount-Surrey*, where they carried a face as it were of Justice and Religion; for they had one *Conger* an idle fellow to be their Chaplain, who morning and evening read solemn Prayers, also Sermons they had often, and as for Justice they had a bench under a tree where Ket usually sate, and with him two of every hundred whence their companies had been raised, to hear complaints and to give Judgement, and from hence were Warrants sent in the Kings name, to bring in powder, shot, victuals, and all things necessary: which tree hath ever since been called the tree of Reformation; and now being grown to a height, they presented certain complaints to the King, requiring, he would send a Herald to them, to give them satisfaction: the King though he took it for a great indignity, to have such base fellows to capitulate with him, yet framing himself to the time, he returned this answer; that in *October* following he would call a Parliament wherein their complaints should be heard, and all their grievances should be redressed, requiring them in the mean time, to lay down arms and return to their houses, and thereupon granting them a general pardon: but this was so far from satisfying the seditious, that hereupon first they assaulted the Town of *Norwich*, took it, and made the Maior attend them as their servant, and then returned again to their station at *Monkbold*: not long after *William Parre* Marquess of *Northampton*, with the Lord *Sheffield*, the Lord *Wentworth*, divers Knights and fifteen hundred Horse, with a small band of *Italians* was sent against them; whom the seditious so stoutly opposed, that much mischief was done on both sides, the Lord *Sheffield* falling with his Horse in a ditch was taken prisoner, and as he pulled off his helmet to shew who he was, he was by a Butcher stricken down with a club and slain; so as the Marquess with his forces not prevailing, there was afterward sent the Earl of *Warwick* with six thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, with whom were the Lords *Willoughby*, *Powis* and *Bray*, his two Sons *Ambrose* and *Robert*, and many Knights and Gentlemen of name. When the Earl was come neer to the Camp of the seditious, he sent a Herald to them, offering them the Kings pardon, if they would desist, but they were so far from accepting it, that a lewd Boy turned up his naked breech towards the Herald and bid him kisse it: Upon this, many skirmishes passed between the Earl and them, with losse sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another; at last they came to a Battail, where the Rebels placed in the Front all the Gentlemen they had taken prisoners, meaning they should be the first slain, of whom yet very few were hurt, but of the Rebels were slain above two thousand: and now once again the Earl offered them pardon, if they would desist; but for all their losses, they continued obstinate still; at last the Earl sent to know if they would entertain their pardon, in case he should come in person and assure them of it; this moved them much, and then they answered, they knew him to be so honorable, that from himself they would imbrace it; whereupon the Earl riding to them, and causing their pardon to be read, they threw away their weapons, wishing all joy and prosperity to the King: nine of the principal Rebels were hanged upon the tree of Reformation; Ket himself flying away was taken and hanged in chains upon *Norwich* Castle; the day of this defeat of the seditious, was a long time after observed for a festival day by the Inhabitants of *Norwich*, and thus ended the sedition in *Norfolk*; when at the same time another arose in *Yorkshire*, whereof the chief movers were *William Ombler* a Gentleman, *Thomas Dale* a Parish Clerk, and *Stephenson* a Poet, to whom were assembled four or five thousand, who took their encouragement from a certain prophesie, which did foretel, that the time should come, when there should be no King; when the Nobility and Gentry should be destroyed; when the Realm should be ruled by four Governours elected by the Commons, holding a Parliament in commotion, which should begin at the South and North Seas of *England*: and that time they understood to be the present, and that the Rebels of *Devonshire*, *Norfolk* and *Yorkshire* should draw together to accomplish this prophesie; but as soon as they heard that the tumults of *Devonshire* and *Norfolk* were quieted, they found that they were deceived in the understanding of the prophesie, and thereupon presently upon the Kings pardon, they fell off and dispersed, their chief Leaders *Ombler*, *Dale* and four others were executed at *Tork*; and with this, the Spirit of Sedition was quite laid in all places of the Kingdom.

But the King of *France* taking advantage of these seditions, though he had been in treaty before of peace with *England*, yet now he brake off the treaty, proclaimed war, and denounced it by his Embassadour to the King: hereupon all *French* men in *England*, not Denizens, were taken prisoners, and all their goods seized for the King, which the *French* King understanding, he sent a fleet of Ships to surprize *Gersney* and *Jersey*; but was repelled with the losse of a thousand men: after this, he levied an Army by land, and went himself in person against *Bulleign*, defended by the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, but being weary of the work, he left his Lieutenant *Chatillon* to pursue the Siege, who having made many fierce batteries, and at last assaults, and not prevailing, he then attempted to hinder the Town from supply of victuals, and to this end

An Insurrection in *Norfolk* about inclosures, by Ket a Tanner. Their shews of Religion.

They assault the Town of *Norwich*.

They encounter the Kings Forces.

They refuse Pardon offered them.

At last they imbrace Pardon, if the Earl of *Warwick* will bring it to them himself. Ket is taken and hanged.

Another Insurrection at the same time in *Yorkshire*, upon the conceit of a Prophesie.

But these also upon the Kings Pardon lay down their Arms.

The *French* King taking advantage of these seditions in *England*; goes with an Army against *Bulleign*: which the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold* defended.

charged a Galley with gravel and stones, meaning to sink it in the Haven but the *English* took the A galley before it was sunk, and made use of the stones for their own defence; after this, they made faggots of light matter, mixed with pitch, tar, tallow, rosin, powder and wild-fire, with intention to fire the ships in the Haven, but that enterprise was defeated by the *Bulls*, and the faggots taken from the *French*, and more then this, there was little done in those parts at this time.

Contention
for place be-
tween the
Queen Dow-
ager wife of the
Lord Admiral,
and the Lady
Anne Stanhope
wife of the
Protectour.
She makes va-
riance between
the two Bro-
thers their
Husbands.

But in *England* in the mean time, an unfortunate accident happened, which beginning upon a very light occasion, produced afterward very heavy effects; whereof, though there were many concurrent circumstances, yet the original cause was the pride of a woman, upon a point indeed, wherein the natures of women are commonly most tender, Precedency of place: the Protectour had married *Anne Stanhope*, a woman of a haughty stomach, and the Lord Admiral his Brother the Queen Dowager, a Lady of great mildness: the nearness of the Husbands, gave B occasions of the Ladies often meeting, where the Dutchesse would inwardly murmur, why she being the wife of the elder Brother, and the better man, should give place to her, who was the wife of the younger Brother, and the meaner man; this envy of hers towards the Queen, bred a malice in her towards the Admiral, as thinking the mischief she did to the husband, to be a part of revenge upon the wife, and though the Queen shortly after died in Child-bed, yet the malice of the Dutchesse towards the Admiral lived still, (so hard a thing it is for malice once settled in a womans heart, to be removed) out of this malice, she puts divers surmises into her Husband the Protectours head against his Brother the Admiral, as though he went about to procure his death, to the end he might aspire to the place he held; but certainly as misliking his government being a Protestant, who was himself a Papist; in this case C causes of jealousy against the Admiral was obvious enough, for it was known that in King *Henries* time, he had aimed at the marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* King *Henries* second Daughter; and now his wife the Queen Dowager being dead (and not without suspicion of poyson) he fell upon that marriage afresh, which could not be thought to tend, but to some very high aspiring end: the Protectour a plain man, and one that had not the deepest insight into practices, whether too importunately provoked by his wife, or whether out of a honest minde, not willing to patronize faults though in a brother, gave way to accusations brought against him, so as in a Parliament then holden, he was accused for attempting to get into his custody the person of the King, and government of the Realm, for endeavouring to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings Sister, for perswading the King in his tender years, to take upon him the rule and ordering of D himself; upon which points (though perhaps proved, yet not sufficiently against him, who was never called to his answer) he was by Act of Parliament condemned; and within few days after condemnation, a Warrant was sent under the hand of his Brother the Protectour to cut off his head; wherein (as after it proved) he did as much, as if he had laid his own head down upon the block; for whilest these Brothers lived and held together, they were as a strong fortresse one to the other; the Admirals courage supporting the Protectours authority, and the Protectours authority maintaining the Admirals stoutnesse; but the Admiral once gone, the Protectours authority as wanting support began to totter, and fell at last to utter ruine: besides there was at this time, amongst the Nobility a kinde of faction; Protestants who favoured the Protectour for his own sake, and other of Papal inclination, who favoured him for his Brothers sake, but his Brother being gone, both sides forsook him, even his own side; as thinking they could expect E little assistance from him, who gave no more assistance to his own Brother; and perhaps more then all this, the Earl of *Warwick* at this time, was the most powerful man both in Courage and Counsaile amongst all the Nobility, and none so neer to watch him as the Admiral while he lived; but he being gone, there was none left that either was able and durst, or durst and was able to stand against him: however it was, not long after the Admirals death, the Protectour was invaded with sundry accusations, wherein the Earl of *Warwick* made not always the greatest shew, but yet had always the greatest hand; one thing the Protectour had done, which though a private act, yet gave a publick distaste. To make him a Mansion house F in the Strand (the same which is now called *Somerset-house*) he pulled down a Church, and two Bishops houses by the Strand-Bridge; in digging the foundation whereof, the bones of many who had been there buried, were cast out and carryed into the fields; and because the stones of those houses and the Church sufficed not for his work, the steeple and most part of the Church of Saint *Johns* of *Jerusalem* neer *Smithfield*, was mined and overthrown with powder, and the stones applyed to this spacious building; and more then this, the Cloyster of *Pauls* on the North side of the Church, in a place called *Parson Church-yard*, and the dance of Death very curiously wrought about the Cloyster, and a Chapel that stood in the midst of the Church-yard; also the Charnel house, that stood upon the South side of *Pauls* (now a Carpenters-yard) with the Chappel, timber and Monuments therein were beaten down, the bones of the dead carried into G *Finchbury-fields*, and the stones converted to this building. This Act of the Protectours, did something alienate the peoples mindes from him; which the Earl of *Warwick* perceiving thought it now a fit time to be falling upon him; and thereupon drew eighteen of the Privy Councell to joyn with him, who withdrawing themselves from the Court, held secret consultations together, and walked in the City with many servants weaponed, and in new Liveries; whereof when the Lord Protectour heard, he sent Secretary *Peter* to them, to know the causes of their Assembly, requiring them to resort unto him peaceably, that they might commune together as friends; but in the mean time he Armed five hundred men, and removed the King

The Admiral
in Parliament
is accused of
divers Crimes.

He is be-
headed.

After his death
the Protectour
is accused.

Somerset-house
builded by the
Protectour,
with Sacri-
ledge.

The Earl of
Warwick draws
many of the
Lords to joyn
against the
Protectour.

A King by night from *Hampton Court* to *Windsor*: on the other side, the Lords at *London* having first taken possession of the Tower, sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, to the Earl of *Warwick* lodging at *Elly-house* in *Holborn*; to whom the Lord Rich then Lord Chancellor made a long Oration wherein he shewed the ill Government of the Lord Protector; and the many mischiefs that by it were come upon the Kingdom, and thereupon requiring them to joyn with the Lords there assembled to remove him; and presently that day, a Proclamation was made in divers parts of the City to that purpose; to which the Lords and Counsellours that subscribed their names were these; the Lord Rich Chancellor, the Lord Saint-John Lord great Master, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Warwick* Lord great Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundell* Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Treasurer of the Household, Sir *John Gage* Constable of the Tower, Sir *William Peter* Secretary, Sir *Edward North* Knight, Sir *Edward Montague* chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *John Baker* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, Sir *Richard Southwell* Knights; and Doctor *Wootton* Dean of *Canterbury*. In the afternoon of the same day, the Lord Mayor assembled a Common Council in the *Guild-hall*, where two letters arrived almost in one instant; from the King and the Lord Protector, for a thousand men to be Armed for defence of the Kings Person; another from the Lords at *London* for two thousand men to aid them in defence of the Kings Person also; both pretending alike, and therefore hard how to please them both. The Recorder set forth the complaint of the Lords against the Protector, in such sort, that he made many inclinable to favour that side; but one named *George Stadlow* better advised, step up, and in a long Speech shewed, what mischiefs had come to the City by opposing the King; and therefore gave his opinion, to suspend giving aid to the Lords, at least for a time. His advice was hearkened to, and thereupon the Court resolved only to arms hundred Horsemen and four hundred foot, in defence of the City; and to the letters, returned submissive but dilatory Answers. After some other passages between the Protector and the Lords, Sir *Edward Winkfield* Captain of the Guard, was sent from the Lords to *Windsor*; who so well perswaded the King of the Lords loyal affection towards him, and of their moderate intention towards the Protector, that the King was contented to have him presently removed from him, and suffered him within two dayes after to be carried to the Tower. In whose absence, seven Lords of the Council and four Knights were appointed by turns to attend the Kings person; and for affairs of State, the government of them was referred to the whole body of the Council: soon after were sent to the Protector in the Tower, certain Lords of the Council, with Articles against him, requiring his present Answer, whether he would acknowledge them to be true, or else stand upon his justification. The chief Article was this; that he took upon him the Office of Protector, with expresse condition, that he should do nothing in the Kings affairs, but by assent of the late Kings Executors, or the greatest part of them; and that contrary to this condition, he had hindered Justice, and subverted laws of his own authority, as well by letters as by other command; and many other Articles, but all much to this purpose. The Protector, whether thinking to speed better by submission then by contesting: or perhaps finding himself not altogether innocent, (for indeed in so great a place, who can bear himself with such sincerity, but he will commit errors with which he may be taxed?) subscribed an acknowledgement with his own hand; humbly submitting himself to the Kings mercy, and desiring their Lordships favour towards him. Upon this submission, three moneths after he had been imprisoned, he was released, entertained and feasted by the King, and sworn again to be a Privy Counsellour, but no more Protector: at which time, between him and the Lords, a shew at least of perfect amity was made; and to make it the more firm, the Dukes Daughter was afterward married to the Lord *Lisle*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Warwick*; at which marriage the King himself was present; and perhaps to honour their reconciliation and this marriage, the Earl of *Warwick* was made Lord Admiral of *England*, Sir *John Russell* Lord Privy Seal was created Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord Saint-John was created Earl of *Wiltshire*, and soon after made Lord Treasurer, Sir *William Paget* Controllour of the Kings House, was made Lord *Paget*, Sir *Anthony Winkfield* Captain of the Guard, was made Controllour, and Sir *Thomas Darcy* was made Captain of the Guard. But of the other side the Earl of *Arundell*, the Earl of *Southampton*, were put off from the Council; of whom the Earl of *Southampton* died shortly after at *Lincoln Place* in *Holborn*, and was buried in *Saint Andrews Church* there.

The Protector is sent to the Tower.

Upon his submission he is released but no more Protector.

Divers Lords made.

About this time a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies; another against unlawful assemblies: but for fear of new tumults, the Parliament was untimely dissolved, and Gentlemen were commanded to retire to their Countrey habitations; and for the same cause also *Trinity Term* did not hold.

G About this time also, Pope *Paul* the third died; after whose death the Cardinals being divided about the election of a new Pope; the Imperial part, which was the greatest, gave their voices for Cardinal *Poole*; which being told him, he disabled himself, and wished them to choose one that might be most for the glory of God, and good of the Church: upon this stop, some that were no friends to *Poole*, and perhaps looked for the place themselves, if he were put off, laid many things to his charge; amongst other, that he was not without suspicion of *Lutheranisme*, as having been very conversant with *Immanuel Tremellius* and *Antonius Flaminius*,

Cardinal *Poole* is chosen Pope, but making excuses is rejected.

great *Lutherans*, and not altogether without blemish of incontinency; there being a young A Nun that was thought to be his Daughter. But of these criminations *Poole* so cleared himself, that he was afterward more importuned to take the place then he was before; and thereupon one night the Cardinals came unto him, being in bed; and sent him word they came to adore him (which is one special kinde of electing the Pope) but he being awaked out of his sleep, and acquainted with it; made answer, that this was not a work of darknesse, and therefore required them to forbear till the next day, and then to do as God should put into their mindes. But the *Italian* Cardinals attributing this putting off, to a kinde of stupidity and sloth in *Poole*, looked no more after him, but the next day chose Cardinal *Montanus* Pope, who was afterward named *Julius* the third.

A peace between England and France, upon payment of four hundred thousand Crowns.

And now the King of France, upon many just considerations, was grown desirous to have a B Peace with England; and thereupon sent one *Guidotti* a *Florentine* into England, to make some overture of his desire to the Lords of the Council; who, addressing himself to the Earl of *Warwick*, whom he knew to be most prevalent; so prevailed, that it was concluded four Embassadors should be sent from the King of England into France, and four from the French King, to treat with them. The Commissioners for the English were *John* Earl of *Bedford*, *William* Lord *Paget*, Sir *William* Peter and Sir *John* Mason, Secretaries of State. For the French were *Monsieur Rochpot*, *Monsieur Chatillon*, *Guyllart de Martier* and *Rochette de Dasse*: much time was spent to agree about a place of meeting; till at last the English to satisfie the French, were contented it should be before *Bulloigne*; where were many meetings and many differences about conditions; but in conclusion, a Peace was concluded upon certain Articles; the chief whereof C was, that *Bulloigne* and the places adjacent should be delivered up to the French within six weeks after the Peace Proclaimed; and that the French should pay for the same two hundred thousand Crowns, within three days after delivery of the Town; and other two hundred thousand Crowns upon the fifth day of *August* following: hostages were on both sides given for performance, and to those Articles the French King was sworn at *Amyens*; and the King of England in *London*: the Lord *Clinton* who had been Deputy of *Bulloigne* was made Lord Admiral of England.

Presently after this Agreement, the Duke of *Brunswick* sent to the King of England, to offer his service in the Kings wars, with ten thousand men, and to intreat a marriage with the Lady *Mary*, the Kings eldest Sister. To his offer of aid, answer was made, that the Kings wars were ended; D and touching the marriage with the Lady *Mary*, that the King was in speech for her marriage with the *Infanta* of *Portugall*, which if it succeeded not, he should then be favourably heard. Upon this, the Emperours Embassador demanded of the King, that the Lady *Mary* might have free exercise of the Masse, which the King not only constantly denied, but thereupon Sermons were exercised at the Court, and order taken, that no man should have any Benefice from the King, but first he should Preach before him; and shortly after, under pretence of preparing for Sea-matters, five thousand pounds were sent to relieve Protestants beyond the Seas. At this time also, an Embassador came from *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, to enter league with the King for intercourse of Merchants; and charge was then also given, that the Laws of England should be administered in *Ireland*.

The Laws of England first administered in Ireland.

About this time the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, going from France to her Countrey, passed through England, having first obtained a safe Conduct, she arrived at *Portsmouth*, and was there met by divers of the English Nobility; conducted to *London*, she was lodged in the *Bishops-Palace*: after four days staying, having been feasted by the King at *White-hall*, she departed; being waited on by the Sheriffs of Countreies to the borders of *Scotland*. And now was one *Steward* a *Scot* apprehended in England, and imprisoned in the Tower, for intending to poyson the young Queen of *Scots*, whom the King delivered to the French King upon the frontiers of *Callice*, to be by him justified at his pleasure.

The Emperor seeks to get the Lady Mary by stealth out of England.

At this time certain Ships were appointed by the Emperour, to transport the Lady *Mary* either by violence or by stealth out of England to *Antwerp*; whereupon Sir *John* Gates was sent F with Forces into *Essex*, where the Lady lay; and besides, the Duke of *Somerset* was sent with two hundred men, the Lord Privy Seal with other two hundred, and Master *Sentleger* with four hundred more, to several coasts upon the Sea, and the Lord Chancellour and Secretary *Peter* were sent to the Lady *Mary*; who after some conference, brought her to the Lord Chancellours house at *Lyce* in *Essex*, and from thence to the King at *Westminster*. Here the Council declared unto her, how long the King had permitted her the use of the Masse, and considering her obstinacy, was resolved now no longer to permit, unless she would put him in hope of some conformity in short time. To which she answered, that her soul was Gods; and touching her faith, as she could not change, so she would not dissemble it. Reply was made, that the King intended not to constrain her faith, but to restrain the outward profession of it, in regard of G the danger the example might draw. After some like interchange of speeches, the Lady was appointed to remain with the King, when there arrived an Embassador from the Emperour, with a threatening message of war, in case his Cousin the Lady *Mary*, should be denied the free exercise of the Masse: hereupon the King presently advised with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and with the Bishop of *London* and *Rocheſter*; who gave their opinion, that to give licence to sin was sin, but to connive at sin might be allowed, so it were not too long, nor without hope of reformation: then answer was given to the Embassador, that the King would send

The Lady Mary is constant to her religion.

To connive is lesse then to give licence.

A send to the Emperour within a moneth or two, and give him such satisfaction as should be fit.

And now the King being uncertain of the faith, both of his Subjects and of his Confederates, intended by alliance to strengthen himself; and thereupon sent one *Bartwick*, to the King of Denmark with private instructions, to treat of a marriage between the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings youngest Sister, and the King of Denmark eldest Son; but when it came to the point, this Lady could not be induced to entertain marriage with any.

The Lady Elizabeth cannot be induced to marry.

After this the Marquess of Northampton was sent Ambassador to the French King, as well to present him with the Order of the Garter, as to treat with him of other secret affairs: with him were joyned in Commission the Bishop of Ely, Sir Philip Hobbie, Sir William Pickering, B Sir John Mason, and Master Smith Secretary of State; also the Earl of Worcester, Rutland, and Ormond were appointed to accompany them; as likewise the Lords Lisles, Fitzwater, Bray, Aburgavene and Evers, with other Knights and Gentlemen of note, to the number of six and twenty; and for avoiding of immoderate train, order was given that every Earl should have but four attendants, every Baron but three, every Knight and Gentleman but two, only the Commissioners were not limited to any number. Being come to the Court of France, they were forthwith brought to the King, being then in his Bedchamber; to whom the Marquess presented the Order of the Garter, wherewith he was presently invested: then the Bishop of Ely in a short Speech, declared, how the King of England, out of his love and desire of amity, had sent this order to his Majesty; desiring withall, that some persons might be authorized to treat with them, about some other matters of importance; whereupon a Commission went forth to the Cardinal of Lorraine, Chastillon the Constable, the Duke of Guise, and others. At the first, the English demanded, that the young Queen of Scots might be sent into England for perfecting of marriage between King Edward and her. But to this the French answered, That conclusion had been made long before for her marriage with the Daulphin of France. Then the English proposed a marriage between King Edward and the Lady Elizabeth the French Kings eldest Daughter: to this the French did cheerfully incline; but when they came to talk of Portion, the English demanded at first fifteen hundred thousand Crowns, then fell to fourteen, and at last to eight hundred thousand: the French offered at first, one hundred thousand Crowns, then rose to two hundred thousand, and higher they would not be drawn; saying, it was more then ever had been given with a Daughter of France. Shortly after Monsieur the Marshal and other Commissioners were sent by the French King, to deliver to the King of England the Order of Saint Michael; and then was further treaty about the marriage; and because the French could be scrved no higher then two hundred thousand Crowns, it was at last accepted, and the agreement was reduced into writing, and delivered under Seal on both sides.

Embassadors are sent into France.

To treat of a marriage, between King Edward and the French Kings eldest Daughter, which is at last concluded.

And now King Edward supposing his state to be most safe, when indeed it was most unsure; in testimony both of his joy and love, advanced many to new titles of honor; the Lord Marquess Dorset, who had married the eldest Daughter of Charles Brandon, was created Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Warwick Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Wiltshire was created Marquess of Winchester, Sir William Herbert Lord of Cardiffe and Master of the Horse, was created Earl of Pembroke; also William Cecil the Kings Secretary, John Cheek one of his Schoolmasters, Henry Dudley and Henry Nevill were made Knights, and (that which perhaps it had been happy, if it had never been) Sir Robert Dudley one of the Duke of Northumberlands Sons (the same who was afterward the great Earl of Leicester) was sworn one of the six ordinary Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber; for after his coming into a place so neer about him, the King enjoyed his health but a while.

Dukes and Earls made.

The Lord Robert Dudley is made one of the Kings Bedchamber.

The aspiring thoughts of the Duke of Northumberland, were now grown up to be put in execution: He was advanced in title of honor equal with the highest; in authority and power above the highest; he had placed his politick Son neer about the Kings Person; the next thing was F to remove the Duke of Somerset out of the way; and for this also he had prepared instruments; Sir Thomas Palmer, Crane, Hammon, Cecil, and others, who brought several accusations against the Duke; some trenching upon the King and Kingdom, but one specially against the Duke of Northumberlands person; whose practises when the Duke of Somerset found, and had cause to fear; he went one day armed into the Duke of Northumberlands Chamber, with a purpose to kill him; but finding him in his bed, and being received with much kinde complement by him, his heart relented, and thereupon came away without any thing done: at his coming out, one of his company asked him if he had done the deed? who answered, No: then said he, you are your self undone: and indeed it so fell out; for when all other Accusations were refelled, this only stuck by him, and could not be denied; and so on the first of December he was arraigned at Westminster; where the Lord William Paulet Marquess of Winchester, and Lord Treasurer, sat as high Steward of England, and with him Peers to the number of seven and twenty; the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntingdon, Rutland, Bathe, Sussex, Worcester, Pembroke and Hereford; the Barons, Aburgeveny, Audeley, Wharton, Evers, Latimer, Borrough, Zouch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Sturton, Winsor, Cromwell, Cobham and Bray. The Lords being set, the Inditements were read, in number five, containing a charge, for raising men in the North parts of the Realm; and at his house, for men assembling mento kill the Duke

The Duke of Northumberland seeks accusations against the Duke of Somerset.

Who being arraigned is acquitted of Treason, but found guilty of Felony.

A Peer of the Realm not to be challenged in a Jury.

The Duke of Somerset is beheaded, and his patient suffering it.

George Ferrers Lord of Misrule at Christmasse.

A call of Serjeants.

The Lord Paget hath the Garter taken from him; and why.

Sebastian Gabato lent to discover a passage to the East-Indies.

Sir Hugh Willoughby frozen to death.

The Duke of Northumberland perswades King Edward to exclude his two Sisters succession in the Crown: and by what reasons.

of Northumberland; for resisting his Attachment, for raising London, for assaulting the Lords, and A devising their deaths. To all which he pleaded, Not guilty, and made a satisfactory Answer to every point, though the Kings learned Councel pressed them hard against him. This done, the Lords went together, where exception was taken by some, as a thing unfit, that the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke should be of the Jury; seeing the prisoner was chiefly charged with practises against them. But to this the Lawyers made answer, that a Peer of the Realm might not be challenged; so after much variation of opinions, the prisoner was acquit of Treason, but by most voyces found guilty of Felony; and that by a Statute, lately by his own procurement made; That if any should attempt to kill a Privy Counsellour, although the Fact were not done, yet it should be Felony, and be punished with death. But upon his being acquit of Treason, the Axe of the Tower was presently laid B down, which made people conceive he had been acquitted of all; who thereupon for joy gave so great a shout, that it was heard as far as Charing-Crosse: but the Duke was little the better for being acquitted of Treason, seeing he was found guilty of Felony; and had Judgement to die. It is thought by some, he might have saved his life, if he had demanded his Clergy; but it is rather thought that in that Statute Clergy was denied. Two moneths after his condemnation, (much against the Kings will) he was brought to the Tower-hill to execution; where being ascended the Scaffold, he entred into a Speech, wherein though he justified himself, for any matter tending to the hurt of the King or Kingdom; yet he confessed, he was was justly by the Law brought to his death; and thanked God, that had given him so large a time of repentance, specially that he had opened his eyes, to see clearly the light of the Gospel; and going on in his C Speech, a sudden noise arose, of some crying, Away, away; which made some think a Pardon had been come; but was indeed the voyce of some that had been warned to be at the Execution, and were come somewhat late: but the tumult being appeased, the Duke went on with his Speech, and at last commending his soul to God, with a countenance not shewing any sign of fear or perturbation, only his cheeks a little redder then they used to be, he peaceably laid down his head upon the block, and in a moment with one stroke of the Axe, had it stricken off. The Death of this Duke, made the Duke of Northumberland more odious to the people then he was before; and there were some that dipped Handkerchiefs in his blood, and kept them to upbraid the Duke of Northumberland withall, when he came himself afterward to the like end. After execution of the Duke, Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Miles Patridge were hanged at the Tower-hill, Sir Michael Stanhope and D Sir Thomas Arundell were there beheaded.

After the Dukes condemnation, it was thought fit to have something done for averting the Kings minde, from taking thought; and to that end, one George Ferrers a Gentleman of Lincolns Inne, was appointed in the Christmas time, to be Lord of Misrule; who so carried himself, that he gave great delight to many, and some to the King, but not in proportion to his heaviness.

About this time was a call of seven Serjeants at Law, who kept their feast at Grays Inne; of whom, Master Robert Brook Recorder of London, was the first; and the next Master Dyer, who was chosen Speaker the next Parliament.

About this time also, the Lord Paget was committed to the Tower, for what cause is not certain; E and being a Knight of the Order, his Garter was taken from him by Garter King at Arms, upon this pretence, that he was said to be no Gentleman, either by Father or Mother; and the Garter was then bestowed on the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Northumberlands eldest Son, and the Lord Rich Lord Chancellour, was put off from his Place, and the Seal then delivered to Doctor Thomas Goodrick Bishop of Ely.

About this time also three great Ships were set forth at the Kings charge, for discovery of a passage to the East-Indies by the North Seas; the chief Pilot and director in this Voyage, was one Sebastian Gabato an Englishman, born at Bristol, but the Son of a Genoway: these Ships at the last arrived in the Countrey of Moscovia, but not without losse of their Captain Sir Hugh Willoughby, who being tossed and driven by tempest, was afterward found in his Ship frozen to death, and all his F people.

At this time also the Duke of Suffolke three Daughters, which he had by Frances, Daughter of Charles Brandon and Mary Queen of France, were married at Durham House: the eldest Jane to the Lord Guilford Dudley, fourth Son to the Duke of Northumberland: the second Katherine, to Henry Son and Heir to the Earl of Pembroke; the youngest Mary, being somewhat deformed, to Maistyn Keyes the Kings Gentleman Porter. And then also Katherine the Duke of Northumberlands youngest Daughter to the Lord Hastings, eldest Son of the Earl of Huntington. And now had the Duke of Northumberland gone a great way in his design; it remained to perswade King Edward to exclude his two Sisters from succession in the Crown; for that done, his Daughter in law the Lady Jane, would come to have a right; for as for pretenders out of Scotland, or any other, he made no great G matter. And now to work the King to this perswasion, (being in a languishing sicknesse, not far from death) he inculcates to him, how much it concerned him to have a care of Religion, that it might be preserved in purity, not only in his own life, but as well after his death; which would not be, if his sister the Lady Mary should succeed, and she could not be put by unless her other Sister the Lady Elizabeth were put by also, seeing their rights depended one upon another; but if he pleased to appoint the Lady Jane, the Duke of Suffolke eldest Daughter, and his own next Kinswoman to his Sisters, to be his successor, he might then be sure that the true Religion should be

A be maintained, to Gods great glory, and be a worthy Act of his own religious Providence. This was to strike upon the right string of the young Kings affection, with whom nothing was so dear as preservation of Religion; and thereupon his last Will was appointed to be drawn (contrived chiefly by the Lord chief Justice *Mountague*, and Secretary *Cecil*;) by which Will, as far as in him lay, he excluded his two Sisters from the succession; and all other, but the Duke of *Suffolk* Daughters; and then causing it to be read before his Council, he required them all to assent unto it, and to subscribe their hands; which they all, both Nobility, and Bishops and Judges did; only the Archbishop *Cranmer* refused at first, Sir *James Hales* a Judge of the Common Pleas to the last, and with them also Sir *John Baker* Chancellour of the Exchequer. And now remained nothing for the Duke of *Northumberland* purpose, but that the King should die; which soon after he did at *Greenwich*, the sixth of July, in the year 1553. One point of the Dukes policy must not be forgotten, that fearing what troubles the Lady *Mary* might raise after the Kings decease, if she should be at liberty; he therefore, seeing the King drawing on, used all means possible to get her within his power; to which end Letters are directed to her in the Kings name from the Council, willing her forthwith to repair to the King, as well to be a comfort to him in his sicknesse, as to see all matters well ordered about his person: whereupon, the Lady suspecting nothing, addressed her self with all speed to the journey; till being upon the way, she was advertised of the Dukes design; and then she returned to her House at *Hovesden*, and so escaped the snare; by whose escape, the whole design of the Duke of *Northumberland* was disappointed; as soon after will be seen.

His Will drawn to that purpose.

King Edward dies.
The Duke of Northumberland seeks to get the Lady Mary into his hands.

Of his Taxations.

I N no Kings reign was ever more Parliaments for the time, nor fewer Subsidies; the greatest was in his last year, when yet there was but one Subsidie, with two fifteens and tenths granted by the Temporality, and a Subsidie by the Clergy. And indeed to shew how loath this King was to lay Impositions upon his people, this may be a sufficient argument; that though he were much in debt, yet he chose rather to deal with the Foulker in the Low-Countries for money upon loan, at the interest of fourteen pounds for a hundred, for a year. But his ways for raising of money, was by selling of Chancery Lands and Houses, given him by Parliament; and by inquiring after all Church goods, either remaining in Cathedral and Parish-Churches, or embezzelled away, as Jewels, gold and silver Chalice, ready money, Copes, and other Vestments; reserving to every Church one Chalice, and one covering for the Communion Table, the rest to be applied to his benefit. He also raised money by enquiring after offences of Officers in great places; in which inquiry one *Beaumont* Master of the Rolles, being convinced of many crimes, surrendered all his Offices, Lands and Goods into the Kings hands: also one *Whalley*, Receiver of *Yorkshire*, being found a Delinquent, surrendered his Office, and payed a great fine besides; also the Lord *Paget*, Chancellour of the Dutchie, convinced, that he had sold the Kings Lands and Timber-woods without Commission, and had applied the Kings Fines to his own use; for these and other offences, E surrendered his Office, and was fined at four thousand pounds, which he payed in hand. One thing more was done in his time for raising of money; twenty thousand pounds weight of Bullion, was appointed to be made so much baser, that the King might gain thereby a hundred and forty thousand pounds.

Delinquent Officers fined.

Bullion made baser to raise money.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

I N his third year a Parliament was holden; wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies, another against unlawful Assemblies. In his fourth year a Parliament was holden, wherein Priests children were made legitimate; and usury for the loan of money was forbidden. In his fifth year, it was ordained that the Laws of *England* should be admitted in *Ireland*; and a King at Arms named *Ulster*, was newly instituted for *Ireland*; whose Province was all *Ireland*; and he was the first fourth King of Arms, and first Herald appointed for *Ireland*. Also in his fifth year, base monies formerly coined, were cried down; so as the shilling went but for nine pence, and shortly but for six pence, the groat but for three pence, and shortly after but for two pence.

Priests children made legitimate.
Usury forbidden.
Ulster King at Arms ordained for Ireland.
Base moneys cried down.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

I N the first year of this Kings reign, Injunctions were set forth, for pulling down and removing all Images out of Churches; also certain Homilies were appointed to be made by learned men, to be read in Churches, for the peoples instruction: and at Easter this year, it was ordered, that the Sacrament of the Lords Supper should be ministred to the Lay-people in both kinds; Also Marriage was allowed to Clergy men; Auricular Confession and Prayer for the dead were forbidden: And it is observable, that the very same day that Images were pulled down at *London*, the great overthrow was given to the *Scots* at *Muskelborough*. Also at this time, by the Archbishop

Cranmer.

The Book of
Common
Prayer esta-
blished.

Cranmers means, divers learned Protestants came over into England, and had here entertainment, as *A Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*; of whom *Peter Martyr* was sent to read a Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*; *Bucer* and *Fagius* in *Cambridge*. In this Kings fourth year, all Altars in Churches were commanded to be taken down, and Tables placed in their rooms. In his fifth year the Book of Common Prayer was established.

Casualties happening in his time.

A sweating
sickness, pro-
per only to the
English Nati-
on.

IN his second year, *Saint Annes Church* within *Aldersgate* was burnt. In his fifth year, a sweat- B
ing sickness infested first *Shrewsbury*, and then the North parts, and after grew most extreme in
London, so as the first week there died eight hundred persons, and was so violent that it took men
away in four and twenty hours, sometimes in twelve, and sometime in lesse: amongst other of
account that died of this sickness, were the two Sons of *Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk*, who
died within an hour after one another, in such order that both of them died Dukes. This disease
was proper to the English Nation, for it followed the English wheresoever they were in forain
parts; but seized upon none of any other Countrey. In this year one Master *Arden of Kent*, by pro-
curement of his wife was murdered in his own house; being dead, his body was carried out and
laid upon the ground, in a Close hard by; where this is memorable, that for two years after, the
ground where his body lay, bore no grasse, but represented still as it were a picture of his body, C
only in the space between his legs and arms there grew grasse, but where any part of his body
touched, none at all. Yet this miraculous accident was not so much for the murder, as for the
curses of a widow woman, out of whose hands the said Master *Arden* had uncharitably bought
the said Close, to her undoing. And thus the divine justice even in this world oftentimes works
miracles upon offenders, for a merciful warning to men, if they would be so wise to take it. In his
sixth year, the third of *August at Middleton-stony*, eleven miles from *Oxford*, a woman brought
forth a childe which had two perfect bodies from the navil upward, the legges for both the bodies
grew out at the midst where the bodies joined, and had but one issue for the excrements of them
both: they lived eighteen days, and were women children. This year also were taken at
Quinbarow three Dolphins, and at *Black-wall* six more, the least of which was bigger then D
any Horfe.

A miraculous
effect of a
murder.

A monstrous
Birth.

Dolphins taken
at Black-wall.

Works of Piety done by him or others in his time.

Christs Hospi-
tal, Saint Tho-
mas Hospital,
Saint Bartholo-
mews and
Bridewell gi-
ven by this
King to char-
itable uses.

THIS King gave three houses to the relief of the poor; first for the fatherlesse and beggers
children, he gave the late *Gray-Fryers* in *London*, which is now called *Christs Hospital*: then
for lame and diseased persons he gave the *Hospital of Saint Thomas* in *Southwark*, and *Saint Bar-
tholomews* in *West-Smithfield*: Thirdly, for riotous and idle persons, he gave his house of *Bridewell*;
and for their maintenance, he took six hundred pounds a year land from the house of the *Savoy*
(which had been long abused) and bestowed it upon these houses; to which he added four thou- E
sand marks a year more. By his example *Sir William Chester Alderman of London*, and *John Cal-
throppe Draper*, at their own costs made the *Brickwals* and way on the backside that leadeth to the
Hospital of Saint Bartholomews, and also covered and valted the *Town-Ditch*, which before was
very noysome. In the second year of this King, *Sir John Gresham* then Maior of *London*, founded
a free School at *Hest* in *Norfolk*; also at his decease he gave to every Ward in *London* ten pounds,
to be distributed amongst the poor, and to Maids marriages two hundred pounds. In his third
year, *Sir Rowland Hill* the then Lord Maior of *London*, caused to be made a Cawsey commonly
called *Overlane* pavement, in the high way from *Stone* to *Nantwich*, in length four miles, for the
ease of Horfe and Man. He caused also a Cawsey to be made from *Dunburch* to *Bransen* in *Warwick-
shire*, more then two miles in length; & gave twenty pounds towards the making of *Roitton Bridge* F
three miles from *Coventry*. He made likewise the high way to *Kilburne* neer to *London*. Also four
Bridges, two of them of stone, containing eighteen arches in them both; the one over the Ri-
ver of *Severn* called *Acham Bridge*, the other *Terne Bridge*; and two other of Timber at *Stake*,
where he built also a good part of the Church. A free School likewise he builded at *Drayton* in
Shropshire, with Master and Usher, and gave sufficient stipends to them both. Also he purchased a
free Fair to the said Town, with a free Market weekly; and every fourteen days a free Market for
Cattel. Besides all this, he gave to the *Hospital of Christs Church* in *London* in his life time five
hundred pounds, and at his death, a hundred. In this Kings fourth year, *Sir Andrew Jud* Maior of
London, founded a notable free School at *Tunbridge* in *Kent*; and gave threestore pounds land a
year to the *Skinner*s of *London*, for which they be bound to pay twenty pounds to the School- G
master, and eight pounds to the Usher of his free School at *Tunbridge* yearly for ever. In his sixth
year, *Sir George Barnes* was Maior of *London*, gave a Windmil in *Finsbury-field* to the *Haberdashers*
of *London*, the profits thereof to be distributed to the poor of that Company; also to *Saint Bar-
tholomews* the little, certain Tenements to the like use.

A

Of his Personage and Conditions.

C Concerning his personage, it is said, he was in body beautifull, of a sweet aspect, and specially in his eyes, which seemed to have a Starry liveliness and lustre in them. Concerning his conditions, in matter of fact, there is not much to be said; but in matter of disposition and inclination very much, even to admiration. For though his tree was not yet come to the maturity of bearing fruit, yet it was come to the forwardnesse to bear plenty of buds and blossoms. For proof of his mercifull disposition this one example may be sufficient; when one *Jean Butcher* King Edwards pitifull disposition, was to be burned for blasphemy and heresie, all the Councell could not get him to sign the Warrant, till the Archbishop *Cranmer*, with much importunity perswaded him, and then he did it, but not without weeping. For his pregnancy of wit, and knowledge in all kindes of learning; we shall need but to hear what *Cardan* (who coming into England, had often conference with him) reporteth of him: that he was extraordinarily skilfull in Languages, and in the Politicks; well seen in Philosophy and in Divinity, and generally indeed a very Miracle of Art and Nature. His pregnancy of wit, and Learning. He would answer Ambassadors sometimes upon the suddain, either in *French* or *Latine*; he knew the state of forain Princes perfectly, and his own more. He could call all Gentlemen of account through his Kingdome by their names; and all this when he had scarce yet attained to the age of fifteen years, and dyed before sixteen; that from hence we may gather, it is a sign C of no long life, when the faculties of the minde are ripe so early.

Of his Death and Buriall.

I N the sixth year of his Reign, which was the year before he dyed, he fell sick of the Measels, and being well recovered of them, he fell soon after into the small Pox, and of them also was so well recovered, that the Summer following he rode a Progresse, with a greater magnificence then ever he had done before; having in his Train no fewer then four thousand Horse. In January following (whether procured by sinister practise, or growing upon him by naturall infirmity) he fell into an indisposition of body, which soon after grew to a Cough of the Lungs. D Whereupon a rumour was spread abroad by some, that a Nosegay had been given him at New-years-tide, which brought him into this slow but deadly Consumption; by others that it was done by a Glyster: however it was, he was brought at last to so great extremity, that his Physicians despaired of his life; and when Physicians could do him no good, a Gentlewoman (thought to be prepared for the purpose) took him in hand, and did him hurt; for with her applications his Legges swelled, his Pulse failed, his skin changed colour, and many other symptoms of approaching death appeared. The hour before his death he was overheard to pray thus by himself, O Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life; O Lord thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy choicenes sake, if it be thy will, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee: O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England, and defend this E Realm from Popistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy Name, for thy Son *Jesus Christs* sake. So turning his face and seeing some by him, he said; I thought you had not been so nigh: Yes, said Doctor Owen, we heard you speak to your self; then laid the King, I was praying to God: O, I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and receive my spirit; and in so saying gave up the ghost, the sixth day of July, in the year 1553. and in the sixteenth year of his age, when he had reigned six years, five moneths, and nine dayes. It is noted by some, that he dyed the same moneth, and the same day of the moneth, that his Father King Henry the eighth had put Sir *Thomas More* to death. His body was buried upon the ninth of August in the Chappell of Saint Peters Church in Westminster; and laid neer to the body of F King Henry the seventh his Grandfather. At his Funerall which was on the tenth of August following, his Sister Queen *Mary* shewed this respect to him, that though Doctor *Day* a Popish Bishop preached, yet all the Service with a Communion was in English.

Men of Note in his time.

T HIS Kings Reign being short, and having but small Wars, had not many Sword-men famous for any Acts they did; Gown-men there were some, as *Edward Hall* a Counsellour in the Law, who wrote a notable Chronicle of the union of the two Houses of York and Lancaster; G William Hugh a York-shire-man, who wrote a notable Treatise called, *The troubled mans medicine*; Thomas Sternbold, born in Southampton, who turned into English Meeter seven and thirty of Davids Psalms.

The Interregnum between the death of King Edward and the
Proclaiming at London of Queen Mary.

The Duke of
Northumber-
land bears all
the sway.

He causes the
Maior and Al-
dermen to
swear allegi-
ance to the
Lady Jane.

Who is Pro-
claimed Queen.
The Lady
Mary rides Post
into Norfolk.

Takes upon
her the name
of Queen, and
is assisted by
the Norfolk
men, upon her
promise not to
alter Religion.
She writes to
the Lords and
claimeth the
Crown.

The Lords
Answer.

Against whom
the Duke of
Northumber-
land is sent
with an Army.

King Edward being dead, the Duke of Northumberland took upon him to sit at the Stern, and ordered all things at his pleasure: so two dayes after, he with others of the Council, sent to the Lord Maior that he with six Aldermen and twelve principal Commons, should repair presently to the Court; to whom when they came, it was secretly signified that King Edward was dead; and that by his last Will, to which all the Nobility and Judges had given assent, he had appointed the Lady Jane, Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, to succeed him; his Letters Patents whereof were shewed them, and thereupon they were required, to take their Oathes of Allegiance to the Lady Jane, and to secure the City in her behalf; which whether dissemblingly, or sincerely; whether for love, or fear, yet they did, and departed. The next day, the Lady Jane in great state was brought to the Tower of London, and there declared Queen; and by edict with the sound of Trumpet proclaimed so through London: at which time for some words seeming to be spoken against it, one Gilbert Pot a Vintners servant, was set in the Pillory, and lost both his ears. Before this time, the Lady Mary having heard of her Brothers death, and of the Duke of Northumberlands designs, removed from Hovesdon, to her Mannour of Kenninghall in Norfolk, and under pretence of fearing infection, (having lately lost one of her household servants of the Plague) in one day she rode forty miles, and from thence afterward to her Castle of Framingham in Suffolk, where taking upon her the name of Queen, there resorted to her the most part of all the Gentlemen both of Norfolk and Suffolk, offering their assistance; but upon condition she would make no alteration in Religion: to which she condescended; and thereupon, soon after came to her, the Earls of Oxford, Bathe, and Sussex, the Lord Wentworth, Thomas Warton, and John Mordant Barons eldest Sons; and of Knights, Cornwallis, Drury, Walgrave, Shelton, Benningfield, Farningham, Suliard, Freston, and many others. The Lady Mary being thus assisted, wrote her Letter signed the ninth of July to the Lords of the Council; wherein she claimed the Crown, as of right belonging to her; and required them to proclaim her Queen of England in the City of London, as they tendred her displeasure. To this Letter of hers the Lords answered, that for what they did, they had good Warrant, not only by King Edwards last Will, but by the Lawes of the land, considering her Mothers divorce, and her own Illegitimation; and therefore required her to submit her self to Queen Jane, being now her Sovereign. This Letter was written from the Tower of London, under the hands of these that follow, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Ely Chancellour, William Marquesse of Winchester, John Earl of Bedford, Henry Duke of Suffolk, Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, John Duke of Northumberland, William Earl of Pembroke, Thomas Lord Darcey Lord Chamberlain, Cobham, Rich, Huntington, Cheyney, John Gates, William Peter, William Cecil, John Clerk, John Mason, Edward North, and Robert Bowes. The quarrel on both sides being thus begun by Letters, is prosecuted by Arms; and the Lords for their Generall, make choyce of the Duke of Suffolk, as a man most likely to be firm and sure in the employment; but the Queen his Daughter cannot misse his presence; and besides, is not willing to hazard his person; and thereupon, she by intreaties, and the Lords by perswasions, prevail with the Duke of Northumberland to undertake the charge; who before his going, having conference with the Lords, let them know how sensible he was of the double danger he under-went in this enterprize; both in respect of the Lady against whom he went, and in respect of them whom he left behinde him; for if they in his absence should by any accident be drawn to waver in their resolution, they might work their own safety with his destruction, and make themselves seem innocent in his guiltinesse. To which one of the Lords replied and said; Your Grace makes a doubt of that which cannot be, for which of us all can wash his hands clean of this businesse? and therefore it behooves us to be as resolute as your self; and the Earl of Arundell, to testifie his resolution in the matter, said, he was sorry it was not his chance to goe with him, at whose feet he could finde in his heart to spend his blood. So the Duke with the Marquesse of Northampton, the Lord Gray, and divers other of account, on the fourteenth of July set forward on the journey with eight thousand Foot and two thousand Horse; and passing through Shoreditch, the Duke said to the Lord Gray, See how the people presse to see us, but not one of them saith, God speed you. The Duke had every dayes march how far he should goe, appointed him by Commission; which being very slow, whether it were done of purpose, by some that favoured the Lady Marys side, was certainly a great help to her proceedings; for by this means she had the longer time to make her preparations; and indeed in this time two accidents happened, of great benefit to her; one, that Edward Hastings the Earl of Huntingtons Brother, having an Army of four thousand Foot committed to him by the Earl of Northumberland, he now left his party, and went to the Lady Mary: the other, that six great Ships which lay before Tarmouth to intercept the Lady Mary, if she should attempt to fly, now at the perswasion of Master Farningham, came to her aid: Which two revolts so terrified the Londoners, that though Doctor Ridley Bishop of London, on the sixteenth of July, at Pauls Crosse preached a Sermon, wherein he invited the people to stand firm to Queen Jane, whose cause he affirmed to be most iust, yet few or none were perswaded by him; so as the Lords themselves fell off from

- A from the side, who assembling at *Baynards Castle*, first the Earl of *Arundel*, then the Earl of *Pembroke* fell to invectives against the Earl of *Northumberland*; and then all the Lords joyning in opinion with them, they called for the Maior, and in *London* Proclaimed the *Lady Mary Queen*; as likewise the Lord *Windsor*, Sir *Edmund Peckham*, Sir *Robert Drurie* and Sir *Edward Hastings* did in *Buckingham-shire*; Sir *John Williams* of *Teme*, and Sir *Leonard Chamberlain* in *Oxford-shire*, and Sir *Thomas Tresham* in the County of *Northampton*. All this came soon to the knowledge of the Duke of *Northumberland*, being then at *Burie*; who thereby seeing how the world went, thought it his best course to turn with the stream, and thereupon returning to *Cambridge*, he took the Maior of the Town with him into the Market-place, and there himself for want of a Herauld, Proclaimed the *Lady Mary Queen*, and in sign of joy threw up his Cap; which yet served not his turn; for the next morning, *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundell*, came into *Cambridge* from Queen *Mary*, who entering his Chamber, the Duke at his feet fell on his knees; desiring him for Gods love to consider his case, that had done nothing but by the Warrant of him and the Councell: My Lord (saith the Earl) I am sent hither by the Queen to arrest you; and I (saith the Duke) obey your arrest; yet I beseech your Lordship, to use mercy towards him whose acts have been no other then were enjoined by Commission: You should have thought of that sooner (saith the Earl:) and thereupon committed him to a Guard, and left him to the Queens mercy. Thus ended all this great Dukes designs in his own destruction, and brought him to fall on his knees to them, who had often before bowed their knees to him; and the Earl, who at the Dukes going out could have been contented to spend his blood at his feet, was now contented to be made an instrument of his fall: so sudden are the turns of mens affections, and so unstable is the building upon their asseverations; at least no man must look to have his case be of any weight against him, who hath his own case put in the Ballance. Together with the Duke his three Sons, *John*, *Ambrose*, and *Henry*, the Earl of *Huntington*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the two *Gates*, *John* and *Henry*, Sir *Thomas Palmer* and Doctor *Sands* were conveyed towards *London*, and brought to the Tower; and the next day the Marquesse of *Northampton*, the Lord *Robert Dudley*, and Sir *Robert Corbet*. Before which time, the Duke of *Suffolk* entering his Daughters the *Lady Janes* Chamber, told her, she must now put off her Royall Robes, and be contented with a private life: to which she answered, She would much more willingly put them off, then she had put them on; and would never have done it, but in obedience to him and her Mother. And this was the end of the *Lady Janes* ten dayes Reign.

But soon after the Lords that sent him, fell off from the side: and proclaimed Queen *Mary*.

Which the Duke of *Northumberland* hearing, be also at *Cambridge* proclaimed Queen *Mary*. Yet is Arrested by the Earl of *Arundell*.

And with him divers more.

The *Lady Jane* hearing hereof, was nothing troubled with it, and thus ended her ten dayes reign.

Maiors and Sheriffes of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,
Sir *John Gresham* was Maior.
Thomas White, *Robert Chertsey*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Henry Amcoates was Maior.
William Lock, Sir *John Ayleph*, Sheriffs.

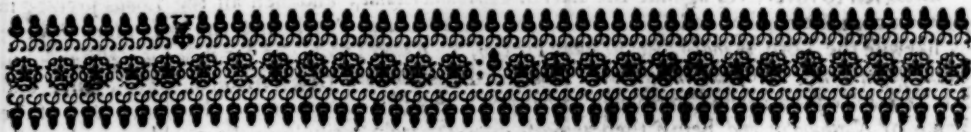
In his third year,
Sir *Rowland Hill* was Maior.
John Torke, *Richard Turk*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year.
Sir *Andrew Jud* was Maior.
Augustine Hinde, *John Lion*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *Richard Dobbes* was Maior.
John Lambert, *John Cowper*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *George Barne* was Maior.
William Garret, or *Gerard*, *John Matnard*, Sheriffs.

THE



THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

The Lady Mary having been proclaimed Queen, comes to London, and so to the Tower.

Where she sets divers Lords at liberty.

And restores the Bishops who had been deprived.

The Duke of Northumberland is arraigned.



The Lady Mary having been proclaimed Queen in London and other parts of the Realm; removed from her Castle of Framingham towards London; and being come to Wanstead in Essex, on the thirtieth of July, the Lady Elizabeth her Sister, with a train of a thousand Horse, rode from her place in the Strand to meet her: on the third of August the Queen rode through London to the Tower, where at her entrance were presented to her Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Edward Lord Courtney, Stephen Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, and the Dutchesse of Somerset; who all kneeling down, she kissed them, and said, These be my prisoners, and then caused them presently to be set

at liberty: the next day she restored the Lord Courtney to the Marquise of Excester; and the same day also she not only restored Stephen Gardiner to his Bishoprick of Winchester, but a few days after made him Chancelour of England; yet this was the man that had subscribed to her Mothers Divorce; and had written Books against the lawfulness of her marriage. The fifth of August, Edmund Bonner late Bishop of London prisoner in the Marshalsey, and Cutbert Tunstall the old Bishop of Durham prisoner in the Kings Bench, had their pardons and were restored to their Sees. Shortly after, all the Bishops which had been deprived in the time of King Edward the sixth, were restored to their Bishopricks, and the new removed, as Ridley was removed from London and Bonner placed, Skrymgeour from Chichester and Day placed, Miles Coverdale from Excester and West placed, John Hooper from Worcester and Heath placed. Also all Beneficed men that were married, or would not renounce their Religion, were put out of their Livings, and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms.

On the thirteenth of August one Master Bourne a Canon of Pauls Preaching at Pauls Crosse, not only prayed for the dead, but also declared that Doctor Bonner Bishop of London, (late restored, and there in presence) for a Sermon by him made four years before, in the same place, and upon the same Text, had unjustly been cast into the vile prison of the Marshalsey; which Speech so offended some of the Auditory, that they cryed, Pull him down, pull him down; and had certainly done him violence (for a Dagger was thrown at him) if Master Bradford a Protestant Preacher, had not stepped into his place and appeased the tumult, and Master Rogers another Protestant Minister (who were both afterward burnt for Religion) had not shifted away Bourne into Pauls School.

Hitherto Queen Marys reign had been without blood, but now the Cataracts of severity will be opened, that will make it rain blood: for now on the eighteenth of August, John Dudley Duke of Northumberland, William Parre Marquess of Northampton, and John Earl of Warwick, Son and Heir to the Duke, were arraigned at Westminster-hall, before Thomas Duke of Norfolk as high Steward of England; where the Duke of Northumberland, after his Indictment read, required the opinion of the Court in two points; first, whether a man doing any Act by authority of the Princes Counsaile, and by warrant of the great Seal of England, might for any such Act be charged with Treason: secondly, whether any such persons as were equally culpable, and by whose commandments,

A ments he was directed, might be his Judges and passe upon his triall: Whereunto was answered, that concerning the first, the great Seal which he alleadged for his warrant, was not the Seal of the lawfull Queen of the Realm, but of an Usurper, and therefore could be no warrant for him: and as to the second, it was resolved, that if any were as deeply to be touched in the case as himself, yet so long as no Attainder were of record against them, they were persons able in Law to passe upon his triall, and not to be challenged but at the Princes pleasure. After which answers, the Duke used few words, but confessed the Indictment, and accordingly had judgement to die. By whose example the other prisoners arraigned with him, confessed the Indictments, and thereupon had judgement: The nineteenth of August Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John, and Sir Henry Gates Brethren, and Sir Thomas Palmer Knights, were arraigned at Westminster, who B confessing their Indictments, had judgement, which was pronounced by the Marquess of Winchester, Lord high Treasurer, sitting that day as chief Justice. After these condemnations, followed the executions; for on the two and twentieth of August, John Duke of Northumberland And beheaded, was brought to the Tower-hill, and there beheaded; being upon the Scaffold in a Gown of green coloured damask he put it off, and then made a long Speech, wherein he asked the Queen forgiveness, whom he acknowledged to have grievously offended; and then making profession of his Faith, that he dyed a true Catholick (meaning a Papist) he said the Psalms of *Miserere* and *De Profundis*, the *Pater noster*, and six of the first verses of the Psalm *In te Domine speravi*, ending with this verse, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit*; and this said, he looked about him, as looking for a Pardon, but none coming, he laid his head down upon the block, and at one C blow had it stricken off; his body with the head was buried in the Tower, by the body of Edward late Duke of Somerset, (mortall enemies while they lived, but now lying together as good friends) so as there lieth before the high Altar in Saint Peters Church, two Dukes between two Queens, namely, the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland, between Queen Anne and Queen Katherine, all four beheaded. Of what Religion this Duke was may well be doubted, seeing at his death he professed himself a Papist, when lately before he had importuned King Edward to make the Lady Jane his Successour, lest the Papall Religion should be restored; it seems he was not greatly of either but for other ends; a Protestant then when it was to make his Daughter in law Queen; now a Papist, when it was to save his life (for it was thought he had a Pardon promised, if he would recant.) At the same time and place were beheaded Sir John D Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer, who were no such Temporizers, but persisted and died in the Protestant Religion, which they had alwayes professed.

After this, a sprinkling of mercy came from the Queen; for on the third of September the Lord Ferrers of Chartley, the two chief Justices, Sir Roger Cholmley and Montague, Sir John Cheek and others were delivered out of the Tower, whither before they had been committed; but a shewre of severity followed soon after, for on the fifteenth of September Master Latimer and Doctor Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury were sent to the Tower, and on the third of November following, the said Archbishop Cranmer, the Lady Jane (late Queen) and the Lord Guilford her Husband, with the Lords Ambrose and Henry, Sons to the late Duke of Northumberland, were all arraigned at the Guild-hall, found guilty, and had judgement to die.

E All this while Queen Mary had contented her self to be Queen by Proclamation; but now that things were something settled, she proceeds to her Coronation: for on the last of September she rode in her Chariot through London towards Westminster in this order; first rode a number of Gentlemen and Knights, then Doctors, then Judges, then Bishops, then Lords, then the Councill, after whom followed the Knights of the Bath, thirteen in number in their Robes, then the Bishop of Winchester Lord Chancellour, and the Marquess of Winchester Lord high Treasurer; next came the Duke of Norfolk, and after him the Earl of Oxford who bore the Sword, then the Maior of London in a Gown of Crimson Velvet, who bore the Scepter of Gold; after came the Queens Chariot, and then followed another Chariot wherein sate the Lady Elizabeth her Sister, and the Lady Anne of Cleve, and then came Ladies and Gentlewomen riding F on Horses, trapped with red Velvet, &c. In this order they came through London to Westminster; where in many places by the way were Pageants and stately Shewes, and many rich Presents given to the Queen. The next day she went by water to the old Palace, and remained there till eleven of the clock, and then went on foot upon blew cloth, being railed on either side to Saint Peters Church, where she was Crowned and Anointed by the Bishop of Winchester, (the two Archbishops being then in the Tower) with all Rites and Ceremonies of old accustomed.

After her Coronation, a generall Pardon was published in her name, but interlaced with so many exceptions of matters and persons, that very few took benefit by it; for after the Pardon published, there were Commissioners assigned, to compound with such persons as were excepted; G from some of whom they took away their Fees and Offices, some they fined, and some they deprived of their estates and livings.

About this time Sir James Hales one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, who in the time of King Edward had refused to sign a writing for disinheriting the Lady Mary, and the Lady Elizabeth; (a fact worthy at least of a kinde of remembrance from the Lady Mary now Queen) yet now, for that at a quarter Sessions in Kent, he gave charge upon the Statutes of King Henry the eighth, and King Edward the sixth, in derogation of the Primacy of the Church of Rome; he was first committed to the Kings Bench, then to the Counter, and lastly to the Fleet; where he

Latimer and Cranmer sent to the Tower.

Cranmer and the late Queen Jane, with the Sons of the Duke of Northumberland, arraigned and condemned.

Queen Mary is Crowned, and in what order.

A Pardon granted but full of exceptions.

Sir James Hales Justice of the Common Pleas drowns himself, and why.

grew so troubled in minde, that he attempted with a Pen-knife to kill himself; and being afterward recovered of that hurt, and brought to the Queens presence, who gave him very comfortable words, yet could never come to be quiet in his minde; but in the end, drowned himself in a River not half a mile from his house, the River being so shallow, that he was faine to lie groveling before he could dispatch himself of life.

The Lady Jane though condemned is allowed the liberty of the Tower.

And now another sprinkling of mercy came from the Queen; for the Marquess of Northampton; and Sir Henry Gates, lately before condemned to die, were now pardoned and set at liberty. The Lady Jane also was allowed the liberty of the Tower, not without hope of life and liberty altogether, if her father the Duke of Suffolk had not the second time been cause of her destruction.

Upon a conference about Religion the Masse is again restored.

About this time also a Synod was assembled, for consulting about matters of Religion; and the point specially of the Reall presence in the Sacrament. The Prolocutor was Doctor Weston; and of the Protestant side, were John Aylmer and Richard Cheyney, both Bishops afterward in Queen Elizabeths time, also John Philpot, afterward burnt, James Haddon and others. After long Disputation, where reasons were not so much weighed as voices numbred; the Papall side, as having most voices, carryed it; and thereupon was that Religion again restored, and the Masse commanded in all Churches to be celebrated, after the ancient manner.

Matches proposed for Queen Mary.

It was now the year 1553. when Queen Mary was come to the age of seven and thirty years, and therefore high time now to think of marriage, at least if she meant to have issue of her body; but a hard matter it was to finde a Husband in all points fitting for her; yet three at this time (in common fame at least) were taken into consideration: one was the Lord Courtney Marquess of Exeter, a goodly Gentleman, and of Royall blood, but there was an exception against him, because inclining (as was thought) to Lutheranism; another was Cardinall Poole, of a dignity not much inferiour to Kings; and by his Mother descended from Kings; but there was exception against him also, because four and fifty years old, (as old a Batchelour as Queen Mary was a Maid) and so the lesse hope of Issue between them: but the third (if he might be had) was without exception, and this was Philip Prince of Spain, the Emperour Charles his eldest Son, with whom being a Spaniard, she was the fitter matched, as beeing by the Mother a Spaniard her self. And now very opportunely came in the beginning of January Ambassadors into England about it; amongst others the Count of Egmond Admirall of the Low-Countreys, and John of Memorancy Lord of Curriers; whose message was so kindly entertained, that the marriage in short time was absolutely concluded, though it seemed something strange to many, that she should now be the Wife to the Son, who thirty years before should have been Wife to the Father. But so it is, Queens are never old so long as they are within years of bearing Children. And indeed the march was concluded with conditions of far more advantage to Queen Mary, then they were to King Philip, as on the fourteenth of January Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellour of England, openly in the Presence Chamber at Westminster, declared to all the Lords and Gentlemen there present: for it was agreed, that after the marriage, King Philip should have the Title of all the Queens Dominions, and be assumed into fellowship of the Government; but yet with reservation to the Queen, of all Priviledges and customes of the Kingdome, and free disposition of all Offices and Honours, as likewise the Queen should be assumed into the fellowship of all the Kings Dominions, and surviving him, should have a Joynture of two hundred thousand pounds a year. Then for the Issue between them; if she had a Son, that he should inherit the Low-Countreys and Burgundy; and King Philips Sonne Charles, which he had by a former Wife, should inherit all his Dominions in Italie and Spain; but if his Son Charles should fail without Issue, then the Son he should have by Queen Mary should inherit his Kingdome of Italie and Spain also. And the like good provision was also made for Daughters. But notwithstanding these great advantages of the match, yet such was the precipitant rashnesse of some, that thinking themselves wiser then the Queen and the Councell, they sought by all means to oppose the match; giving out, that it tended to bring England under the yoke of Spain, and to make the Countrey a slave to strangers. This was the general murmuring of people; but the first that shewed himself in Arms, was Sir Thomas Wyatt of Kent; who having communicated the matter with the Duke of Suffolk the Lady Janes father, with Peter Caroe a Knight of Devonshire, and divers others; intended only to make secret provision, but not to stir till Prince Philip should be come, that so their cause of taking Arms might have the better colour. On the fifteenth of January, Robert Dudley Son to the Duke of Northumberland, was arraigned at the Guild-hall of high Treason, who confessed the indictment, and had judgement given by the Earl of Suffex, to be drawn, hanged, bowelled and quartered.

Yet is opposed by divers, especially Sir Thomas Wyatt of Kent.

The Lord Robert Dudley is arraigned and condemned.

But now in counsels communicated to many, it is a hard matter to have counsell kept, and Sir Peter Caroe finding that their plot was discovered, fled privily into France, where lurking for a time, he was afterward taken at Brussels, and brought Captive into England; as likewise at the same time and place Sir John Cheek King Edwards School-master was taken, who being drawn by terrours to embrace the Papall Religion, with very grief afterward of his error pined away and dyed; Sir Peter Caroe lived many years after and dyed in Ireland; though it be falsely recorded, they were both burnt for Religion, in June of this year. Wyatt hearing of Sir Peter Caroes flight, and that all their purpose was discovered; was driven before his time to enter into Arms, giving out for the cause that it was not to attempt any thing against the Queen, but only to remove ill Counsellours, and chiefly to repell Prince Philip, lest by his marriage the

- A the Kingdome should come in subjection to the Spaniard. With *Wyat* were joyned Sir *Henry Isley*, Sir *George Harper*, *Anthony* and *William Knevet*, and divers other Gentlemen of the County; against him were the Lord *Aburgavenny*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Lord Warden of the Ports, Sir *Robert Southwell* Sheriffe of *Kent*, Sir *Warram Sentleger*, Sir *Thomas Kemp*, Sir *Thomas Moyle*, Sir *Thomas Finch* with divers other; yet all these great men had such doubt of the people, that they durst not proceed but very warily. The five and twentieth of *January*, news came to *London* of *Wyats* rising; against whom was presently sent the Duke of *Norfolk*, with Sir *Henry Feringham* Captain of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray*, Sir *John Fogge*, *John Covert*, *Roger Appleton* Esquires, and five hundred Souldiers out of *London*; appointed to go after him, under the leading of Captain *Bret*. And now see in times of Sedition, how uncertain a thing it is to trust to the
- B people; for before *Bret* could overtake the Duke, Sir *George Harper* was secretly got to him, who so perswaded him that he and his five hundred Souldiers left the Duke, and went all to *Wyat*; which made the Duke and those with him presently to flye, and put such boldnesse into *Wyat*, that now he marched in great confidence towards *London*, with so great terrour to all sorts of people, that at *Westminster-Hall*, the Serjeants and other Lawyers, pleaded in harnessse.
- In the mean time, the Duke of *Suffolk* was perceived in *Warwick-shire*, to be raising of Forces in assistance of *Wyat*; against whom was presently sent the Earl of *Huntington*, and the Duke finding himself unable to make resistance, having with all his industry gotten together but only fifty men; he betook himself to a Tenant of his, one *Underwood*, with whom he hoped
- C and had promise to remain undiscovered, till he might have opportunity to escape, as some say, as others, to a Keeper of his Park called *Nicholas Lawrence*, who kept him in a hollow Oak in the said Park for two or three dayes: but whether *Underwood* or *Lawrence*, either out of fear, or out of hope of reward he betrayed him to the Earl, by whom he was taken, and under a strong guard carryed to the Tower. Upon this, *Queen Mary* her self came into *London*, where calling the Maior and chief of the City together, she made an Oration, wherein she shewed the insolency of *Wyat*; who though he pretended but only the crossing of the Marriage; yet was now grown to such presumption, that he required to have the custody of her person; and to have Counsellours retained or removed at his pleasure. And as for her marriage, she there affirmed she had done nothing in it, but by advice of her Councell; and for her self, that she
- D was not so longing for a Husband, but that if it were not more for the good of the Kingdom, then for her own satisfaction, she would never once think of entertaining it. Having by her speech confirmed the minds of the Citizens; Forces are presently raised, and placed about the Bridge, and other fit places of the City. The third of *February*, *Wyat* with an Army of three or four thousand, came to *London*, hoping of present entrance, but finding the Bridge broken, and Souldiers placed to resist him, after two days stay in *Southwark* he removed to *Kingstone*, where he found likewise the Bridge broken, yet with great industry suddenly repairing it, he passed over his men, and meant with all speed to get to the Court, before the *Queen* should have notice of his coming; and had done so indeed, if a mischance, and an error upon that mischance had not hindred him. For being come within six miles of *London*, the carriage of one of
- E his great Ordinance brake, in mending whereof so much time was spent (and *Wyat* by no perswasions would go forward without it) that the time was past, in which his friends at *London* expected his coming; which disappointment made many in those parts to fall off, and being perceived by those about him, many of them also; so as one half of his Army was suddenly gone and left him; amongst other, Sir *George Harper*, the most intimate of all his Councell, went to the *Queen* and discovered all his purposes: whereupon the Earle of *Pembrook* with a Company levied upon the sudden, was sent against him; which made *Wyat* slack his pace, so as it was noon before he came to the Suburbs of the City; and then placing his Ordinance upon a hill, and leaving there the greatest part of his Army, he only with five Ensigns marched towards *Ludgate*, and being encountred at *Charing-crosse* by the Lord Chamberlain and Sir *John Gage*,
- F after a small fight put them to flight in such sort, that word was carried to the *Queen*, how neer *Wyat* approached, and how wonderfully he prevailed all the way he came: with which nothing dismayed; Well then (said she) I will go in person against him my self; and was preparing to do so indeed (so much was her Fathers valour running in her veins;) but it needed not; for by this time Sir *Henry Feringham* Captain of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray* Master of the Ordinance, and Sir *Philip Paris*, had given him barrail and slain many of his men; and that which was more, coming to *Ludgate*, he was denied entrance; and then thinking to retire, he heard the Earl of *Pembrook* with his Forces was behinde at *Charing-crosse*; so as ne ther able to go forward nor yet backward, he was at a stand and in amazement, and then leaning a while upon a stall by the Bell savage, after a little musing, he returned towards *Temple-gate*; where *Clement* the Herald meeting him, fell to perswade him, not to be a cause of more effusion of blood,
- G nor by persisting in obstinacy to exclude all hopes of the *Queens* mercy. The Souldiers of *Wyat* were earnest with him to have stood it out; but *Wyat* as fittly ending, as he had unadvisedly begun, yeelded himself to Sir *Maurice Berkeley*, and getting up upon his Horse behinde him, in that manner rode to the Court; where he had not the entertainment he expected, for without more ado he was presently sent away to the Tower. The Captain taken, the rest made no resistance, few fled, and of the other many were taken and laid in prison; and this was done the

Wyat with his Army marcheth towards *London*.

The Duke of *Suffolk* raiseth Forces to assist *Wyat*.

But is taken; and carryed to the Tower.

Queen Mary protests her marriage to be for the good of the Kingdom.

Wyat being denied entrance at *Ludgate*, retires, and at last yeelds himself to Sir *Maurice Berkeley*, and is sent to the Tower.

The Lady Jane hath word sent her to prepare her self to dye.

Whereat she seemed to rejoyce.

She is beheaded.

Her piety and Learning.

Judge Morgan who had given sentence upon her, falls mad.

The Duke of Suffolk is beheaded.

Wyat is beheaded.

Stephen Gardiner practises against the Lady Elizabeth.

He procures a Warrant to put her to death.

And how she was preserved.

sixth of February. And now consultation was held what Delinquents should be punished; where A the first that was thought on was the Lady Jane, in whom was verified, *The Fathers have eaten sowre Grapes, and the Childrens teeth are set on edge*: the innocent Lady must suffer for her Fathers fault; for if her Father the Duke of Suffolk had not this second time made shiprack of his loyalty, his Daughter perhaps had never tasted the salt-waters of the Queens displeasure: but now as a rock of offence, she is the first that must be removed; and thereupon is Doctor Fecknam sent to acquaint her, that she must prepare her self to die the next day: which Message was so little unpleasing to her, that she seemed rather to rejoyce at it, as whereby she should at last be set at liberty; and the Doctor being earnest with her to leave her new Religion, and to embrace the old; she answered, She had now no time to think of any thing, but of preparing her self to God by Prayer. Fecknam thinking she had spoken this, to the end she might have some B longer time of life, obtained of the Queen three dayes longer, and then came and told so much to the Lady Jane; whereat she smiling said, You are much deceived if you think I had any desire of longer life; for I assure you, since the time you went from me, my life hath been so tedious to me, that I long for nothing so much as death, and since it is the Queens pleasure, am most willing to undergo it. Before she was brought to Execution, her Husband the Lord Guilford, had made suit, and obtained to see her and have some conference with her; but she refused it, saying, These were rather augmenters of grief, then comforts of death, she made no doubt, but they should shortly meet in a better place, and in a better condition of society: so on the twelfth of February, her Husband the Lord Guilford first, and then she an hour or two after, was beheaded within the Tower; where she acknowledged her self to have deserved death, not for seeking C the Crown, but for not refusing it, being offered; and after prayers to God, unclothing her self, and putting a Handkerchief before her eyes, she laid her head down upon the block, and patiently suffered death, more grievous to the beholders then to her self. This end had the Lady Jane Gray, a Lady of incomparable Piety; and (for her years) of incomparable Learning; for being not past seventeen years of age, she understood perfectly the Greek and Latine Tongues, and was so ready in points of Divinity, as if she knew them by inspiration rather then by instruction; no lesse a miracle in this kinde then King Edward; and therefore no marvel if he appointed her to succeed him in the Kingdome, who in the endowments of minde was so like unto him, that whilst she reigned, it might be thought he continued to reign himself, at least no more differing but only the sex. It may not be forgotten that Judge Morgan, D who at her arraignment gave the sentence against her, shortly after fell mad, and in his raving, cryed continually to have the Lady Jane taken away from him, and so ended his life.

Two dayes after the execution of the Lady Jane, namely the fourteenth and fifteenth of February, twenty pair of Gallowes were set up in divers places of the City, whereon were hanged fifty of Wyats faction; on the eighteenth of February Brut was hanged at Rochester in Chains, Sir Henry Isle, who had been taken in an old freeze Coat and an old pair of hose, with his Brother Thomas Isle and Walter Mansell were hanged at Maidstone, Anthony Knevet and his Brother William, with another of the Mansells, were executed at Severnock; but then on the twentyeth of February a sprinkling of mercy came, for four hundred of Wyats followers, being brought before the Queen with halters about their necks, were all pardoned and set at liberty. But then E severity soon after began again, for on the three and twentieth of February the Lord Henry Gray Duke of Suffolk, and Father to the Lady Jane, who the week before had been arraigned and condemned, was on the Tower-hill beheaded, and on the eleventh of April, in the same place was beheaded (the Author of all this mischief) Wyat himself, whose quarters were set up in divers places of the City, his head upon the Gallowes at Hay-bill, besides Hyde Park. This man, in hope of life, having before accused the Lord Courtney and the Lady Elizabeth the Queens Sister, to be privy to his conspiracy, yet at his death he cleared them, and protested openly, that they were altogether innocent, and never had been acquainted with his proceedings. Yet was this matter so urged against them by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Lord F Chancellour, that both of them in March before had been committed to the Tower, though in May following they were both again released, but yet confined, the Lady Elizabeth to Woodstock, under the custody of Sir Henry Benningfield of Osenborough in the County of Norfolk; the Lord Courtney to Foderingham, under the custody of Sir Thomas Tresham, who after sometime was set at liberty, and going into Italie there dyed. It is memorable, what malice this Bishop Gardiner bore to the Lady Elizabeth, by whose only procurement, not only she was kept in most hard durance, but a Warrant was at last framed under certain Counsellours hands, to put her to death, and had been done, but that Master Bridges Lieutenant of the Tower, pitying her case, went to the Queen to know her pleasure; who utterly denied that she knew any thing of it; by which means her life was preserved. Indeed the Bishop would sometimes say, G how they cut off boughes and branches, but as long as they let the roote remain, all was nothing: and it is not unworthy the remembring what trains were laid to ensnare her. The common net at that time for catching of Protestants, was the Reall Presence, and this net was used to catch her; for being asked one time, what she thought of the words of Christ; *This is my body*; whether she thought it the true body of Christ, that was in the Sacrament; It is said, that after some pawling, she thus answered:

A

*Christ was the Word that spake it:
He took the Bread, and brake it:
And what the Word did make it,
That I beleeve, and take it.*

Which though it may seem but a slight expreffion, yet hath it more solidnesse then at first sight appears; at least it served her turn at that time to escape the net, which by direct answer she could not have done.

B

On the seventeenth of February Thomas Lord Gray the Duke of Suffolks Brother was beheaded, the last, and indeed the least in delinquency, that suffered for having any hand in Wyats conspiracy. There remained yet a fagge end, and was indeed but a fagge end, as nothing worth; for on the same day Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, being accused to have been a party in Wyats conspiracy, was at the Guild-hall arraigned before Sir Thomas White Lord Maior, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, Sir Thomas Bromely Lord chief Justice of England, Sir Nicholas Hare Master of the Rolles, Sir Francis Englefield Master of the Wards, Sir Richard Southwell and Sir Edward Walgrave Privy Counsellours, Sir Roger Cholmely, Sir William Portman one of the Justices of the Kings Bench, Sir Edward Sanders one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, Master Stamford and Master Dyer Serjeants at Law, Master Edward Gryffin Attorney Generall, Master Sendall and Peter Titchborne Clerks of the Crown, where the said Master Nicholas Throgmorton so fully and discreetly answered all objections brought against him, that he was found by the Jury, Not guilty: and was clearly acquitted, but the Jury notwithstanding was afterward troubled for acquitting him; and sent prisoners, some of them to the Tower, and some to the Fleet, and afterward fined to pay a thousand Marks a peece at least, and some two thousand pounds, though these sums were afterward something mitigated.

Thomas Lord Gray the Duke of Suffolks brother beheaded:

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton arraigned and by the Jury acquitted.

C

More of Wyats Complices had been taken, arraigned and adjudged to die, but in judgement the Queen remembered mercy, and gave them their Pardons; of which number were Master Radston of Kent, Sir James a Crofts, the Lord John Gray Brother to the Duke of Suffolk, and some others.

Divers of Wyats complices pardoned.

D

About this time, a little before and after, were advancements in honour, the Lord William Howard, Lord Admirall of England, was created Baron Howard of Effingham, Sir John Williams was created Baron of Tame, Sir Edward North was created Baron of Chantleigh, Sir John Bridges was created Baron Chandos of Sudely, Gerard Fitz Garret Earl of Kildare and Baron of Opbelley, and not long after Sir Anthony Brown Master of the Horse was created Viscount Mountague.

Divers Lord] created.

It is scarce worth remembring, that in the end of this first year of the Queens Reign, one Elizabeth Croft, a Wench of eighteen years old, was by practise put into a Wall, and thereupon called the Spirit in the Wall, who with a whistle made for the purpose, whistled out many seditious words against the Queen, the Prince of Spain, the Masse, Confession, and such other Points; for which she did Penance, standing upon a Scaffold at Pauls Crosse all the Sermon time, where she made open confession of her fault.

The Imposture of Elizabeth Croft, called the Spirit in the Wall.

E

There had been good store of Lay-mens blood shed already, and now the time is coming to have Clergy-mens shed, and for a preparative to it, on the tenth of April, Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley late Bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer late Bishop of Worcester, are conveyed from the Tower to Oxford, there to dispute with Oxford and Cambridge men in points of Religion, but specially of the Eucharist; the Oxford men were Cole, Chadsey, Pye, Harpefield, Smith, and Doctor Weston Prolocutor: the Cambridge men, Young Seaton, Watson, Atkinson, Fecknam and Sedgewick: the Disputation ended, which (we may well think as the matter was carryed) went against the prisoners; on the twentieth of April they were brought again on the Stage; and then demanded, whether they would persist in their opinion, or else recant; and affirming they would persist, they were all three adjudged Hereticks, and condemned to the fire; but their execution we must not look for till a year or two hence; but in the mean time we have John Rogers the first Martyr of these times, burnt at London the fourth of February; after whom the ninth of February, John Hopper late Bishop of Worcester, burnt at Gloucester; after him, Robert Ferrar Bishop of Man, burnt at Carmarden; after him John Bradford, with many others; and then the two famous men Ridley and Latimer, no lesse famous for their constant deaths, then their religious lives, both burnt at Oxford the sixteenth of October.

Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer adjudged Hereticks, and condemned to dye.

The first that suffered for Religion in Queen Marys time.

G

This rising of Wyat had been a Remora to the Queens marriage, and now to avoid all such obstacles hereafter, the Queen in April called a Parliament; wherein were propounded two things; one for confirmation of the Marriage; the other for restoration of the Popes Primacy. This latter was not assented to, but with great difficulty; for the six years Reign of King Edward had spread a plantation of the Protestant Religion in the hearts of many; but the Proposition for the marriage was assented to readily, but yet with the adding of some conditions, which had not been thought of in the former Articles: First, that King Philip should admit of no Stranger in any Office, but only Natives: Secondly, that he should innovate nothing in the Lawes and Customes of the Kingdome. Thirdly, that he should not carry the Queen out of the Realm, without her consent, nor any of her children without consent of the Councell. Fourthly, that surviving the Queen, he should challenge no right in the Kingdome, but suffer

The conditions of the Queens marriage, with Prince Philip.

it to descend to the next Heir. Fifthly, that he should carry none of the Jewels of the Realm out of the Kingdom, nor suffer any Ships or Ordinance to be removed out of the Realm: and lastly, that neither directly nor indirectly, he should cause the Realm of England to be intangled with the War between Spain and France.

The Earl of Bedford is sent into Spain, to fetch over Prince Philip.

The marriage between him and the Queen is solemnized.

Their Style.

A bare and close Court.

Cardinal Pool is sent for by the King and Queen to come into England.

Being come he makes a solemn speech to the Parliament, exhorting them to return to the bosome of the Church.

The Parliament desires Pardon of their former errors.

And thereupon the Cardinal gives the whole Realm Absolution.

The Parliament will not yeeld that King Philip should be Crowned.

The Queen is preached in Churches to be with childe: and prayers made for her safe delivery; but proved no such matter.

All things being thus agreed on, the Earl of Bedford Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Fitz-waters, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, are sent into Spain to fetch over Prince Philip, who arrived at Southampton the twentieth of July, in the year 1554. and the three and twentieth came to Winchester, where the Queen met him, and the five and twentieth, the marriage between them there was openly solemnized: (the disparity of years, as in Princes, not much regarded, though he were then but seven and twenty years of age, she eight and thirty) at which time the Emperours Ambassadour being present, openly declared; that in consideration of that marriage, the Emperour had given to Prince Philip his Son, the Kingdomes of Naples and Hierusalem; and thereupon (the solemnity of marriage being ended) Garter King of Heralds openly in the Church, in the presence of the King, the Queen, and the Lords both of England and Spain, solemnly proclaimed the title and style of these two Princes, as followeth: Philip and Mary by the grace of God King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Hierusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain, and Sicily, Arch-Dukes of Austria, Dukes of Millain, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Habsburg, Flanders and Tyroll. After this the King and Queen by easie journeys came to Windsor Castle, where the King was install'd Knight of the Garter, and the Earl of Suffex with him: The eleventh of August they removed to Richmond, the seven and twentieth to Suffolk Place in Southwark, and the next day to London (where the stately shews that were made, may well enough be conceived without relating) from hence after four dayes they removed again to Richmond, where all the Lords had leave to depart into their Countreys, and indeed so many departed, that there remained not an English Lord at the Court, but the Bishop of Winchester: from Richmond they removed to Hampton-Court, where the Hall door within the Court was continually kept shut, so as no man might enter unlesse his errand were first known, which might perhaps be the fashion of Spain, but to English-men seemed very strange.

About this time Cardinal Poole, sent for by the King and Queen, came over into England; and had come sooner, but that the Emperour fearing he might prove a corrivall with his Son Philip, had used means to stop his passage, but now that his Sons marriage was past, he was content to let him passe, who though he came from Rome with the great authority of a Legat a Latere, yet he would not but come privately into London, because his Attaindour was yet upon Record; an Act therefore was presently passed to take it off, and to restore him in bloud; for passing of which Act, the King and Queen in person came to the Parliament House; whither a few dayes after, the Cardinal came himself, which was then kept in the great Chamber of Whitehall, because the Queen by reason of sicknesse, was not well able to go abroad; and here the King and Queen sitting under the cloth of Estate, and the Cardinal on their right hand, all the Lords, Knights and Burgesses being present, the Bishop of Winchester Lord Chancellour, made a short speech unto them; signifying the presence of the Lord Cardinal, and that he was sent from the Pope as his Legate a Latere, to do a work tending to the glory of God, and the benefit of them all; which (saith he) you may better hear from his own mouth. Then the Cardinal rose up, and made a long solemn Oration, wherein he first thanked them for his restoring, by which he was enabled to be a member of their society; then exhorting them to return into the bosome of the Church, for which end he was come; not to condemn, but to reconcile; not to compell, but to call and require; and for their first work of reconciliation, requiring them to repeal and abrogate all such Lawes as had formerly been made in derogation of the Catholick Religion. After which Speech, the Parliament going together, drew up a Supplication, which within two dayes after they presented to the King and Queen; wherein they shewed themselves to be very penitent for their former errors, and humbly desired their Majesties to intercede for them to the Lord Cardinal and the See Apostolick, that they might be Pardoned of all they had done amisse, and be received into the bosome of the Church; being themselves most ready to abrogate all Lawes prejudiciall to the See of Rome. This Supplication being delivered to the Cardinal, he then gave them absolution in these words; We, by the Apostolick authority given unto us, by the most Holy Lord Pope Julius the third (Christs Vicegerent on Earth) do absolve and deliver you and every of you, with the whole Realm and Dominions thereof, from all Heresie and Schisme, and from all Judgements, Censures and Pains for that cause incurred; and also We do restore you again to the unity of our Mother the holy Church. The report hereof coming to Rome, was cause that a solemn Procession was made for joy of the conversion of England to the Church of Rome. And now the Queen had a great desire to have King Philip Crowned, but to this the Parliament would by no means assent.

In October this second year of her Reign, a rumour was spread of the Queens being with childe, and so forward that she was quick; and thereupon were Letters sent from the Lords of the Councell, to Bonner Bishop of London, that Prayers of Thanksgiving should be made in all Churches; and the Parliament it self was so credulous, of it, that they entred into consideration of the education of the childe; and made an Act, desiring the King (out of the confidence they had in him) that if the Queen should fail, he would be pleased to take upon him the Rule and Government of the Childe; but after all this, in June following, it came to be known, that it was but a Tympany, or at least the Queen so miscarried, that there came no childe, nor

A the Queen likely ever after to have any. But howsoever in hope of the joy that was expected; in January of this year, divers of the Councill, as the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Controllor of the Queens house, Secretary Bourne, and Sir Richard Southwell Master of the Ordinance, were sent to the Tower, to discharge and set at liberty a great part of the Prisoners in the Tower; as namely, the late Duke of Northumberland's Sons, Ambrose, Robert and Henry, also Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir James Croft, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir John Rogers, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir George Harper, Sir Edward Warner, Sir William Semlow, Sir Gowen Carow, William Gybbs Esquire, Cutbert Vaughan, and some others.

Divers that were in the Tower condemned, are set at liberty.

About this time one William Fetherstone a Millers Son, of the age of eighteen years, named and bruited himself to be King Edward the sixth; for which being apprehended and examined, B he answered as one lunatick; and thereupon was whipped at a Carts tayl, and banished into the North; but the year after, spreading abroad again, that King Edward was alive, and that he had talked with him, he was arraigned and condemned of Treason, and at Tyburn hanged and quartered.

One Fetherstone a Millers Son takes upon him to be King Edward the sixth.

Is taken and hanged at Tyburn.

In the moneth of March, the Queen was taken with a fit of Devotion, and thereupon called unto her four of her Privy Councill, namely, William Marquesse of Winchester Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Rochester Controllor, Sir William Peter Secretary, and Sir Francis Englefield Master of the Wards, and signified unto them, that it went against her conscience, to hold the Lands and Possessions as well of Monasteries and Abbeyes as of other Churches, and therefore did freely relinquish them, and leave them to be disposed, as the Pope and the Lord Cardinall should think fit; and thereupon charged them to acquaint the Cardinall with this her purpose. And shortly after in performance hereof, John Fecknam late Dean of Pauls, was made Abbot of Westminster, and had possession delivered him, and with him fourteen Monks received the Habit at the same time: and on the twentieth of November, Sir Thomas was instituted Lord of Saint Johns of Hierusalem, and was put in possession of the Lands belonging unto it. And when it was told her, that this would be a great diminution of the Revenues of her Crown; she answered, she more valued the salvation of her soul, then a thousand Crowns: a most religious speech, and enough, if there were but this, to shew her to be a most pious Prince.

The Queen delivers up all the lands of Monasteries that were in her hands.

The fourth of September this year, King Philip waited on with the Earl of Arundell Lord Steward, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Huntington and others, went over to Callice, and from thence to Brussels in Brabant, to visit the Emperour his Father; who delivering him possession of the Low-Countries, in March following he returned into England; but then on the sixth of July following, by reason of Wars with France, he passed again over to Callice, and so into Flanders, from whence he returned not till eighteen moneths after; which made great muttering amongst the Common people, as though he took any little occasion to be absent, for the little love he bore to the Queen.

King Philip goes into Flanders where he staves eighteen moneths.

In the third year of the Queen dyed Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester at his house in Southwark; of whose death it is memorable, that the same day in which Bishop Ridley and Mallet Latimer suffered at Oxford, he would not go to dinner till four a clock in the afternoon, though the old Duke of Norfolk was come to dine with him; the reason was, because he would first hear of their being burnt, and as soon as word of that was brought him, he presently said, Now let us go to Dinner; where sitting down, and eating merrily, upon a suddain he fell into such extremity, that he was faine to be taken from the Table and carryed to his bed, where he continued fifteen dayes, without voyding any thing either by urine or otherwise, which caused his tongue to swell in his mouth, and so dyed; after whose death, Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York was made Lord Chancellor.

Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester dies a strange death

And now comes the time of Archbishop Crammers execution, who the year before had been condemned and degraded by Commission from the Pope; after which, being by the subtilty of some, put in hope of life, out of frailty he subscribed to a Recantation, which yet did him no good; for whether it were that Cardinall Poole would no longer be kept from being Archbishop, (which he would not be as long as he lived) or that the Queen could not be gotten to forget his being the chief instrument of her Mothers divorce; his execution was resolved to be the fourteenth of February, in the same place at Oxford where Ridley and Latimer five moneths before had been: before the execution Doctor Cole preached, who to make use of Crammers Recantation, told the people, they should do well to hearken to this learned mans confession, who now at his death, and with his death would testify which was the true Religion, never thinking that Crammer would have denied his former Recantation; but Crammer being brought to the stake, (contrary to expectation) acknowledged, that through frailty he had subscribed it, praying God heartily to forgive it; and now for a punishment, that hand which had done it should first suffer, and therewithall thrusting his right hand into the fire, he there held it, till it first, and then his whole body was consumed; onely (which was no small miracle) his heart remained whole and not once touched with the fire. The same year also, no fewer then eighty four of both sexes were burnt for Religion; and it was a cruelty very far extended, that the bones of Bucer and Phagius some time before dead and buried, were taken up and publicly burnt in Cambridge. No sooner was Crammer dead, but the very same day was Cardinall Poole made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Bishop Crammer upon hope of life recants.

Yet is brought to the stake and burnt: where he burns his hand first.

When his whole body was burnt, his heart remained untouched of the fire.

In the fourth year of the Queen, exemplar Justice was done upon a great person; for the Lord Starion, a man much in the Queens favour, as being an earnest Papist, was for a murther com-

com-

The Lord
Sturton for a
murder is
hanged in a
filken halter.
Thomas Staf-
ford for raising
sedition ar-
raigned and
beheaded.

Thomas Percy
made Earl of
Northumber-
land.

Queen Mary
sends aid to
King Philip,
with which he
besiegeth and
takes Saint
Quintins.

The causes
and means of
losing Callice.

committed by him arraigned and condemned, and he with four of his servants, carried to *Salisbury*, was there in the Market-place hanged, having this favour to be hanged in a filken halter, his servants in places neer adjoining to the place where the Murther was committed.

The four and twentieth of *April* *Thomas Stafford* second Son to the Lord *Stafford*, with other, to the number of two and thirty persons (set on by the *French King*) attempted to raise Sedition against the *Queen*, for marrying with *King Philip*, and coming out of *France*, arrived at *Scarborough* in *Yorkshire*, where they took the Castle, but within two days were driven out by the Earl of *Westmerland*, and then taken and arraigned: the eight and twentieth of *May* *Stafford* was beheaded on the Tower-hill, and the next day three of his associates, *Strelley*, *Bradford* and *Proctor* were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there executed. The first of *May* *Thomas Percy* was first made Knight, after Lord, and the next day was created Earl of *Northumberland*, to whom the *Queen* gave all the lands that had been his Ancestours.

At this time the *Queen* intangled her self (contrary to her promise) in her Husbands quarrel, sent a defiance to the *French King*, by *Claremus* King at Arms; and after on the Munday in the Whitsunweek, by sound of Trumpet, proclaimed open War against him in Cheapside, and other places of the City; and shortly after, caused an Army of a thousand Horse, and four thousand Foot, to be transported over, to the aid of her Husband *King Philip*, under the leading of the Earl of *Pembroke* Captain General, Sir *Anthony Brown* Viscount *Montague*, Lieutenant General, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* Lord Marshal, the Earl of *Rusland* General of the Horse, the Earl of *Lincoln* Colonel of the Foot, the Lord *Robert Dudley* Master of the Ordinance, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *De la Ware*, the Lord *Bray*, the Lord *Chandours*, the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, with divers Knights and Gentlemen; who joyning with *Kings Philips* Forces, they all together set down before *Saint Quintins*, a Town of the *French Kings* of great importance. To the rescue whereof, the *French King* sent an Army, under the leading of the Constable of *France*, which consisted of nine hundred men at arms, with as many light Horse, eight hundred Reysters, two and twenty Ensignes of Lancequenets, and sixteen Ensignes of *French* Footmen; their purpose was not to give battel, but to put more succours into the Town; which the *Philippians* perceiving, encountred them, and in the fight slew *John* of *Burbon* Duke of *Angbein*, the Viscount of *Torrain*, the Lord of *Chadenier*, with many Gentlemen of account; they took prisoners the Duke of *Memorancy* Constable of *France*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, Duke *Longueville*, the Marshal of *Saint Andrews*, the Lord *Lewis* Brother to the Duke of *Mantova*, the Baron of *Curton*, the *Rbinegrave* Colonel of the *Almaynes*, *Monsieur d'Obigny*, *Monsieur de Biron*, and many others; and then pursuing the victory, under the government of the Earl of *Pembroke*, on the seven and twentieth of *August* they took the Town of *Saint Quintins*; in the assault whereof, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, youngest Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, was with a piece of great Ordinance slain, and some other of account. The sackage of the Town *King Philip* gave to the *English*, as by whose valor chiefly it was won.

The joy was not so great for this winning of *Saint Quintins*, but there will be greater sorrow presently for other losses. Many of the Garrison of *Callice* had been drawn from thence, for this service of *Saint Quintins*, and no new supply sent, which being perceived by the *French King*, a Plot is laid how to surprize it, which yet was not so secretly carried, but that the Officers of *Callice* had intelligence thereof; who thereupon signified it to the Councel of *England*, requiring speedy succours, without which, against so great an Army as was raised against them, they should not be able to hold out. But whether they gave no credit to their relations, or whether they apprehended not the danger so eminent as indeed it was, they neglected to send supplies till it was too late. For the Duke of *Guise*, with no lesse speed then Policy, took such a course that at one and the same time, he set both upon *Newnhambridge* and also upon *Ricebank*, (the two main *Skponces* for defence of the Town,) and took them both, and then fell presently to batter the Walls of the Castle it self, and that with such violence of great Ordinance, that the noyse was heard to *Antwerpe*, being a hundred miles off. But having made the walls assailable, the *English* used this stratagem, they laid trains of Powder to blow them up, when they should offer to enter, but this stratagem succeeded not; for the *French* in passing the Ditch, had so wet their clothes, that dropping upon the train, the Powder would take no fire, (so all things seemed to concur against the *English*) and thereupon the Castle was taken also, and with it the Town also had been taken, but that Sir *Anthony Ager*, with the losse of his own life and his eldest Sons, valiantly defended it, and for that time repelled the *French*, but their numbers increased so fast upon the Town, that the Lord *Wentworth* the Deputy, seeing no other way of safety, demanded Parlee, where a composition was made, that the Town should presently be yeilded to the *French King*, the lives of the Inhabitants only saved, and safe conduct to passe away, saving the Lord Deputy with fifty other, such as the Duke should name. And here to be quit with the *English*, for their hard usage at *Saint Quintins*, the Duke caused Proclamation to be made, that all and every person of the Town, should bring their money, jewels and plare, to the value of a groat, and lay it down upon the high Altar of the Church; by which means an inestimable sum of Treasure was there offered, enough to enrich an Army, which had before enriched a Town: and now to make it appear how unable the Town was to hold out against so great an Army, it is said, there were in it but only five hundred souldiers of ordinary, and scarce two hundred more of able fighting men; but of other people, men, women and children four thousand and two hundred, all which were suffered to depart, saving the Lord *Wentworth*, the Deputy, Sir *Ralph Chamberlain* Captain of the Castle, *John Hurlstone* Captain of *Ricebruke*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captain of *Newnhambridge*, *Edward Grimston* the Controulour, *John Rogers*

- A Rogers the Surveyour, with others to the number of fifty, who were all carried prisoners into France. And thus Callice, which had been in possession of the English above two hundred years, was won from the English in eight days, which King Edward the third had not won from the French in lesse then a year. The Lord Wintworth was suspected, and in Queen Elizabeths time arraigned for betraying it, but was acquitted by his Peers. Callice thus won, the Duke with his Army marched to *Guyfnes*, five miles distant, whereof was Captain the Lord Gray of *Wilton*, who held out the siege and batteries five or six days with so great valour and resolution, that he appeared in nothing inferiour to the Enemy but in multitude, yet at last overlaid with their numbers, and importuned by his souldiers, much against his own will, he made composition, that the Town and Castle should be wholly rendered; himself and all Officers remain prisoners, all other to depart with their Armour and Baggage. The Lord Gray afterward ransomed for four and twenty thousand Crowns. And now the Duke of *Guise* considering that was *Guyfnes* would be too costly a Castle to be kept, and too dangerous a neighbour to Callice, if it should be recovered, razed it with the Bulwarks and Fortifications to the ground. *Guyfnes* thus won, there remained nothing within the English pale, but the little Castle of *Hammes*, whereof was Captain the Lord Edward Dudley, who considering that though it were naturally strongly situate, as being invironed with Fens and Marshes, yet it had but little helps by Art of Fortifications, and being assured that the Duke of *Guise* would speedily come upon him, he secretly in the night with all his Garrison, departed into *Flanders*, so as the Castle was not won, but taken by the Duke of *Guise*; and with the losse of this Castle, the English lost all their footing in
- C Terra firma, and the Kings of England all the reality of their Title in France, having nothing left but *nudum nomen*.

Guyfnes also won by the French.

And so the English lost all their footing in France.

The Dauphin of France marries Mary Steward heir of Scotland.

Presently after this, the French King caused the marriage between his eldest Son *Francis* the Dauphin, and *Mary Steward* sole heir of *James* the first King of Scotland to be solemnized: whereupon great wars ensued soon after between England and Scotland.

Queen Mary being infinitely troubled in minde for the losse of Callice, sent presently forth her Admiral the Lord *Climon*, with a Fleet of more then a hundred sayl, to recover, at least reparation in honour, by doing some exploit upon France, who not finding opportunity to set upon *Brest*, as he was appointed, fell upon the Town of *Canquast*, which he took and burnt, and also divers Villages thereabouts, and then returned. In which mean time, many great conflicts having been

- D between King Philip and the King of France; at last, by mediation of the Dutchesse of *Lorrain*, a Treaty of Peace is agreed on, where all things seemed to be well accorded, but only that King Philip by all means required restitution of Callice, to which by no means the French would assent; but whilest they stood upon these terms, it happened that first the Emperour *Charles* King Philips Father died, and shortly after Queen Mary, and the day after Cardinal Poole, and shortly after Sir *John Baker* of *Sissingberst* in Kent, who had been a Privy Counsellour to Henry the eight, Edward the sixth and Queen Mary. And so our Story hath no further relation to either War or Peace, between the two Kings of France and Spain.

An agreement of Peace between King Philip and the King of France; but only want of restitution of Callice.

Queen Mary dies.

Of her Taxations.

- E SHE began with a rare Example; for in the first year of her Reign, was pardoned by Proclamation, the Subsidie of four shillings the pound of Land, and two shillings the pound of goods, granted in the last Parliament of King Edward the sixth. In her second year in a Parliament then holden, was granted to the King and Queen, a Subsidie of the Laitie, from five pounds to ten pounds, of eight pence in the pound; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, of twelve pence in the pound, and from twenty pounds upwards, sixteen pence in the pound; all Strangers double; and the Clergy six shillings in the pound. If this were all, then upon the matter, in al her time, there came no new charge upon her people; for one Subsidie remitted and one received, made but even.
- F In her last year she borrowed twenty thousand pounds of the City London; and paid twelve pounds a year interest for every hundred pound.

Laws and Ordinances in her time.

- I N her first year, on the the fourth of September, were proclaimed certain new coins of gold and silver, a Sovereign of gold of thirty shillings; the half Sovereign fifteen shillings; an Angel of ten shillings; the half Angel five shillings. Of silver the groat, the half groat and penny; all these Coyns to be currant as before. In her second year, Proclamation was made, forbidding the shooting in Hand-guns and bearing of weapons. The year in which she was married to King Philip, a straight charge was to all Victuallers, Taverners and Alehouse-keepers, that they should sell no meat nor drink nor any kinde of victuals, to any Serving-man whatsoever, unless he brought a testimonial to shew whose servant he was. Also in a Parliament holden this year, amongst other Acts, the Statute *Ex Officio* and other Laws made for the punishment of Heresies, were revived; but chiefly the Popes Bull of Dispensation of Abbey Land was there confirmed. In her second year, on *Michaelmas* Even, the Prisoners that lay in the Counter in *Breadstreet*, were removed to a new Counter made in *Woodstreet*, of the City purchase and building; the which removing was confirmed by the Common Councel of the City.

New Coyns of Gold and Silver.

Meat and drink forbidden to be sold to any serving-man without a testimonial whom he served.

The Counter in Woodstreet first made a Affairs Prison.

Affairs of the Church in her time.

IN the first year of this Queens reign, all Bishops which had been deprived in the time of King Edward the sixth, were restored to their Bishopricks, and the new removed; also all beneficed men that were married, or would not forsake their opinion, were put out of their Livings; and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms. Also this year, on the seven and twentieth of August, the Service begun to be sung in *Latine* in *Pauls Church*. Also this year the Popes authority was by Act of Parliament restored in *England*; and the Masse commanded in all Churches to be used. In her second year, the Realm is Absolved, and reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, by Cardinal *Poole*; and first Fruits and Tenths are restored to the Clergy: but this was soon revoked, the Council finding the necessity of it for the Queens support. In her fourth year, Monasteries were begun to be reedified; of which number were that of *Westminster*, that of *Sheen* and *Sion*, that of the *Black fryers*, and the Fryers of *Greenwich*. Of the number of those that died for Religion in her time, there are recorded five Bishops, one and twenty Divines, and of all sorts of men and women, two hundred threescore and seventeen.

The number of those that died for Religion in Queen Marys time.

Works of Piety done by her or others in her time.

THIS Queen restored a great part of Abbey-lands that were in her possession, and if she had lived longer, very likely she would have restored more. In her first year, Sir *Thomas White* then Maior, erected a Colledge in *Oxford*, now called *Saint Johns Colledge*, before, *Bernard Colledge*; he also erected Schooles at *Bristow* and *Reading*, and gave two thousand pounds to the City of *Bristow* to purchase Lands, the profits whereof to be employed for the benefit of young Clothiers for ten years, and after that to be employed in like manner, to the benefit of two and twenty other Shires and Cities. In her third year died Sir *John Gresham*, late Maior of *London*, who founded a free School at *Holt* in *Norfolk*, and gave to every Ward in *London* ten pounds to be distributed to the poor; also to Maids marriages two hundred pounds. *Cutbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, erected a goodly Library in *Cambridge*, storing it with many excellent both Printed and Written Books: he also bestowed much upon building at *Durham*, at *Alnewick* and at *Tunbridge*.

Saint Johns Colledge in Oxford founded.

Casualties happening in her time.

IN her first year, on the seven and twentieth of August, the goodliest Ship in *England*, called *The Great Harry*, being of the burthen of a thousand Tun, was burnt at *Woolwich* by negligence of the Mariners. In her second year on the fifteenth of February, appeared in the skie a Rainbow reversed, the bow turned downward and the two ends standing upward: also two Suns shined at one time a good distance asunder, which were taken for ill signes. This year also in the moneth of August, at a place in *Suffolk* by the Sea side, all of hard stone and pebble, lying between the Towns of *Oxford* and *Alborough*, where never grasse grew, nor any earth was ever seen, there chanced suddenly to spring up without any tillage or sowing, so great abundance of Peason, that the Poor gathered above a hundred quarters, yet there remained some ripe, and some blossoming, as many as were before. In her fourth year, hot burning Agues and other strange diseases, took away much people; so as between the twentieth of October and the last of December, there died seven Aldermen, namely, *Henry Heardson*, Sir *Richard Dobbs* late Maior, Sir *William Laxton* late Maior, Sir *Henry Hobblesfern* late Maior, Sir *John Champneys* late Maior, Sir *John Aleph* late Sheriff, and Sir *John Gresham* late Maior. In her fourth year, before Harvest, Wheat was sold for four Marks the quarter, Malt at four and forty shillings the quarter, and Pease at six and forty shillings eight pence; where after Harvest, Wheat was sold for five shillings the quarter, Malt at six shillings eight pence, Rye at three shillings four pence the quarter. In the Countrey, Wheat was sold for four shillings the quarter, Malt at four shillings eight pence, and in some places a bushel of Rye for a pound of Candles, which was four pence. In her fifth year, within a mile of *Nottingham*, so marvellous a tempest of thunder happened, that it beat down all the Houses and Churches in two Towns thereabouts, cast the Bells to the outside of the Churchyard, and some webs of lead four hundred foot into the field, written as if it had been leather; the River of *Trent* running between the two Towns, the water with the mud in the bottom was carried a quarter of a mile, and cast against trees; with the violence whereof the trees were pulled up by the roots, and cast twelve score off; also a childe was taken forth of a mans hand and carried two spears length high, and then let fall two hundred foot off, of which fall it died; five or six men thereabouts were slain; and neither flesh nor skin perished; also there fell some Hail-stones that were fifteen inches about. This year also in Harvest time was a great mortality, and specially of Priests, so as many Churches were unserved, and much corn was lost in the field for want of Workmen; whereupon ensued a great

Pease growing plentifully where never sowed.

The price of Wheat and Malt in a dearth, and in a plenty.

A marvellous tempest.

great

A great scarcity, so that corn was sold for fourteen shillings a quarter, and Wood sold in London for thirteen shillings a thousand of Billets, and Coals ten pence a sack. Also this year on the last of September, fell so great store of rain, that Westminster Hall was full of water, and Boats were rowed over Westminster Bridge into Kings Street.

Of her Personage and Conditions.

OF her Personage we can make no particular description, only we may say, she was none of the most amiable, but yet without deformity; but of her Conditions we may say, she was not without deformity, and yet was very amiable. If we account her Religion a deformity, yet her constancy and devotion in it, we must need count a beauty: if it were a deformity to promise the Suffolk men, not to alter the Religion which King Edward had established, yet it was certainly a pious dissembling, *Cretizare cum Cretensibus*; and equivocation (will some say) was there a vertue, where she deceived them into truth, and did them good against their wills. And as for her Sister Elizabeth, if she did not love her, it was but a quality hereditary in her; for their Mothers did not love one another before; and indeed not without some cause in both; for as those upbraided each others marriage, so these, each others birth. We shall not do her right, if we deny her to be of a merciful disposition, seeing oftentimes she pitied the person, where she shed the blood; she could have found in her heart to have spared the Lady Janes life, if *Ragion di stato* had not been against it, and she did spare her Father the Duke of Suffolks life, till his second offence gave her just provocation. The goodnesse of her nature might be seen in the badnesse of her fortune; who took nothing so much to heart, as unkindenesse of friends; the revolt of Callice, and the absence of King Philip, being the two chief causes that brought her to her end.

Of her Death and Buriall.

THE conceit of her being with childe, had kept Physitians from looking into the state of her body; so as her first distemper at first neglected, brought her by degrees into a Dropick, to which was added a burning Feaver, brought upon her by a double grief; one for the long absence of King Philip (who had now been away a year and a half;) the other, and perhaps the greater, for the losse of Callice; as she forbore not to say to some about her, that if they looked into her Heart, being dead, they should finde Callice there. She began to fall sick in September, and died at her Mannour of Saint James the seventeenth of November, in the year 1558. when she had reigned five years four moneths and eleven days; Lived three and forty years. Her body was interred in a Chappel in the Minster of Saint Peters Church at Westminster, without any Monument or other Remembrance.

Men of Note in her time.

OF Men of Valour in her time, there were many, as may be seen in the story of her Reign; but to name some for example, there was William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, the chief assistant of King Philip in the winning of Saint Quintins; there was William Lord Gray of Wilton, Captain of Guynes, who though he yeilded the Town, yet more out of tendernesse to his Souldiers, then out of fear of his Enemies, which he would never else have yeilded up; and to speak of one of a meaner rank, there was Sir Anthony Ager, who in defence of the Town of Callice lost his life, but not till he made the Enemy turn their backs and flye. Of learned men also there were many, as John Rogers born in Lancashire, who Translated the Bible into English with Notes; Richard Morison Knight, born in Oxfordshire, who wrote divers Treatises; Robert Record a Doctor of Physick, who wrote a Book of Arithmetick; Cutbert Tunstall, of a Worshipful Family in Lancashire, though base born, whose Ancestour came into England with the Conquerour, as his Barbour, and therefore hath three Combs his Arms; Bishop first of London; and after of Durham, who wrote divers learned Works: Richard Sampson, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who wrote certain Treatises: Lucas Shepheard born at Colchester in Essex, an English Poet: Jane Dudley, Daughter to Henry Gray Duke of Suffolk, wrote divers excellent Treatises: William Thomas a Welshman, who wrote the History of Italy, and others things: James Brookes and John Stanish, both of them Writers in defence of the Popes Doctrine: William Peryn a black Fryer, who wrote in defence of the Masse, and also divers Sermons: Henry Lord Stafford, Son to Edward Duke of Buckingham, who amongst other things which he wrote, Translated a Book out of Latine into English, intituled *Utriusque Potestatis Differentia*; which Book (as some think) was first compiled by Edward Fox Bishop of Hereford: John Hopkins who translated divers of Davids Psalms into English Meeter, which are to be found amongst those appointed to be sung in the Church.

Cutbert Tunstall
Bishop of Dur-
ham, whose An-
cestour was Bar-
bour to the
Conquerour.

John Hopkins
translated di-
vers of Davids
Psalms into
English Meeter;

Maors and Sheriffs of London in her Reign.

In her first year,
Sir *Thomas White* was Maior.
Thomas Offley, *William Hewet*, Sheriffs.

In her second year,
Sir *John Lyen* was Maior.
David Woodroffe, *William Cbester*, Sheriffs.

In her third year,
Sir *William Garret*, or *Gerrard*, was Maior.
Thomas Lee, or *Leigh*, *John Macbel*, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,
Sir *Thomas Offley* was Maior.
William Harper, *John White*, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,
Sir *Thomas Curteis* was Maior.
Richard Mallory, *James Altham*, Sheriffs.

In her sixth year,
Sir *Thomas Lee*, or *Leigh*, was Maior.
John Halfey, *Richard Champion*, Sheriffs.

THE

THE
REIGN
OF
QUEEN
ELIZABETH.

QUEEN Mary dying on Thursday the seventeenth of November, in the year 1558. her Sister, the Lady Elizabeth, of the age of five and twenty years, the only surviving childe of King Henry the eighth, by undoubted Right, succeeded her in the Crown; which happening in a time of Parliament; Nicholas Heath Archbishop of Yorke, and Lord Chancellour, sent to the Knights and Burgesses in the Lower House, to repair immediately to the Lords of the Upper House; to whom he signified, That Queen Mary was that morning dead, and therefore required their Assents: to joyn with the Lords in Proclaiming Queen Elizabeth; which accordingly was done, by the sound of Trumper, first at Westminster, and after in the City of London. The Queen was then at Hatfield; from whence on Wednesday the three and twentyeth of November, she removed to the Lord Norths house in the Charter-house, where she stayed till Munday the eight and twentieth of November, and then rode in her Chariot thorow London to the Tower; where she continued till the fifth of December; and then removed to Somerset House in the Strand; from whence she went to her Palace at Westminster; and from thence, on the twelfth of January, to the Tower; and on the fourteenth of January, to Westminster, to her Coronation; where as she went she said this Prayer: O Lord Almighty and everlasting God, I give thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast spared me to this joyfull day; and I acknowledge, that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou didst with thy faithfull servant Daniel, whom thou deliverdest out of the Denne, from the cruelty of the raging Lyons; even so was I overwhelmed and onely by thee delivered: To thee therefore onely be thanks, honour and praise for ever. And it is incredible, what Pageants and shewes were made in the City, as she passed. On Sunday the five and twentieth of January, she was Crowned in the Abbey Church at Westminster, by Doctor Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlisle, with all Solemnities and Ceremonies in such case accustomed. At this time, to honour her Coronation, she conferred more Honour, then in all her life after: William Parre degraded by Queen Mary, she made Marquesse of Northampton; Edward Seymour whose Father had been Attainted, she made Earl of Hertford; Thomas Howard, second Son to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, she made Viscount Bindon; Sir Henry Carie her Cousin German, she made Baron of Hunston; and Sir Oliver Saint-John, she made Baron of Bleisbo.

And now the Queen, though she were her self very wise, yet would not trust, (and it was a great point of wisdom that she would not trust) to her own wisdom; and therefore she chose Counsellours to assist her: In which number she took Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York; William Pawlet, Marquesse of Winchester, Lord high Treasurer; Henry Fitz Alan, Earle of Arundel; Francis Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury; Edward Standley, Earle of Derby; William Herbert, Earle of Pembroke; Edward Lord Clinton Lord Admirall; and William Lord Howard of Effingham; Sir Thomas Cheyney; Sir William Peter; Sir Richard Sackville; and Nicholas Wootton, Dean of Canterbury; all which had been Counsellours to Queen Mary, and were of her Religion: but then to make a counterpoise of Counsellours of her own Religion,

Hh she

Queen Elizabeth is Proclaimed.

She is Crowned.

Divers Lords created.

She makes of her Privy Councell as well Papists as Protestants.

She sends Embassadors to all Princes abroad.

she joyned with them *William Parre*, Marquess of Northampton; *Francis Russel*, Earl of Bedford; *Sir Thomas Parry*, *Sir Edward Rogers*, *Sir Ambrose Cave*, *Sir Francis Knolles*, and *Sir William Cecil*, late Secretary to King *Edward the sixth*; and a little after, *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, whom she made Keeper of the Great Seal. And having thus provided for her State at home, she seeks correspondence with Princes abroad: To the Emperour *Ferdinand*, she sent in Embassy *Sir Thomas Chaloner*; to the King of Spain in the Low-Countries the Lord *Cobham*; to the Princes of Germany *Sir Henry Killigrew*; *Sir Amygill Waad*, to the Duke of *Holst*; and another Ambassadour to the King of Denmark. There were also Ambassadours sent to the Pope, to the State of *Venice*, and to the French King; with whom at this time there was a Treaty of Peace holden at *Cambray*, between the Kingdoms of France, England and Spain; where for England was employed, the Earl of *Arundell*, *Thursby* Bishop of *Ely*; and Doctor *Wootton*, B Dean of *Canterbury*; with whom *William Lord Howard* of *Effingham* was joyned by a new Commission.

King Philip solicites Queen Elizabeth for marriage.

As soon as King *Philip* heard of the death of his wife *Queen Mary*, partly out of considerations of State, and partly out of affection of love, he solicited *Queen Elizabeth* by his Ambassadour, the Earl of *Feria*, to joyn in Marriage with himself; which was no more for two Sisters to have successively one husband, then was done before, for two Brothers to have successively one wife; and for this he promised to procure a Dispensation from the Pope. To which motion the Queen, though she well knew, that to allow a Dispensation in this case to be sufficient, were to make her own Birth illegitimate; yet to so great a Prince, and who in her Sisters time had done her many favours, she would not return so blunt an Answer; but putting the Ambassadour off for the present in modest terms: She conceived there would be no better way

Whom she puts off, by bringing in an alteration of Religion, Which yet she doth by degrees.

to take him off clean from further suit, then by bringing in an alteration of Religion; which yet she would not doe all at once, and upon the sudden (as knowing the great danger of sudden changes) but by little and little, and by degrees: as at first she permitted only Epistles and Gospels, the Ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the Creed to be read to the people in the *English* Tongue; in all other matters they were to follow the *Roman* Rite and Custom, until order could be taken for establishing of Religion by Authority of Parliament; and a severe Proclamation was set forth, prohibiting all Points of Controversie to be medled with: by which means, she both put the Protestants in hope; and put not Papists out of hope. Yet privately she committed the correcting of the Book of Common Prayer, set forth in the *English* Tongue under King *Edward the sixth*, to the care and diligence of Doctor *Parker*, *Bill*, *May*, *Cox*, *Grindall*, *Whitehead*, and *Pilkington*, Divines of great Learning; with whom she joyned *Sir Thomas Smith*, a learned Knight: but the matter carryed so closely, that it was not communicated to any, but to the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, and *Sir William Cecil*. The two and twentieth of March, the use of the Lords Supper in both kinde was by Parliament allowed: The four and twentieth of June, the Sacrifice of the Masse was abolished, and the Liturgy in the *English* Tongue established, though as some say, but with the differences of six voice. In July the Oath of Supremacy was propounded to the Bishops and others: And in August, Images were removed out of Churches, and broken or burnt. By these degrees Religion was changed; and yet the change, to the wonder of the world, bred no disturbance; which if it had been done at once, and on the sudden, would hardly, at least not without dangerous opposition, have been admitted.

The alteration of Religion by Parliament, by the difference only of six voices.

A Conference of Papists and Protestants about matters of Religion.

During this time; a Parliament had been summoned to begin at *Westminster*, upon the fifteenth of January; and now the Queen, for satisfaction of the people, appointed a Conference to be held, between the Prelates of the Realm, and Protestant Divines now newly returned, who had fled the Realm, in the time of *Queen Mary*: for the Prelates were chosen *John White*, Bishop of *Winchester*; *Ralph Bayne*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; *Thomas Watson*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; Doctor *Cole*, Dean of *Pauls*; Doctor *Langdell*, Arch-deacon of *Lewis*; Doctor *Harpesfield*, Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*; and Doctor *Chadsey* Archdeacon of *Middlesex*: For the Protestant side were appointed Doctor *Scory*, Doctor *Cox*, Doctor *Sands*, Doctor *Whitehead*, Doctor *Grindall*, Master *Horne*, Master *Guest*, Master *Elmer*, and Master *Juell*. The place was prepared in *Westminster* Church; where, besides the Disputants, were present the Lords of the Queens Council, with other of the Nobility; as also many of the Lower House of Parliament. The Articles propounded against the Prelates, and their adherents, were these: First, That it is against the Word of God, and the custome of the ancient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the people, in common Prayer, and in the Administration of the Sacraments. Secondly, That every Church hath authority to appoint and change Ceremonies, and Ecclesiastical Rites, so they be to edification. Thirdly, That it cannot be proved by the Word of God, that there is in the Masse a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the living and the dead. For the manner of their Conference, it was agreed it should be performed in writing; and that the Bishops should deliver their Reasons in writing, first. The last of March was the first day of their meeting; where contrary to the Order, the Bishops brought nothing in writing; but said, they would deliver their mindes only by Speech: This breaking of Order much displeased the Lords, yet they had it granted. Then rose up Doctor *Cole*, and made a large Declaration concerning the first Point: when he had ended, the Lords demanded if any of them had more to say; who answered, No: Then the Protestant Party

But broken off, and why,

A Party exhibited a written Book; which was distinctly read by Master Horn. This done, some of the Bishops began to affirm, they had much more to say in the first Article: this again much displeased the Lords: yet this also was granted them, to do at their next meeting on Munday next: but when Munday came, so many other differences arose between them, that the Conference broke off, and nothing was determined. But in the Parliament there was better agreement; for there it was enacted, That Queen Elizabeth was the lawful and undoubted Queen of England; notwithstanding a Law made by her Father King Henry the eighth, that excluded both her and her Sister Mary from the Crown, seeing, though the Law be not repealed, yet it is a Principle in Law, That the Crown once gained, taketh away all defects. Also in this Parliament, First fruits and Tenths were restored to the Crown; and the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of England was confirmed to the Queen, with universal consent, that in the Upper House none opposed these Laws, but only the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Sir Anthony Brown, Viscount Mountague: and in the Lower House, only some few of Papal inclination, murmured, saying, That the Parliament was packt; and that the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Arundell, and Sir William Cecil, for their own ends, had cunningly begged yoyces, to make up their Party.

The Crown once gained taketh away all defects. The title of Supreme Head of the Church is confirmed to the Queen.

The Supremacy thus confirmed to the Queen, the Oath was soon after tendered to the Bishops and others; of whom, as many as refused to take it, were presently deprived of their livings. And that we may see, how inclining the Kingdom at this time was to receive the Protestant Religion; it is said, that in the whole Realm (wherein are reckoned above Nine thousand Spiritual Promotions) there were no more that refused to take the Oath, but only fourscore Parsons, fifty Prebendaries, fifteen Masters of Colledges, twelve Archdeacons, twelve Deans, six Abbots, and fourteen Bishops, (indeed all that were at that time, except Amos Bishop of Landoff) as Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York, Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall Bishop of Durham, Thomas Thursby Bishop of Ely, Guilbert Eburn Bishop of Bath and Wells, John Christopherson Bishop of Chichester, John White Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Watson Bishop of Lincoln, Ralph Bayne Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, Owen Ogilborth Bishop of Carlisle, James Turburville Bishop of Exeter, and David Peol Bishop of Peterborough; and with these Doctor Pecknam Abbot of Westminster: All which were at first committed to prison, but soon after delivered to the custody of private friends, excepting those two sawcy Prelates, Lincoln and Winchester, who threatened to excommunicate the Queen. Three only, namely, Cuthbert Scott Bishop of Chester, Richard Pate Bishop of Worcester, and Thomas Goldwell Bishop of Saint Asaph, changed their Religion of their own accord; as also did certain Noble Personages, namely, Henry Lord Morley, Sir Francis Englefield, and Sir Robert Peckham, (who had been Privy Counsellours to Queen Mary) Sir Thomas Shelley, and Sir John Gage.

The Oath of Supremacy readily taken by all, but only some few, and who they were.

In the Sees of the Prelates removed, were placed Protestant Bishops, as Matthew Parker was made Archbishop of Canterbury, (who was consecrated by the Imposition of the hands of three that formerly had been Bishops; namely, William Barlow of Bath and Wells, John Scory of Chichester, and Miles Coverdale of Exeter) and being consecrated himself, he afterward consecrated Edmund Grindall Bishop of London, Richard Cox Bishop of Ely, Edwin Sands Bishop of Worcester, Rowland Merick Bishop of Bangor, Thomas Young Bishop of Saint Davys, Nicholas Bul-
 E lingham Bishop of Lincoln, John Jewell Bishop of Salisbury, Richard Davis Bishop of Saint Asaph, Edward Guest Bishop of Rochester, Gilbert Berkeley Bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas Bentham Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, William Alley Bishop of Exeter, John Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich, Robert Horn Bishop of Winchester, Richard Cheyney Bishop of Gloucester, Edmund Scambler Bishop of Peterborough, William Barlow Bishop of Chichester, John Scory Bishop of Hereford, Young Archbishop of York, James Pilkington Bishop of Durham, John Best Bishop of Carlisle, and William Downham Bishop of Chester.

Papal Bishops removed, and Protestants placed in their rooms.

Whilest these things were done in England, the Treaty of peace at Cambray continued still; F Wherein King Philip stood for the restitution of Callice to the English, as firmly as if it had been his own interest; and without it would agree to no Peace with France; But when by Messages he understood, that his suit for marriage with Queen Elizabeth was rejected; and that the Protestant Religion was established in the Kingdom, he then left Queen Elizabeth, seeing she would not be his, to her self; and though he became not presently a Foe, yet he became presently lesse then a Friend, and forbore to do any more good offices in that business. Queen Elizabeth thus left to her self, agreed with the French King, to conclude her own peace apart; and thereupon, Delegates on both sides were appointed to meet at Cambray: For the Queen of England were Thursby Bishop of Ely, the Lord Williams, the Lord Howard of Effingham, Chamberlain to the Queen, and Doctor Wootton Dean of Canterbury and York: For the King G of France were, Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, the first Peer of France, Annas Duke of Memorancy, James Albon Lord of Saint Andrews, John Morvilliers Bishop of Orleans, and Claude Aubespine Secretary of the Privy Council. The Commissioners meeting, the chief point in difference, was the restitution of Callice; for which the English Commissioners, by the Queens appointment, offered to remit two Millions of Crowns, that by just account were due from France to England; but the Queen was not more desirous to recover Callice, then the French King was to hold it: And thereupon at last, it was concluded, that Callice should remain in possession of the French for the term of eight years; and those expired, it should be delivered to

King Philip stood for restitution of Callice till he understood of the alteration of Religion in England.

Queen Elizabeth left to her self, sends Embassadors about Peace with France.

Where it was concluded, that Callice should be restored after eight years; but yet came not to nothing.

the English, upon forfeiture of five hundred thousands Crowns, for which, hostages were given : A But all this notwithstanding, though the Conditions were sealed and sworn to, and though hostages were assigned to remain in England, till one or other were performed ; yet all was frustrate, and came to nothing.

Henry King of France unfortunately slain running at Tilt.

About this time, Henry King of France married his Daughter Isabel to Philip King of Spain, and his Sister Margaret to Emmanuel Philibert Duke of Savoy ; at the solemnity of which marriages, he would needs be a Tilter himself ; and thereupon commanded the Earl of Montgomery to run against him, who unfortunately breaking his Lance upon the Kings Cuyrasse, a splinter thereof (his Beaver being somewhat open) struck him so deep in the eye, that within few dayes he ended his life : After whose death, Francis his Son at the age of sixteen years, succeeded him B in the Crown, having by the marriage of Queen Mary the Title of Scotland, and upon ground thereof laying claim to the Crown of England also, and giving the Arms of England, as properly belonging to him.

And now begins the game of Faction to be plaid, wherein the whole estate of Queen Elizabeth lies at stake, a game that will hold playing the most part of her Reign, and if not plaid well, will put her in jeopardy of losing all, seeing all about her was against her, Philip King of Spain hath a quarrel to her, for being rejected in his suit ; the King of France hath a quarrel to her in right of his wife, which is now his right ; the Queen of Scots hath a quarrel to her for detaining her Inheritance ; the Pope hath a quarrel to her, for excluding his Authority : the King of Sweden hath a quarrel to her, for slighting his Son in the way of marriage : And all these being against her, C whom hath she on her side, but only her own Subjects, Papists yesterday, and to day Protestants, who being scarce settled in their Religion, how should they be settled in their Loyalty ? And not being Loyal, where can she finde to cast Anchor for her safety ? But it is a true saying, *Nullum in abest si sit prudentia* ; Wisdom is a supply for all defects : And indeed, the Queen being very wise her self, and having a wise Council about her, she passed all these difficulties, though not without danger, yet with little or no hazard.

Knox in Scotland preaches against the Princes Authority.

It happened (if at least it happened, and were not rather plotted of purpose) that a Reformation of Religion was pretended in Scotland ; but was indeed an incroachment upon the Princes Authority ; for at the preaching of John Knox, and other headstrong Ministers, not onely Images and Altars were cast down and burnt, the Monasteries of Saint Andrews, of Stone, of Stryveling, and of Lynlithew were overthrown ; but it was further put into the heads of the D Nobility, that it pertained to them, of their own Authority, to take away Idolatry, and by force reduce the Prince to the prescript of Laws : Whereupon there was presently a bandying of the Lords of Scotland, against the Queen Dowager, Regent of the Countrey ; and in this case each of them sought for aid ; The Queen Dowager had aid out of France, the Lords of Scotland sent for aid to the Queen of England : But this was matter for consultation ; it seemed a bad Example, for a Prince to give aid to the rebellious Subjects of another Prince. On the other side, it seemed no lesse then impiety, not to give aid to the Protestants of the same Religion ; but most of all it seemed plain madnesse, to suffer adversaries to be so neer neighbours, and let the French nestle in Scotland, who pretend Title to England : upon such considerations, it was resolved to send them aid : and thereupon an Army of six thousand Foot, E and twelve hundred Horse, was sent under the command of the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Gray of Wilton his Lieutenant General ; Sir James Crofts, Assistant to him ; the Lord Scroop, Lord Marshal ; Sir George Howard, General of the men at Armes ; Sir Henry Percy, General of the Light-horse ; Thomas Huggens Provost Marshall ; Thomas Gower, Master of the Ordinance ; Master William Pelham, Captain of the Pyoners ; and Master Edward Randall, Serjeant Major, and divers others. These coming into Scotland, joyned with the Scottish Lords, and set down before Leith, where passed many small skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Assaults : to whom, after some time, a new supply came of above two thousand Foot ; whereof were Captains, Sir Andrew Corbet, Sir Rowland Standley, Sir Thomas F Hesbith, Sir Arthur Manwaring, Sir Lawrence Smith, and others : yet with this new supply there

The Lords of Scotland sent for aid to Queen Elizabeth.

The Queen sends an Army to assist the Lords of Scotland.

A Peace is concluded between the King of France and the Queen, and upon what terms.

Francis King of France died and leaveth Mary Queen of Scots a widow. Newhaven taken by the English, but soon surrendered.

was little more done then before ; many light skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Assaults ; so long, till at last the young French King, finding these broyls of Scotland to be too furious for him to appease, he sent to the Queen of England, desiring that Commissioners might be sent to reconcile these differences : whereupon were dispatched into Scotland, Sir William Cecil, her principal Secretary, with Doctor Wotton, Dean of Canterbury ; who concluded a Peace between England and France, upon these Conditions, That neither the King of France, nor the Queen of Scotland, should thenceforth use the Arms or Titles of England or Ireland ; And that both the English and the French should depart out of Scotland ; And a general pardon should be enacted by Parliament, for all such as had been actors in those stirs. This Peace was scarce concluded, when Francis the young King of France died, leaving the Crown to his younger Brother Charles, who was guided altogether by the Queen Mother, and molested with the Civil dissensions between the Princes of Guise and Conde ; for whose reconciliation, the Queen sent Sir Henry Sidney Lord President of Wales ; and shortly after an Army, under the leading of the Lord Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick ; who arriving at Newhaven, was received into the Town ; which having kept eleven moneths, he was then constrained, by reason of a Pestilence, to surrender again upon Composition, and so returned. G

- A** About this time when the Parliament was upon dissolving, it was agreed upon by the House of Commons, to move the Queen to marry, that she might have Issue to succeed her; to which purpose *Thomas Gargrave*, Speaker of the House, with some few other chosen men, had access to the Queen, who humbly made the motion to her, as a thing which the Kingdom infinitely desired; seeing they could never hope to have a better Prince, then out of her loyns: Whereunto the Queen answered in effect thus; That she was already married; namely, To the Kingdom of *England*; and behold (saith she) the Pledge of the Covenant with my Husband; and therewith she held out her finger, and shewed the Ring, wherewith, at the time of her Coronation, she gave her self in Wedlock to the Kingdom: and if (saith she) I keep my self to this husband, and take no other; yet I doubt not but God will send you as good Kings as if they were born of me; forasmuch as we see by daily experience, That the Issue of the best Princes do often degenerate: And for my self, it shall be sufficient that a Marble stone declare, That a Queen having reigned such a time, lived and died a Virgin. Indeed before this time, many Matches had been offered her: First, King *Philip*: and when he was out of hope of matching with her himself, he then dealt with the Emperor *Ferdinand* his Uncle, to commend his younger Son *Charles*, Duke of *Austria*, to her for a Husband. And when this succeeded not, then *John*, Duke of *Finland*, second Son to *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, was sent by his Father, to sollicite for his eldest Brother *Ericus*; who was honourably received, but the Match rejected. Then *Adolphus* Duke of *Holst*, Uncle to *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, came into *England*, upon a great hope of speeding; but the Queen bestowed upon him the Honour of the Garter, and a yearly Pension, but not her self. Then *James* Earl of *Arran*, was commended to her by the Protestants of *Scotland*; but neither the man nor the motion was accepted. Of meaner Fortunes there were some at home that pleased themselves with hope of her Marriage: First Sir *William Pickering*, a Gentleman of a good House, and a good Estate; but that which most commended him, was his studiousnesse of good letters, and sweet demeanour. Then *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, exceeding rich, but now in his declining age. Then *Robert Dudley*, youngest Son of the Duke of *Northumberland*, of an excellent feature of face, and now in the flower of his age: but these might please themselves with their own conceit; but were not considerable in her apprehension: they might receive from her good Testimonies of her Princely favour; but never pledges of Nuptial love.
- B** About this time the Earl of *Feria* (who had married the Daughter of Sir *William Dormer*) being denied leave of the Queen for some of his Wives friends to live out of *England*, grew so incensed, that he made means to *Pius* the fourth, then Pope, to have her excommunicate as an Heretick and Usurper: but the Pope inclining rather to save then to destroy; and knowing that gentle courses prevail more with generous mindes, then roughnesse and violence; in most loving manner wrote unto her, exhorting her to return to the Unity of the Catholick Church; and as it is said, made her great offers, if she would hearken to his counsel; particularly, That he would recal the Sentence pronounced against her Mothers Marriage; confirm the Book of Common Prayer in *English*; and permit to her people the use of the Sacrament in both Kindes. But Queen *Elizabeth* neither terrified with the Earl of *Feria's* practices, nor allured with the Popes great offers, according to her Motto, *Semper eadem*, persisted constant in her resolution, to maintain that Religion, which in her conscience she was perswaded to be most agreeable to the Word of God, and most consonant to the Primitive Church.
- C** Whilst these grounds of troubles are sowing in *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*, it is not likely that *Ireland* will lie fallow; though indeed it be a Countrey that will bring forth troubles of it self, without sowing: but howsoever to make the more plentiful Harvest of troubles at this time, *John O Neal* (whose Father King *Henry* the eighth made Earl of *Tyrone*) to prevent the punishment of a private Outrage upon a Brother, broke into open Rebellion against the Prince: and though his attempts were maturely made frustrate by timely opposition; yet this was he that in the beginning of the Queens Raig sowed the seeds of that trouble in *Ireland*; which afterward took so deep root, that till the ending of her Raig it could never thoroughly be rooted out: though this man a year or two after came into *England*, and casting himself at the Queens feet, acknowledged his fault, and obtained pardon.
- The Treaty of *Edenburgh* should by promise have been confirmed by *Francis* the French King while he lived; but he not having done it, Queen *Elizabeth* requires his Dowager the Queen of *Scots* to confirm it: but she solicited often to it by *Throgmorton* the Queens Ligier in *France*; made always answer, She could not do it without the counsel of her Nobility in *Scotland*. Whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* suspecting that this answer was but to hold her in amazement, while some mischief was practising against her, sent Sir *Thomas Randall* in *Scotland*, to perswade the Lords there to enter into a League of mutual amity with her, and other Protestant Princess; and further, by no means to permit their Queen, now a widow, to marry again to any sovrain Prince; for which she alleadged many great reasons. In the mean while, the Queen of *Scots*, purposing to return into *Scotland*, sent before-hand *D^r Oysette* a French Lord to intreat Queen *Elizabeth*, that with her leave, she her self might passe by Sea into *Scotland*, and *D^r Oysette* might passe by land. But Queen *Elizabeth* openly denied both the one and the other, unless she would confirm the Treaty of *Edenburgh*; saying, It was no reason she should do the Queen of *Scots* courtesie, if the Queen of *Scots* would not do her right. The Queen

The Parliament moves the Queen to marry.

And her Answer.

The many matches that had been offered to her.

Great offers made by the Pope to the Queen, if she would become a Papist.

But she persisted constant in her Religion.

John O Neal Earl of *Tyrone* begins to rebel.

Queen *Elizabeth* requires the Treaty of *Edenburgh* to be confirmed by the Queen Dowager. And her answer.

The Queen of
Scots passeth
safely into
Scotland ;
though laid
wait to be in-
tercepted.

She offered all
observance to
Queen Eliza-
beth, so she
might be de-
clared her suc-
cessour.

Queen Eliza-
beths answer.

The Pope in-
vites Queen
Elizabeth to
send her Ora-
tors to the
Council of
Trent.

The Queens
answer.

All base mo-
neys called in.

Divers great
persons ques-
tioned and
condemned,
but had their
lives spared.

of Scots much troubled with this answer, expostulates the matter with her Ligier *Throgmorton*, and much complains of the unthankfulness: but in the mean time providing shipping, she loosed from *Callice*; and under covert of a mist, notwithstanding that Ships were laid to intercept her, she arrived safe in *Scotland*; where she intreated her Subjects in so loving a manner, that she gave great contentment to the whole Kingdom; as well to the Protestant party, as the other: and then sent Letters to *Queen Elizabeth*, proffering all observance and readinesse to enter League with her; so she might by Authority of Parliament be declared her Successor; which was but her Right. To this *Queen Elizabeth* answered, That though she would no way derogate from her Right: yet she should be loth to endanger her own security, and as it were to cover her own eyes with a Grave-cloth while she was alive; but fell again to her old Admonition, requiring her to confirm the Treaty of *Edenburgh*: And now to shew the respect she bore her, when her Unkles the Dukes *D' Aumale*, *D' Albeuse*, and other Lords of *France* that had brought her home, returned through *England*, she gave them most bountiful and loving entertainment.

These two Queens indeed were both of great Spirits, and both very wise; but there grew such Jealousies of State between them; (the *Queen of Scots* doubting lest *Queen Elizabeth* meant to frustrate her Succession; *Queen Elizabeth* doubting lest the *Queen of Scots* meant to prevent her Succession) that it kept them more asunder in love, then they were neer in bloud, and was cause of many unkinde passages between them: in all which, though the *Queen of Scots* were a very neer Match to the *Queen of England* in the abilities of her minde; yet in the favours of Fortune she was much her inferiour.

But now for all the courtesie which *Queen Elizabeth* shewed to the *Queen of Scots* Unkles at their returning through *England*, yet new practises were again set on foot against her at *Rome*; the Duke of *Guise* especially labouring to have her be Excommunicate; but Pope *Pius* still averse from such roughnesse, meant now to try the *Queen* another way; and thereupon sent the Abbot *Martinengi*, and when he might not be admitted to enter *England*, then caused the Bishop of *Viterbo* his Nuntio in *France*, to deal earnestly with the Queens Ligier *Throgmorton*, that she (as other Princes had done) would send her Orators to the Council of *Trent*, which he before had called. But the *Queen* nothing tender in this point, made peremptory answer, That a Popish Assembly she did not acknowledge to be a General Council; nor did think the Pope to have any more Right or power to callit, then any other Bishop. This Answer not only exasperated the Pope, but so alienated also the King of *Spain's* minde from her, that he was never after so kinde a friend to her as he had been; and none of her Embassadors ever after had any great liking to be employed to him. And now at this time, as the Abbot *Martinengi* was the last Nuntio that ever was sent from the Pope into *England*, so Sir *Edward Carne*, now dying at *Rome*, was the last Ligier that was ever sent to the Pope from the Kings of *England*.

And now *Queen Elizabeth* knowing well that she had drawn many ill willers against her State, she endeavoured to strengthen it by all the means she could devise: She caused many great Ordinance of Brasse and Iron to be cast; She repaired Fortifications in the Borders of *Scotland*; She encreased the number of her Ships, so as *England* never had such a Navy before; She provided great store of Armour and Weapons out of *Germany*; she caused Musters to be held, and youth to be trained in exercises of Artillery; and to please the people (whose love is the greatest strength of all) she gave leave to have Corn and Grain transported; and called in all base Coins and Brasse Money.

It was now the Fifth year of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, when divers great persons were called in question: *Margaret Countesse of Lenox*, Niece to King *Henry* the eight, by his eldest Sister, and her husband the Earl of *Lenox*, for having had secret conference by letters with the *Queen of Scots*, were delivered prisoners to Sir *Richard Sackville*, Master of the Rolls, and with him kept a while in custody. Also *Arthur Poole* and his Brother, whose great Grand-father, was *George Duke of Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the fourth: *Antony Fortescue*, who had married their Sister, and others were arraigned, for conspiring to withdraw themselves to the Duke of *Guise* in *France*; and from thence to return with an Army into *Wales*; to declare the *Queen of Scots*, *Queen of England*; and *Arthur Poole Duke of Clarence*; which particulars they confessed at the Bar, and were thereupon condemned to die; but had their lives spared, in regard they were of the bloud Royal. Also the Lady *Katherine Gray*, Daughter to *Henry Gray Duke of Suffolk*, by the eldest Daughter of *Charles Brandon*; having formerly been married to the Earl of *Pembrooke's* eldest Son; and from him soon after lawfully divorced, was some years after found to be with childe by *Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford*: who being at that time in *France*, was presently sent for; and being examined before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: and affirming they were lawfully married; but not being able within a limited time to produce witnesses of their marriage; they were both committed to the Tower: where she was brought to Bed: and after by the connivence or corruption of their Keepers, being suffered sometimes to come together, she was with childe by him again: which made the *Queen* more angry then before; so as Sir *Edward Warner* Lieutenant of the Tower was put out of his place, and the Earl was fined in the Star-chamber five thousand pounds and kept in prison nine years after. Though in pleading of his Case, one *John Hales* argued; They were lawfull man and wife, by virtue of their own bare consent, without any Ecclesiastical Ceremony. The Lady a few years after, falling through grief into a mortal sicknesse, humbly desired the Queens Pardon, for having married without her knowledge, and commending her children to her clemency, died in the Tower.

A At this time (the King being under Age) dissensions amongst the Peers grew hot in France, of which there were two Factions; Both pretending the cause of Religion: of the One the Duke of Guise, a Papist, was Head; of the other the Prince of Conde, a Protestant: but while *Delirant Reges, plebuntur Achivi*: while these Princes are at variance, the people suffer for it; and chiefly as being under the weaker protection, the Protestant party: whereupon Queen Elizabeth, having well learned the Lesson: *Tum tuu res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*: and fearing lest the flame of their dissension, might kindle a fire within her own Kingdom; sent over Sir Henry Sidney Lord President of Wales into France, to endeavour by all possible means their reconciliation; which when he could not effect, (and perhaps it was never meant he should effect it, but only to see what invitations would be made to the Queen for her assistance) she thereupon, at the moan of

Queen Elizabeth sends over an Army to assist the Protestants in France.

B the afflicted Protestants, sent over an Army of six thousand Souldiers, under the Conduct of the Earl of Warwick, in assistance of the Prince of Conde, and other Protestant Lords, who delivered to him the Town of Newhaven, to hold in the King of France his name, until such time as Calice were restored: But the Prince of Conde marching to joyn with the English Forces, was by the Duke of Guise intercepted and taken prisoner; which had been a great disappointment to the English, but that the Duke of Colen joyned with him, besieged Caen in Normandy, and took it; together with Bayeux, Falaise, and Saint Lo. The French Hostages that were pledges for the payment of five hundred thousand Crowns, if Calice were not restored, were remaining still in England; who perceiving there was like to be War with France, prepared secretly to get away; but being ready to take shipping, were discovered and brought back again.

C In the mean while the Prince of Conde drawn on with a hope, to marry the Queen of Scots, and to have the chief Government in France, during the Kings Minority, concluded a peace with the King, and with the Guises; so as now, all French, as well Protestants as Papists, required to have Newhaven delivered up: But the Earl of Warwick perceiving the fickleness of the French Protestants, first to make suit to draw him into France, and now upon so slight occasion to require him to be gone, he shutteth all French, both Protestants and Papists, out of the Town, and lays hold of their Ships; the French on the other side make ready to set upon the Town, saying, They fought not now for Religion, but for their Countrey; wherefore it was meet that both Protestants and Papists should joyn their Forces, seeing they had already concluded a Peace betwixt themselves.

The Prince of Conde concludes a Peace with the King of France.

Newhaven delivered up to the French, with the Queens leave.

D And hereupon the Duke of Memorancy sent a Trumpeter to the Earl of Warwick, commanding him to yeeld the Town; who making answer by Sir Hugh Pawlet, That he would never yeeld it without the Queens leave: he thereupon besieged the Town, and with great violence of Battery, sought to get it by force: Which Queen Elizabeth hearing, she sent a Commission to the Earl of Warwick to yeeld it up, if upon honourable Conditions; which soon after was accordingly done, after the English had held it eleven months; and then the Earl, without any dishonour for yeelding up a Town, which the Pestilence made him no lesse unwilling then unable to hold, he returned into England: but that which was more doleful then the losse of Newhaven, he brought the Pestilence with him into England. The recovery of this Town not only made the French to triumph, but hereupon the Chancellor of France pronounced openly, That by this War, the English had lost all their Right to Calice, and were not to require it any more, seeing it was one of the Conditions, That neither of the Nations should make War upon the other; which was the Point stood upon by the King of France and his Mother, when Queen Elizabeth sent Sir Thomas Smith to demand Calice to be restored.

E At this time there were such crosse designs amongst the Princes of Christendom, that a very good Polititian could hardly understand their aims. The Duke of Guise being slain in the Civil War, the Queen of Scots Dowry was not paid her in France, and the Scots were put off from being the Kings Guard: This exceedingly displeased the Queen of Scots: but then to please her again, and for fear lest hereupon she should apply her self to the friendship of the English, her Uncle the Cardinal of Lorrain solicites her afresh, to marry Charles Duke of Austria; offering her for her Dowry the County of Tyrol. The Queen of Scots, to make use of her Unkles fear, and perhaps to bring Queen Elizabeth into an opinion of depending upon her, acquaints her with this motion, and therein requires her advise. Queen Elizabeth not willing she should marry with any forain Prince, persuades her to take a Husband out of England, and particularly commended to her the Lord Robert Dudley (whose wife a little before had with a fall broke her neck:) promising withal, that if she would marry him, she should then by Authority of Parliament be declared her successor, in case she died without issue. But when her Unkles and the Queen-mother were informed of this motion, they so much disdained the marriage with Dudley, that so she would refuse that Match, and persevere in the Friendship of the French, they offered to pay her the Dowry money, that was behinde, and to restore the Scots to all their former liberties in France. And as for the King of Spain, he had indeed a Ligier Embassadour here in England; but rather by way of complement, and to watch advantages, then for any sincere love; which he began now to withdraw from the English, as suspecting them to intend a Trade to the West Indies.

The Queen of Scots requires Queen Elizabeths advise about her marriage.

Who persuades her to marry the Lord Robert Dudley.

But this motion was scorned by her French friends.

And now the French Protestants may see what they brought upon themselves, by leaving the English at Newhaven, and by trusting to their Countrey-men the French Papists, for their peace was but a snare, and the Marriage of Henry of Bourbon, Prince of Navarre, with Margaret of Valois, the French Kings Sister, was but a bait to entrap them; for upon the confidence of this Marriage, being drawn together into Paris, they were the readier for the slaughter; and a few days after the Marriage, Francis,

At the marriage of the Prince of Navarre, was the great massacre of the Protestants in France.

Marriage, which were all spent in Feasts and Masks, to make them the more secure, upon a Watch-word given, the bloody Faction fell upon the Protestants, and neither spared age, nor sex, nor condition, but without mercy, and sense of humanity, slaughtered as many as they could meet with, to the number of many thousands.

Many great
Personages die.

It was now the sixth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, a year fatal for the death of many great Personages: First dyed William Lord Gray of Wilton, Governour of Berwick, a man famous for his great Services in Warre: then William Lord Paget, a man of as great Services in Peace; who by his great deservings had wrought his advancement to sundry dignities, and honourable places: and though zealous in the Roman Religion, yet held by Queen Elizabeth in great estimation to his dying day: Then Henry Manners Earl of Rutland, descended by his mother from King Edward the fourth: And lastly, Francis the Dutchesse of Suffolk, Daughter to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, and mother to Queen Jane.

A Peace made
with the King
of France, and
upon what con-
ditions.

And now Queen Elizabeth finding how fickle the French Protestants had carryed themselves towards her, intended to make a Peace; and to that end sent Sir Thomas Smith into France, joyning Throgmorton in Commission with him; and in conclusion a Peace was agreed on; whereof, amongst other Articles, this was one, That the Hostages in England should be freed, upon the payment of six hundred thousand Crowns: and this Peace was ratified by the Oath both of the Queen of England, and the King of France.

About this time the English Merchants were hardly used both in Spain, and in the Netherlands, upon pretence of Civil differences, but indeed out of hatred to the Protestant Religion: whereupon the English removed the seat of their Trading to Embden in Friesland: but Gusman the Spanish Ligier, newly come into England, finding the great damages that the Netherlands sustained by these differences, endeavoured by all means to compose them; and thereupon Viscount Montague, Nicholas Wootton, and Walter Haddon, Master of the Requests, were sent to Bruges in Flanders; who after many interruptions, brought the matter at last to some indifferent agreement.

Queen Elizabeth
makes a
Progress to
Cambridge.

She makes the
Lord Robert
Dudley first Bar-
on of Denbigh,
and then Earl
of Leicester.

It was now the seventh year of Queen Elizabeth, when making a Progress, she went to see Cambridge; where after she had viewed the Colledges, and been entertained with Comedies, and Scholasticall Disputations, she made her self a Latine Oration, to the great encouragement of the Scholars, and then returned. Presently after her return, she made the Lord Robert Dudley Master of her Horse, first Baron of Denbigh (giving him Denbigh and all the Lands belonging to it) and then Earl of Leicester, to him, and the Heirs males of his body lawfully begotten: which Honour was conferred upon him with the greatest State and Solemnity that ever was known. And now Leicester, to endear himself to the Queen of Scots, accused Sir Nicholas Bacon Lord Keeper for being privy to the Libell of Hales, who affirmed the right of the Crown to belong to the Family of Suffolk, in case the Queen should die without Issue; and thereupon was Bacon cast into prison; till afterward, upon his purgation, and the mediation of Sir William Cecil, he was set at liberty, and restored to his place.

The Queen of
Scots seeks to
marry the Lord
Darley Son to
the Earl of
Lenox.

Queen Elizabeth
dislikes
her from it, and
perswades her
to marry the
Earl of Lei-
cester.

Hereupon
Commissioners
are sent to treat
of this mar-
riage.

But the Com-
missioners can-
not agree.

The Queen of
Scots impatient
of delay, gets
the Lord Dar-
ley to come to
Scotland.

And now for a while we must cast our eyes upon Scotland, for that was now the Stage where all great businesses of State were acted: Mathew Steward, Earl of Lenox, who had married Margaret Douglas, King Henry the eighth's Niece by his elder Sister, had been kept as an Exile in England now twenty years; him the Queen of Scots invites to come into Scotland, under pretence of restoring to him his ancient Patrimony; but indeed to confer with him about a marriage with his Son the Lord Darley, for being reputed Heir to the Crown of England, next after her self; she thought by matching with his Son, to strengthen her own title, and to prevent the hope of any other. Queen Elizabeth, upon suit made by his wife, gave the Earl leave to go; but soon after, suspecting what the Queen of Scots intent was in sending for him, she, to hinder the proceeding, sent Sir Thomas Randolph to her, to let her know, That if she proceeded in this Match, she would exceedingly wrong her self; for that it was a Match so much disliked by all the English, that she was fain to prorogue the Parliament, lest upon dislike thereof, there should something be enacted against her Right of Succession: But if she would marry the Earl of Leicester, she should then by Parliament be declared her next Heir. Hereupon in the moneth of November, the Earl of Bedford and Sir Thomas Randolph for Queen Elizabeth; the Earl of Murray and Lidington for the Queen of Scots at Berwick, entered into a Treaty concerning the marriage with the Earl of Leicester. The English Commissioners urged the great benefits that by this Match would accrue both to the Queen of Scots her self, and to the whole Kingdome of Scotland: The Scottish on the other side, urged the great disparagement it would be to the Queen of Scots, if refusing the offers made her of divers great Princes, she should match her self with so mean a person as the Earl of Leicester. This matter held long debate, partly for that the English Commissioners were so appointed by Queen Elizabeth; and partly for that the Scottish Commissioners had a good mind to hinder her from marrying at all; and perhaps not the least, for that the Earl of Leicester, being verily perswaded he should at last obtain Queen Elizabeth her self, by secret Letters warned the Earl of Bedford not to urge the marriage with the Queen of Scots too far; and was thought for this cause to favour Darley under hand. The matter being in this manner protracted for two whole years together, the Queen of Scots impatient of longer delay, and being resolved in her minde what she would do, used means that the Lord Darley got leave of Queen Elizabeth to go into Scotland for three moneths only, under colour to be put in possession of his Fathers Lands, (though it be strange, the Queen upon any terms would let him go, if she really

A really intended to hinder the marriage: but such was the destiny, if there were not a plot in it:) and so in February he came to *Edenburgh*; who being a young man, of not above nineteen years of age, of a comely countenance, and most Princely presence, the Queen of *Scots* as soon as she saw him, fell in love with him, yet in modesty dissembling it for the present; she thought to get a Dispensation from *Rome*, because of their nearness in Consanguinity. And now, her inclination being grown so apparent, that there was no concealing it, she sent *Lydington* to Queen *Elizabeth*, desiring her consent. But she, through the suggestions of the Earl of *Murray*, being induced to believe that the Queen of *Scots* intention was, by this Marriage, to get the Crown of *England*, and to bring in Popery, entred into consultation with her Privy Councell, what was fit to be done to hinder the Marriage; who all concluded, that these were the best wayes: First, To have a Company of Souldiers levyed for terrour sake, about the Borders towards *Scotland*; then to commit to prison the Countesse of *Lenox*, the Lord *Darlies* Mother; and to recall from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son *Darley*, upon pain of the losse of all their goods in *England*: then that the *Scots* who were known to be averse from the marriage, should be relieved and assisted: and lastly, That *Katherine Gray*, with the Earl of *Hertford*, should be received into some grace; about whom only (it was thought) the Queen of *Scots* was most solicitous, as being her Rivall to the *English* Crown. Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to counsell her in the Queens name, not to proceed in this Marriage; and to shew her the many inconveniencies that would accrew unto her by it. But she returned answer, That the matter was too far passed to be recalled; and that Queen *Elizabeth* had no cause to be displeased with it; seeing herein she followed her advise, Not to match with a stranger, but with an *English* man born. Queen *Elizabeth* being informed of her answer, calleth home the Earl of *Lenox*, and the Lord *Darley* his Son, commanding them upon their Allegiance to return: The Father modestly by Letters excuseth himself; the Son humbly intreateth her not to be a hinderance to his preferment; which he vowes to imploy in her Majesties service to the uttermost of his power. And now, to make him the fitter match for her, the Queen of *Scots* honoured him first with Knighthood; then with the Dignities of the Lord *Armanack*, Earl of *Rosse*, and Duke of *Rothsay*; which Dukedome by Birth pertaineth to the eldest Sons of the Kings of *Scotland*. After this, when he had not been above five moneths in *Scotland*, she married him; and with the consent of most of the Peers, declared him King. At this, the Earl of *Murray*, and other whom he drew to his party, extremely fretted, and fell to moving of turbulent questions, Whether it were lawfull to admit a Papist King? Whether the Queen of *Scots* might choose a Husband at her own pleasure? and whether the Peers of the Kingdome might not out of their own Authority, impose one upon her? But howsoever, they raised Arms, and had disturbed the Nuptials, but that the Queen levyed an Army to encounter them; with which she pursued them so closely, that they were faine to flie into *England* for protection; where Queen *Elizabeth* made no scruple to receive them, seeing the Queen of *Scots* had received *Turely*, *Standon*, and *Walsh*, that were fled out of *England*; but the Earl of *Murray* especially, who had alwayes been found addicted to the *English*. Queen *Elizabeth* perhaps was not much troubled at this Marriage; partly as knowing the milde disposition of the Lord *Darley*, and how little access of strength it brought to the Queen of *Scots*; but most of all, as plainly seeing there would troubles arise in *Scotland* upon it; and the troubles of *Scotland* would be the quietness of *England*; which as a good Mother of her Countrey, was the mark she aimed at: yet she made a shew of being offended with it; but rather to conceal her aim, then that she was offended with it indeed.

At first sight she falls in love with him.

And then sends to Queen *Elizabeth* for her consent to marry him.

Queen *Elizabeth* opposeth it.

The Queen of *Scots* makes the Lord *Darley* Duke of *Rothsay*, and marries him.

The Earl of *Murray* raiseth an Army against her.

But being encountered, he flies into *England*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* receives.

Queen *Elizabeth* is moved again to marry *Charles* the Emperours brother.

Cecile sister of the King of *Sweden* comes into *England* of purpose to see the Queen.

Also *Mac Carthy* a great Potentate of *Ireland*.

Anno Reg. 8. The Governours of *Ireland* what titles they had.

At this time the Emperour *Maximilian* sent to Queen *Elizabeth* his Ambassadour, *Adam Smircote*, renewing the former suit for his Brother *Charles* of *Austria*; for which Marriage the Earl of *Suffex* was very earnest; the Earl of *Leicester* as much against it; so as it grew to a quarrel between them, and the Court was divided into factions about it: but the Queen who never liked the dissensions of her Peers (though it be a rule with some; *Divide, and Reign*) made them friends, at least in countenance.

F We may now leave *Scotland* a while, and see the Honour done at this time to Queen *Elizabeth*, not much inferiour to the Honour done to *Solomon* by the Queen of *Sbeba*; for now *Cecile*, the Sister of *Erick* King of *Sweden*, and Wife of *Christopher* Marquesse of *Baden*, being great with childe, came from the farthest part of the North (a long Journey) thorow *Germany*, of purpose to see her, for the great fame she had heard of her Wisdome: At her being here, she was delivered of a childe, to whom, in requitall of her kindenesse, Queen *Elizabeth* was God-mother, and named him *Edwardus Fortunatus*; giving to her and her Husband, besides Royall entertainment, a yearly Pension. At this time also, for the great Fame of her wisdom, *Donald mac Carti More*, a great Potentate of *Ireland*, came and delivered up into her hands all his most ample Territories; and then receiving them again from her, to hold them to him and his Heirs males lawfully begotten; and for want of such Issue, to remain to the Crown of *England*. The Queen in requitall invested him with the honour of Earl of *Glenkarne*, and Baron of *Valence*; and besides many presents given him, paid the charges of his Journey.

G It was now the eighth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, a Knight of *Glocester-shire*, governing *Ireland* under the title of a Justice, was called home, and Sir *Henry Sidney* placed in his room. And here by the way it is to be noted, That the Governours of *Ireland*, after it came under the *English*, were at first called Justices of *Ireland*; afterwards, Lieutenants; and their Vice-gerents were called Deputies. Afterwards at the Princes pleasure, sometimes Deputies

A President of
Munster when
first ordained.

Queen Elizabeth
makes a
Progress to
Oxford.

A call of seven
Serjeants at
Law.

In a Parlia-
ment at this
time, the Queen
is moved again
to marry;

And to declare
a Successour.

The Queens
answer to their
motion.

The Duke of
Norfolk, and the
Earl of Leicester
made
Knights of the
order of Saint
Michael.

The Queen of
Scots is deliv-
ered of a Son.

She grows cold
in her love to
the King.

David Rixie an
Italian grows a
great Favorite
of the Queen of
Scots.

The King set
on by his
Lords mur-
ders him.

Deputies, sometimes Justices, and sometimes Lieutenants; which last Title, though it be of great A
est honour, yet in power is in a manner but the same. Sir Henry Sidney at his coming into Ireland,
found the Province of Munster in much disorder, by reason of strife between Gerald Earl of Des-
mond, and Thomas Earl of Ormond: whereupon the Queen sending for the Earl of Desmond into
England, ordained a new Government in that Province, appointed a President to administer Justice,
together with an Assistant on the Bench; two Lawyers and a Notary: and the first President she
made in this place, was Sir William Sentleger.

And now Queen Elizabeth in a Progress went to Oxford; where she took pleasure in view-
ing the Colledges, in hearing Orationes, in seeing of Comedies, till the Comedy of Palemon
and Arcet turned to a Tragedy, for by the fall of a wall, through the multitude of people that B
pressed in to see it, three men were slain. At her coming away, she made an Oration in La-
tine to the Scholars, a sufficient recompence for all the Orationes they had made to her. And
this year, was a call of seven new Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast at Grays Inne in
Holborn.

Upon the Queens return from Oxford, the Parliament began, where they presently fell upon
the matter of succession, and moving the Queen to marry; in which points some went so far, that
they spared not to accuse the Queen, as one carelesse of Posterity; to defame Cecil with libels and
reproches, as if he were her Counsellour in this matter; but above all, to curse Doctor Huic her
Physitian, who was thought to dissuade her from Marriage, by reason of I know not what
womanish insufficiency. At last in the Upper House it was agreed, That Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord C
Keeper, their Orator, should in all their names beseech the Queen to marry; and withall, to
declare a successour in the Crown, if she should happen to die without issue; for which he gave
many reasons, declaring what mischiefs were likely to befall the Kingdom, if she should die be-
fore a Successor were designed. But in the Lower House there were some, amongst whom were
Bell and Mounson, (two Lawyers of great account) Dutton, Sir Paul Wentworth, and other, who
grew to far higher terms, disparaging the Queens Authority, and saying, That Princes were
bound to design a Successor; and that in not doing it, the Queen should shew herself no bet-
ter then a parricide of her Countrey. The Queen was contented to bear with words spoken
in Parliament; which spoken out of Parliament, she would never have endured: but not
willing to expostulate the matter with the whole number, she commanded that thirty of the
Higher House, and as many of the Lower, should appear before her; to whom she delivered her
minde to this effect; That she knew what danger hangeth over a Princes head; when a Succes- D
sor is once declared; she knew that even children themselves, out of a hastie desire of bearing
rule, had taken up Arms against their own Fathers; and how could better conditions be expected
from kindred? She had by reading observed, That Successors in a collateral Line, have seldom
been declared; and that Lewis of Orleans, and Francis of Angoulême were never declared Suc-
cessors, and yet obtained the Crown without any noise. Lastly, she said, Though I have been
content to let you debate the matter of Succession, yet I advise you to beware, that you be not
injurious to your Princes patience. With these and the like reasons she gave so good satisfaction,
that they never after troubled her with making any more such motion. And though she consented
not in plain terms to declare a Successor, yet soon after she gave some intimation of it; for one E
Thornton, a Reader of the Civil Law in London, who in his Lectures, called the Queen of Scots Right
in question, was clapped up in prison for his labour.

In the beginning of her ninth year, Charles the ninth King of France, sent his Ambassadour
Ramboulet into England to the Queen, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of Saint
Michael, to bestow upon which two of her Nobility she pleased; and she making choice of the
Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Leicester, they were by Ramboulet invested with them; an Ho-
nour that had never been conferred upon any English but only King Henry the eighth, King Edward
the sixth, and Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, though afterward prostituted almost to any,
without difference.

And now to return to the affairs of Scotland: The nineteenth of June last past, the Queen of F
Scots, in a happy hour, was at Edinburgh Castle delivered of a Son, that was afterward James the
sixth of Scotland; and the first Monarch of Great Britain; whereof she presently sent word to
Queen Elizabeth by James Melvyn; who thereupon sent Sir Henry Killegrew to congratulate her
safe deliverance, and her young Son, with all demonstration of love and amity. But now the
love of the Queen of Scots to her Husband the Lord Darley, was not so hot at first, but it
was now grown to be as cold; and she had not heaped honours on him so fast before, but now
as fast she taketh them off: for where before in all publick Acts, she had used to place her Hus-
bands name first, now she caused it to be placed last, and in the coining of money began to leave
it quite out.

This unkindness between them was fomented by one David Rixie an Italian, whom the Queen G
had taken into her service, first, as a Musician, and then taking a liking to him, made him her
Secretary for the French Tongue; by means whereof he had oftentimes secret conference with
her, when the King her Husband might not be admitted. This indignity the King himself,
being given to his pleasures of Hunting and Hawking, resented not so much, as some Lords that
were his friends, who told him plainly, that it stood not with his Honour to suffer this fellow
to live. By whose instigation the King drawn to plot his death; one day, taking with him the
Earl of Renven, and other, he rushed into the Queens Chamber at her Supper time, where finding
David

- A David Rixie at a Cupboord, tasting some meat that had been taken from the Table, he seized upon him, dragged him forth into an outer Chamber, and there murdered him, the Queen at that time being great with childe, and like by that affright to have miscarried: But the Fact being done, the King came in to her again, assuring her there was no hurt at all intended to her Person. The man that had animated the King to do this fact, was especially the Earl of *Murray*, of whom it is necessary to say something, because his part will be the greatest of all the *Scottish* actions of this time. He was the base son of King *James* the fifth, and so the base Brother of the Queen; made at first Prior of Saint *Andrews*. But not liking that Religious Title, he affected rather some Temporal Honour; which when the Queen, being then in *France*, denied him, then in an angry mood he returned into *Scotland*, where, by the advice of *Knox*, whom he held for a great Patriarch, he brought the matter so to passe, that in an Assembly of the States, the Religion was altered, and the *French* were banished out of *Scotland*. Yet afterward, as soon as the Queen was a Widow, he posted into *France*, and so insinuated with her; that she created him Earl of *Murray*, and promoted him to an Honourable Marriage. Being thus exalted, he returned into *Scotland*; where, for the growth of his ambitious designs, he sowed seeds of Sedition, affirming often, what a misery it was to be under the command of a woman; and that Royalty was not to be tyed to any Stock or Kindred, but to Vertue only, whether the parties were legitimate or no; by this course making way to the Kingdom for himself. To this end, he used all the means he could to keep the Queen from marrying again; which when he could not effect, he then sought ways how to make discord between her and her Husband; for which cause he had caused the King to murder
- C *Rixie*. Of the foulness of which Fact, when the King after a while grew sensible, he meant to be revenged of *Murray*, who had counselled him to do it: which *Murray* understanding, prevented it with causing the like to be done to him, as will presently be seen. For the Queen having been delivered of a Son, and the day appointed for the Christning being come; where the God-fathers were *Charles* King of *France*, and *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*; Queen *Elizabeth* being requested to be God-mother, sent thither the Earl of *Bedford* as her Deputy, and a Font of Massie Gold for a present in value 1043 l. but gave him expresse Command, That he should not honour *Darby* with the Title of King. But before a month or two, after the Christning were passed, the King in a stormy and tempestuous night, was strangled in his Bed, and then cast forth into the Garden, and the house immediately blown up with Gun-powder.
- D The rumour of this murder being spread abroad, the common Fame laid it upon *Murray* and *Morton*, and their confederates; *Murray* and *Morton* upon the Queen: But we must not here give ear to that which *Buchanan* writes, who to curry favour with the Earl *Murray*, says most impudent scandals upon the Queen; whereof, before his death, he repented himself extremely. The King thus murdered, and the Queen left alone to her self; she is counselled to marry with some, that might be able to assist her against all her opposites: *James Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell* being then greatly in her favour, and of great eminency for his valour: And though he were the man that had acted the murder, yet is he by *Murray* and his confederates, commended to the Queen; to which motion, as being destitute of friends, and not knowing whom to trust she at last consents, but upon these conditions, That above all things, respect might be had to her young Son; and that *Bothwell* might be legally quitted, both from the bond of his former marriage, and also of the Kings murder. Hereupon a course is plotted, by which, *Bothwell* is called to the Bar; and *Morton* being his Advocate, by the sentence of the Judges he is clearly acquitted. Upon this he is created Duke of *Orkney*, and by consent of many of the Nobility, is married to the Queen; which bred a suspicion in many, that the Queen was conscious of the murder, which was the thing that by the marriage they intended: And the suspicion once raised, they seek by all means to increase, that they may have the better colour against her: and so, the very same man who had absolved *Bothwell*, and consented to the marriage, now takes Arms against her, as a Delinquent in both; force him to flee, and then seize upon the Queen, whom, clad in a very homely garment, they thrust into prison in *Loch-lewyn*, under the custody of *Murray's* mother, who had been the Harlot of King *James* the fifth; but boasting her self to have been his lawful Wife, and her Son, his lawful Issue. Queen *Elizabeth* having at length notice hereof, sent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* into *Scotland*, to expostulate with the Confederates, touching this insolent usage of the Queen; and to consult, by what means she might be restored to her liberty. But *Throgmorton* coming into *Scotland*, found the Confederates in more insolent terms than had been reported; being divided in opinion, what to do with the Queen, some would have her banished perpetually, into *England* or *France*; some would have her questioned before the Judges, committed to perpetual custody: and her Son proclaimed King: others, more inhumane, would have her at once deprived of Princely Authority, of life and all; and this, *Knox* and some other Ministers thundred out of the Pulpits. *Throgmorton* on the other side, alledged many passages out of the holy Scriptures, touching Obedience to the higher Powers; maintaining, That the Queen was subject to no Tribunal, but that in Heaven; That no Judge upon Earth might call her in question; That there was no Office nor Jurisdiction in *Scotland*, which was not derived from her Authority, and revokeable at her pleasure. They again opposed the peculiar Right of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and that in extraordinary cases, they were to proceed besides order: taking up *Buchannans* Arguments; who in those days, by instigation of *Murray*, wrote that damned Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*; wherein, against the verity of the *Scottish* History, he indeavours to prove, That the people have power, both to create, and to depose their King. After all their debating, all that

Especially by the animation of the Earl of *Murray*. The Earls rising and carrying age.

The King intends to be revenged of him.

But the Earl prevents him; and the King is strangled in his bed.

The death of the King is by common fame laid upon *Murray* and *Morton*, by them upon the Queen.

Who to strengthen her she marries the Earl *Bothwell*.

Against whom *Murray* takes Arms, and force him to flee, and then seizeth upon the Queen.

Q. *Elizabeth* hearing of it, sends to expostulate with the Confederates about it; and their Answer.

Throg-

The Q. of Scots
out of fear, less
her hand to
three Instru-
ments, to her
own prejudice.

Throgmorton could get of them, was a Writing without any subscription, wherein they protested, A They had shut up the Queen for no other intent, but to keep her apart from *Bothwell*, whom she loved so desperately, that to enjoy him, she regarded not all their ruines; willing him to rest satisfied with this Answer, till such time as the rest of the Peers met together. And notwithstanding all he could say, they shut up the Queen daily, in more straight custody, though with tears she besought them to deal more mildly with her, and to let her but once have a sight of her Son: which would not be granted her. At last when fair persuasions would not serve to make her freely give over the Kingdom, they threatened to question her openly for incontinent living, for the Kings murder, and for Tyranny, so as through fear of death, they compelled her, unheard, to set her hand to three Instruments; In the first whereof, she gave over her Kingdom to her young Son, at that time scarce thirteen Months old: In the second, she constituted *Murray* B Viceroy during the minority of her Son: In the third, in case he refused the charge, these Governours were nominated; *James* Duke of *Chastellau* Herald, *Giles Spike* Earl of *Argyle*, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, *John* Earl of *Atholl*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, and *John* Earl of *Mar*. And presently she signified to Queen *Elizabeth* by *Throgmorton*, that she had made these grants by compulsion through the counsel of *Throgmorton*, telling her that a grant extorted from one in Prison (which is a just fear) is actually void and of no effect.

Five days after the Queen had made this Resignation, *James* the sixth, the Queens Son, was Anointed and Crown'd King, *John Knox* preaching at the same time; but a Protestation was then put in by the *Hamiltons*, that all this ought to be no prejudice to the Duke of *Chastellau* Herald in his right of succession against the Family of *Lenox*; but Queen *Elizabeth* had forbidden *Throgmorton* to be at the Action, that she might not seem by the presence of her Ambassador, to approve their proceeding in displacing of the Queen. C

Fifteen days after this transaction, *Murray* himself returned out of *France* into *Scotland*, and within three days went to the Queen with some other of the confederates, who charged her with many crimes, and wished her if she tendered her Life and Honor, to observe these prescriptions: Not to disturb the peace of the Kingdom, nor desire to be at Liberty, not to stir up the Queen of *England*, or the King of *France* to molest *Scotland* with any War, not to think any more of *Bothwells* love, or meditate revenge upon *Bothwells* adversaries.

Murray is pro-
claimed Re-
gent of *Scot-*
land.

Bothwells ser-
vants at the
gallows, protest
that *Murray*
and *Morton*
were the first
Authors of the
Kings mur-
der, and that
the Queen was
innocent.

Sir *John* Ma-
son, and Sir *Richard* Sackville
die.

The marriage
of Q. *Elizabeth*
with the Em-
perours bro-
ther, is again
treated of; but
after 7. years
breaks utterly
off.

The *Muscovia*
Company hath
their Priviled-
ges enlarged
by the Empe-
roure of *Musco-*
via.

Murray being now proclaimed Regent of *Scotland*, he bindeth himself under his hand and Seal to do nothing which shall concern War or Peace, the Kings Person or his marriage, or the Liberty D of the Queen, without the consent of the confederates; and then gives *Throgmorton* warning by *Lyddinton*, not to make any further intercession for the Queens Liberty, for that he and the rest had rather run any hazard then to suffer it. Soon after he puts to death *John Hepburn*, *Daglish*, and others that were *Bothwells* servants, for having a hand in the murder of the King: But they (which he little expected) when they were at the Gallows, ready to die, protested before God and his holy Angels, that *Bothwell* had told them, that *Morton* and *Murray* were the first authors of the murder. They freed the Queen from all suspicion; like as *Bothwell* himself being Prisoner in *Denmark*, both living and dying, often protested with deep asseverations, that the Queen was innocent. And fourteen years after, *Morton* going to execution, confessed that *Bothwell* dealt with him to consent to the murder of the King, which, when he refused utterly unlesse the Queen under her hand writing would allow of it; *Bothwell* made answer, that could not be, but the fact E must be done without her knowledge.

A little before this time, upon one and the same day, died two of the Privy Councel, Sir *John Mason* Treasurer of the Queens Chamber, a grave and learned man, but a great Usurper and Encroacher upon Ecclesiastical Livings; and Sir *Richard Sackville* Vice-Treasurer of the Exchequer, a man both prudent and provident, and allied to the Queen by her Mother *Anne Bolen*. In his room succeeded *Walter Mildmay*, a man of wisdom and integrity; In *Masons* Office came Sir *Francis Knowls*, who married *Katherine Carie*, the Daughter of *Mary Bolen*, the Queens Mothers Sister.

It was now the year 1567. and the tenth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when the Earl of F *Stolberg* came into *England* from the Emperour *Maximilian*, to treat of the marriage of the Queen with the Archduke *Charles*, upon which very occasion the Queen a little before had sent the Earl of *Sussex* to the Emperour, with the Order of the Garter: But in the Treaty of marriage there fell out so many difficulties about Religion, maintenance of the Duke, about the Royal Title, and concerning succession, that after it had been treated of seven whole years together, it came at last to nothing, and the Duke not long after married *Mary* Daughter to *Albert* the fifth Duke of *Bavaria*; yet both he and the Emperour continued ever after a good correspondence with the Queen.

About this time, there came from *John Basil* Emperour of *Russia* and *Muscovia*, *Stephen Twerdico*, and *Theodore Pogorella*, with a present of rich Furs of Otter, Miniver, and the like, tendering G all service and obsequiousness to the Queen and the English. The Merchants by vertue of a Grant from Queen *Mary*, had combined themselves into a Society, which they called the *Muscovia* Company; and having large Priviledges granted them from the Emperour, went thither with a Navy yearly, making a very gainful Voyage; but then it proved most gainful when for the Queens sake they obtained at the Emperours hands, in the year 1569. That none but the English of that Company, should Traffique in the North-parts of *Russia*. With these Russian Embassadors there returned into *England*, *Anthony Jenkinson*, who in his Travels had made curious Obser-
vation

A vation of *Russia*, set forth a Geographical Description of it, and was the first of the *English* that sailed through the *Caspian Sea*. And this year the eighth of June Sir Thomas Sackville was created Baron of Buckburst, at Whitehall.

Sir Thomas Sackville is created Baron of Buckburst.

We have seen before the first Act of the Queen of Scots Tragedy: Now comes in the second, having been eleven Moneths kept a prisoner; at last, by the help of George Douglas, to whose Brother she was committed, she made escape from Loch-levyn, to Hamiltons Castle; where upon the testimonies of Robert Melvyn, and others, in a meeting of a great part of the Nobility, there was drawn a sentence declaratory, That the Grant extorted from the Queen in prison, (which is *Iustus metus*) was actually void from the beginning. Upon which Declaration, great multitudes flocked to her, so as within a day or two she had gotten an Army of at least

The Queen of Scots after eleven months imprisonment escapes and raiseth an Army, but is defeated by Murray.

fix thousand; but then they joynd battell with Murray, being but raw and unexpert Soldiers, they were soon defeated. In this case, the Queen sought to save her self by flight, journeying in one day threescore miles, and coming at night to the house of Maxwell Lord Heris, from thence she sent John Beton to Queen Elizabeth with a Diamond Ring, which she had formerly received from her, as a Pledge of mutual amity; intimating, that she would come into England, and implore her aid, if her Subjects offered to prosecute her any further. Queen Elizabeth returned answer, that she should expect from her in abundant manner, all loving and friendly offices. But before the Messenger was returned, she, contrary to the advise of her friends,

Whereupon she flies into England, and requires access to Queen Elizabeth this presence.

entred into a small Bark, and with the Lords, Heris, and Flemming, and a few others, landed at Wickinton in Cumberland, neer the mouth of the River of Derwent, the seventeenth day of

May; and the same wrote Letters to the Queen in French with her own hand, the effect whereof was, That having made an escape from the hands of her insolent and rebellious Subjects, she was now come into England, upon certain hope of her approved clemency; and therefore humbly desiring, she might forthwith be conducted to her presence. Queen Elizabeth

Queen Elizabeth promiseth her aid, but denieth access: yet commands her to be brought to Carlisle.

sending Letters by Sir Francis Knolles, comforted her, and promised her aid and defence, according to the equity of her cause; but denied her access, for that she was held guilty of many crimes, giving command to have her brought to Carlisle, as a place of better safety. The Queen of Scots receiving this answer, and finding access to the Queen denied her, maketh request again by Letter, that she might have leave both to unfold the injuries she had received, and to answer the crimes objected, in her own presence; humbly intreating her, that either she might

be admitted to have conference and assistance, or else have free leave to depart out of England, to gain supply elsewhere, and not be held a prisoner in the Castle at Carlisle; for as much as she came voluntarily into England, relying upon her love so often professed. Upon these Letters, Queen Elizabeth exceedingly commiserated her case, and could have found in her heart to admit her to her presence, but that her Counsellours conceived it to be matter for consultation, what to do in this case. To detain her in England, had many mischiefs attending on it; to send her into France, as many; to send her back into Scotland, many more; so as in conclusion, the most were of opinion, to have her detained, as one taken by right of War, and not to be dismissed, till she had made satisfaction for assuming the Title of England, and for the death of Dearly her Husband, who was born one of the Queens Subjects. In this diversity of

Reasons for detaining the Queen of Scots.

opinions, Queen Elizabeth out of her own judgement, sent word by Middelmore, to the Regent of Scotland, that he should come himself in person, or else depute some fit persons to answer the complaints of the Queen of Scots against him and his confederates, and render sufficient reasons wherefore they had deprived her, otherwise she would forthwith dismiss her, and with all the forces she could, settle her in her Kingdom. To this Summons Murray obeys, and comes to York, the place appointed for this Treaty, accompanied with seven more of his intimate friends, who stood Delegates for the Infant King, namely, James Earl of Morton, Adam Bishop of Orkneys, Robert of Dunferm, Patrick Lord of Lyndsey, James Mac-gilly, and Henry Badinary; and with these, Lydington the Secretary, and George Buchanan. And the very same day came thither Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Ratcliff Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph

Queen Elizabeth appoints Commissioners to hear the cause of the Queen of Scots.

Saclar a Privy Counsellour, appointed Commissioners for Queen Elizabeth. For the Queen of Scots, (who took it hainously, that Queen Elizabeth would not hear the cause her self, but refer her to Subjects, being an absolute Prince, and not tyed to their proceeding;) there appeared John Lesley Bishop of Ross, William Lord Levingston, Robert Lord Boyde, Cawen of Kilwinin, John Gourdon, and James Cockburn. Being met, Lydington, turning himself to the Scots in a wondrous liberty of Speech, gave them this advice, Miturely to consider, what prejudice they should draw upon themselves, by accusing the Queen of Scots, and calling her Reputation in question publicly before the English professed enemies of the Scottish Nation. Likewise, what account they shall be able to give hereof to the King, when he shall grow to riper years, and shall see what an injury this was to the Kingdom, his Mother, and his own Person. Wherefore (said he) it seemeth requisite to forbear this businesse altogether, unlesse the Queen of England will enter into a mutual league of Offence and Defence, against all those, which under this pretence, shall go about to molest us. Upon this Speech of his, The Delegates of the Queen of Scots made Protestation, That although it pleased the Queen of Scots to have the cause between her and her disloyal Subjects, debated before the English, yet she being a free Prince, and obnoxious to no earthly Prince whatsoever, did not thereby yeeld her self subject to the Jurisdiction and command of any person. On the contrary, the English protested, That they did in no wise admit that Protestation, in prejudice to the right

which the Kings of England have anciently challenged as superiour Lords of the Kingdom of A Scotland. The day after, the Queen of Scots Delegates set forth at large the injurious dealing of Morton, Murray, Marre, Glencarn, Humes, and others, against the Queen; and how they had compelled her, for fear of death, to resign her Crown; which therefore (they said) was of no force. Murray and his confederates make answer, That they had done nothing, but by consent of the Peers in Parliament; and that in prosecuting of *Bathwell* the author of the Kings murder, whom the Queen protected; and as for her resignation; that it was voluntarily and freely done. All this the Queen of Scots Delegates answered and confuted, affirming in particular, That where there are one hundred Earls, Bishops and Barons, (more or lesse) that have voices in the Parliament of Scotland, there were not in that tumultuous assembly they speak of, above four Earls, one Bishop, an Abbot or two, and six Barons; wherefore their earnest request was, that the Queen of England would be sensible of these indignities offered her; and take some course for a speedy redresse. After this, some new Commissioners from Queen Elizabeth were added to the former, to some of whom, the Queen of Scots took exception; unlesse the French and Spanish Embassadours might be taken in, and her self admitted into the presence of the Queen and them, publicly to defend her own innocency; and that Murray might be detained and cited, whom she affirmed, she was able to prove to have been the chief Plotter of the murder of her Husband Darley. This was held to be a just demand by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Arundell, Suffex, Leicester, and the Lord Clinton. But Queen Elizabeth waxing somewhat angry, openly said, that the Queen of Scots should never want an Advocate as long as Norfolk lived: It was seen here, which is said, that the heart of the King is inscrutable; for how Queen Elizabeth stood affected in this case of the Queen of Scots, no man could well discern; she detested the insolencie of her Subjects in deposing her, and yet gave no assistance to restore her. After long agitation of this business, and nothing concluded, Murray a little before his return into Scotland, slyly propounded the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk; which he with a modest answer rejected as a thing full of danger. But withall, Murray the more to alienate Queen Elizabeths minde from the Queen of Scots, gave out, that she had passed away to the Duke of Anodyn her Right to the Crown of England, and that the transaction was confirm'd at Rome; he shewed Letters also which the Queen of Scots had written to some friends whom she trusted; wherein she accused the Queen for not dealing with her according to promise, and boasting of succours she expected from some others. This last clause something troubled Queen Elizabeth, neither could she conjecture from whence any such succour should come; seeing both France with the Civil Wars, and the King of Spain in the Low-countries had enough to do at home. But at last it brake out, that one Robert Ridolph a Florentine under the habit of a Merchant in London, was suborned by Pope Pius the fifth, to make a secret commotion of the Papists in England against the Queen, which he performed indeed with a deal of secrecy and much cunning; whereupon the Queen of Scots was removed from Bolton (a Castle of the Lord Scroops) where all the neighbouring people were Papists; to Tutbury more toward the heart of the Countrey, under the custody of George Earl of Shrewsbury.

The Queen of Scots requires to have the French and Spanish Embassadours be added to the Commissioners.

Murray propounds the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

Ridolph a Florentine, incites the Papists in behalf of the Queen of Scots.

The Protestants persecuted in France by the Guisets, fly into England.

How the War in the Low-countries first began.

About this time the Guisets in France, and the Duke D'Alva in the Low-countries, began to endeavour the utter extirpation of the Protestant Religion. In France the Ministers of the Gospel are commanded within a limited time to depart the Kingdom; when Queen Elizabeth forgetting the sicklenesse of the Protestants at Newhaven, once again takes upon her their protection; supplies them with two hundred thousand Crowns in money, besides Munition in abundance, and with all humanity receives the French that fled into England; the rather, for that they made solemn protestation they took not up Arms against their Prince; but only stood upon their own defence. In the Low-countries likewise, the Duke D'Alva breathing nothing but slaughter and blood, made the Dutch come flocking into England as into a Sanctuary, where with all courtesy they were received.

And here it will be fit to shew how the War in the Low-countries began first, which was thus: F At which time the King of Spain brought in the Spanish Inquisition; a small number of the meaner sort of people, in tumultuous manner, cast the Images out of Churches and brake them in pieces: and although that tumult was soon quieted, yet the King of Spain taking advantage at the rashnesse of a few, to charge the whole Nation with Rebellion, sent amongst them Ferdinando Alvarez, Duke D'Alva, a bloudy and fierce man, who (contrary to the Ordinances and customs of the Countrey) took away all authority from the ordinary Courts of Justice; erected new Consistories; condemned and put to death the Peers, without trial by their lawfull Judges; placed Garrisons of Spaniards throughout all their Cities and Villages, and by force exacted the twentieth part of the Fruits of the Earth, and the tenth of moveables upon every Alienation. At that time a mighty masse of money borrowed from the Genowayes, and other Italian Merchants was sent out of Spain into the Low-countries, there to be employed to interest, which being brought by shipping, was pursued by the French; and forced to fly for succour into the Havens of England, whom the Queen commanded to be succour'd; as conceiving the money to be the King of Spains, as it was given out: But at the same time, Cardinal Odete coming out of France into England, and giving notice to the Queen that the money was not the King of Spains, but belonged to certain Merchants of Genoa, from whence the Duke D'Alva had taken it against their will, with a purpose to employ it to the ruine of the

the

A the Protestants; and information also being given her by one that had a property in the money that it was so; she determined to put in security, and to borrow the money of the Merchants her self, which is an usual thing with Princes when goods are taken in their Ports; and the King of Spain himself had lately done the like. The Duke D'Alva being informed of this dealing of the Queens by Gerard de Spese the King of Spains Embassador in England, seizeth presently upon all the goods of the English in the Low countries, and kept the men prisoners; The Queen did the like with the Dutch Merchants in England; Letters of Mart were granted on both sides, and this grew to such a quarrel between the Nations, that being nourished with other differences afterward, it brought forth in Eighty Eight, that Spanish Invasion, which is, and will be memorable in all future Ages.

Letters of Mart granted against Spain.

B Upon occasion of this Money detained, certain Peers of England, amongst whom were the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquess of Winchester, the Earls of Arundell, Northumberland, Pembroke, Leicester, and others, accused Sir William Cecil, for sending away money into France, making this their colour, but done indeed out of envying his great favour with the Queen, and suspecting him to incline to the House of Suffolk in the matter of succession. Hereupon they consult secretly how to get him be imprison'd, and Throgmorton (who envied him as much as they) suggesting that if he were once clapp'd up, they might soon find out a way to crush him; But the Queen (by what means it is uncertain) coming to have notice hereof, gave a check to their purpose, and protected Cecil against their combined practises.

Sir William Cecil accused by the Duke of Norfolk and others is protected by the Queen.

C The Earl Murray being returned into Scotland, makes the Lords believe that he desires a meeting at Elenburgh, to consult about restoring the Queen to her Liberty; but as Hamilton Duke of Chastell Herald (appointed Vicegerent of the Kingdom by the Queen) and the Lord Heriot were coming thither, he circumvented them, and before any of the rest came cast them into prison; and forthwith in an open War, oppresseth all her Favourers. It may be thought, the Earl Murray could have been content, the Queen should have been set at liberty; but that he knew, her liberty could not be without his servitude; and Queen Elizabeth perhaps would willingly have had her restored to her Kingdom, but that she doubted, her restoring would indanger her own security: And thus, while they regarded their own ends in the first place, and hers but in the second, she had the fortune to be pitied, but not the happiness to be relieved; and all she could do her self, was but to tie the knot of her bonds the faster; if she could have fate still, they would perhaps have loosened of themselves; but now, the more she stirred, the more she was intrangled.

And now the Destiny of the Duke of Norfolk began to work: It was in every ones mouth, that the Duke should marry the Queen of Scots; and it is true, there had been motions made; but the matter not so forward, as the Voice of the People, which commonly presageth what will follow. It had been motioned to the Duke at York, by the Bishop of Ross; and afterward (in pretence at least) by Murray himself at Hampton-Court; but the Duke, before he would resolve in the matter, deliberated with the Earls of Arundell, Northumberland, Westmerland, Sussex, Pembroke, Southampton, and Leicester himself, who all judged it fit, he should acquaint the Queen with it first, and then leave the matter to her liking. Within a few days, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton meeting the Duke in the Palace at Westminster, advised him, to move the Earl of Leicester himself to embrace the match, seeing he had formerly sued for it: but if he refused it, then at least to take him along with him, for that himself alone would hardly be able to procure the Queens consent. A day or two after, the Earl of Leicester propounded the matter to the Duke, and then communicateth it to the Earls of Arundell, and Pembroke, who thereupon, together with Throgmorton, wrote Letters to the Queen of Scots, commending the Duke of Norfolk to her for a Husband; the Duke himself likewise writeth to her, tending his singular love and respect unto her. Upon this, Articles are drawn, written with Leicesters own hand, and sent to the Queen of Scots; to which if she consented, they then promised to procure, that Queen Elizabeth should give her assent, and that forthwith

The Duke of Norfolk first proceeding about the marriage with the Q. of Scots.

Articles between them are drawn by Leicester.

F she should be reinvested in her Kingdom, and the Succession of England should be confirmed upon her. We may easily believe, the Queen of Scots was not hardly drawn to give consent to her own desire; but in the mean time, the Duke had imparted to the Lord Lumley the whole proceeding, and had much ado to get the Earl of Leicesters consent, that he might advise of it with some other of his Friends; yet a little after, he opened the matter to Cecil also. The rumour of this marriage was soon come to Queens ears; which the Duke understanding, he dealt earnestly with the Earl of Leicester, to have the matter propounded to the Queen out of hand. Leicester makes delays, and pretends causes to put it off; which Cecil seeing, he adviseth the Duke to go and acquaint the Queen with it himself. This counsel Leicester opposed, promising to open it to the Queen as the went in Progress. At length,

Leicester promises to acquaint Queen Elizabeth with the matter, but delays.

G at Farnham, the Duke standing by as the Queen sat at Table, she gave him a tart Admonition, That he were best take heed, upon what Pillow he rested his head. After this, at Titchfield, Leicester fell sick, or at least counterfeited; to whom the Queen coming, and bidding him be of good cheer; he with sighes and tears craved pardon for his fault, and unfolded to her the whole story from the very beginning. Whereupon the Queen called the Duke into the Gallery, reproving him sharply, for going about the Marriage, without acquainting her; and commanding him, upon his Allegiance, to desist. The Duke made her a free and hearty promise of obedience, and spared not to say (as if he little regarded the Queen of Scots) that his

But coming at last to her knowledge she commands the Duke upon his Allegiance to desist, which he promiseth.

He is committed to the Tower.

The Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, raise Arms in the North, and why.

But pursued by the Queens Army, they flee.

Westmerland into the Low-Countries, where he lived poorly to old age.

Northumberland was taken and proscribed.

After this Leonard Dacres raise an Army, but is defeated, and flyeth into the Low-Countries.

Revenues in England were not much lesse then hers in Scotland; and that when he was at his house A in Norwich, he thought himself in a sort not inferior to some Kings: but notwithstanding, finding the Queens anger by her countenance, and perceiving *Leicester* to be in a manner quite alienated, and most of the Nobility also, as scarcely saluting him when they met him, he grew extremely dejected, and prepared presently to leave the Court, meaning to stay at Norfolk, till by his friends intercession and his own submissive Letters, the Queens heart might be mollified towards him: Mean while, the Court was suspiciously fearful, lest he should raise Rebellion, and (they say) it was concluded, that if he did so, the Queen of Scots should presently be made away. And now the Duke, who held secret commerce by Letters with the Bishop of Ross, Throgmorton and Leicester (for they were sent to and fro in bottles) being examined touching the marriage of the Queen of Scots, and certain secret conferences with the Bishop B of Ross, confessed most of the Objections, and was thereupon committed to the Tower, under the custody of Sir Henry Nevill; within two days after the Bishop of Ross, likewise is examined, and together with the Florentine Robert Ridolph is delivered to the custody of Sir Francis Walsingham, the Earl of Pembroke is confined to his house, and examined privately; but his confession was not committed to writing; It being his request because he could not write himself. At this time, the rumor of Insurrection in the North, begun in Autumn before, grew very strong, by reason of some frequent meetings of the Earls of Northumberland, Westmerland, and others, who thereupon being upon their Allegiance sent for to repair presently to the Queen, they make delays (for they stayed waiting for supplies, both from the Scots, and from the Duke D'Alva) when the Earl of Northumberland, doubtful what to do, was C frightened of purpose by his servants, telling him, that men in Arms were neer at hand to apprehend him; Who thereupon in a tempestuous night, riseth out of his bed, and in great fear gets into his Park at Topcliffe, and the night following to Branspith to the Earl of Westmerlands house, where a great many were met that were acquainted with the Enterprize: Here they brake forth in an open Rebellion, being pressed forward, by one Nicholas Morton a Romish Priest, sent by the Pope to pronounce Queen Elizabeth an Heretick; and therefore to have utterly lost all Right of Sovereignty: By and by they send forth a writing, wherein they declare that they had taken Arms for no other end, but that the Religion of their fore-fathers might be restored, wicked Counsellors removed from the Queen, the Duke of Norfolk, and others of the loyal Nobility relieved, who were now in disgrace; but towards the Queen, professing D themselves most dutiful Subjects: withall they send Letters to the Papists all the Kingdom over, requiring them to come to their assistance; but they were so far from joyning with them, that many sent both the Letters and the bearers of them to the Queen, and afforded their aids and purposes against them; no lesse then the best Protestants, even the Duke of Norfolk himself was not backward in it. These Rebels go first to Durham, where they tear in pieces all the Bibles and Books of Common Prayer they could find in Churches of the English tongue: when they had been twelve days in Rebellion, they numbred their Army, and could not reckon above six hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot: whereupon being certainly informed, that the Earl of Sussex with seven thousand, and the Earl of Warwick with twelve, were setting out against them, they betook themselves to Rabie, the chief house of the Earl of Westmerland; going E from thence they besieged Bernards Castle, which for lack of provision, was yielded to them. At which time being proclaimed Traitors, and hearing a fresh of the great Forces that were coming against them, the two Earls with a small company, get presently into Scotland, hard by where the Earl of Northumberland hid himself at Harclow, in a poor Cottage, amongst the Graybams (famous Robbers) who afterwards betrayed him to the Earl Murray: Westmerland made a shift to get into the Low-Countries, where he had a slender Pension from the King of Spain, and there lived even to old age. Of the rest, for terrour and examples sake, there were hanged at Durham, threescore and six of the chief; amongst whom, Plointree a noted Priest. At York were executed, Simon Digby, John Fulthrop, Thomas Bishop, Robert Penyman; and at London a few months after, Christopher and Thomas; and some other in other places. After this, the F heads of the Rebels being convict of High Treason, were proscribed; namely, Charles Earl of Westmerland; Thomas Earl of Northumberland; Anne Countesse of Northumberland; Edward Dacres of Morton; John Nevill of Leversege; John Swinborn, Thomas Markensfield, Egremond Ratcliffe, Brother to the Earl of Sussex; Christopher Nevill, Richard Norton, Christopher Marmaduke, Robert and Michael Tempest, George Stafford, and forty others of good account. Out of the ashes of this Rebellion, a new fire was kindled at Naworth in Cumberland, by Leonard Dacres second Son to the Lord Dacres of Gylisland; He was a Party with the Earls in their Rebellion; but they breaking forth sooner then he expected, and he at that time being at the Court, and there admitted to kisse the Queens hand, tendred his service to go against them; and to that purpose, was sent home: but in his Journey (branding himself with a double disloyalty) he consulted with the G Rebels, and encouraged them to go on; and by vertue of Letters of Credence from the Queen, he surpris'd the Castle of Greystock, and other Houses of the Dacres, and gathered together an Army of three thousand men: But being encountred by the Baron of Hunsdon, after a great fight, wherein, though he were crook-backt, he behaved himself valiantly, he was put to flight, and fled into Scotland, from whence soon after, he passed over into the Low-Countries, and in great misery and poverty died at Louvain.

But

A But though the Queen were thus intangled with Rebellions at home, yet she was not carelesse of the afflicted Protestants in France; for she stirred up the Protestant Princes to defend the common Cause; supplied them with money, taking in pawn the Queen of Navar's Jewels; and gave leave to Henry Champenoon to lead into France a Troop of a hundred Horse, Gentlemen all, and Voluntaries; amongst whom were Philip Buisshed, Francis Barkly, and Walter Rawleigh, a very young man, who now began to look into the world. But as the Queen of England assisted the French, so in revenge thereof, the King of France meant to assist the Scots, but that he was taken away by death; being slain by a shot, at the Siege of S. John D' Angelo.

Q. Elizabeth assisteth the Protestants in France.

The King of France slain at the Siege of S. John D' Angelo.

There was at this time a Rebellion in Ireland also, raised by Edmund and Peter, Brothers to Boteler Earl of Ormond; but after many outrages by them committed, the Earl of Ormond first by perswasions, obtained of them to submit themselves; and when notwithstanding they were committed to prison, he then obtained of the Queen they should not be called to the Bar, being exceedingly grieved that any of his Bloud should be attainted of Rebellion. The rest of the Rebels were pursued by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and soon dispersed.

And now the Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, when he had brought all things to his hearts desire, and thought himself secure, at Lithquo, riding along the streets, was shot into the belly with a Bullet, beneath the Navill, and there fell down dead. The actor was a Hamilton, who did it upon a private revenge, for that Murray had forced him to part with a piece of Land which he had by his Wife; who thereupon falling Lunatick, he in a great rage committed this slaughter.

The Earl of Murray Regent of Scotland, is murdered riding in the street.

C After Murrays death, the Countrey being without a Regent, was cause of many disorders. Tho. Carre, and Walter Scot, two principal men amongst the Scottish Borders, and devoted to the Queen of Scots, made Inrodes into England; wasting all places with fire and Sword, till by Forces sent out of England, under the command of the Earl of Suffex, and the Lord Hunsdon, they were defeated. In whose pursuit, three hundred Villages were fired, and above fifty Holds were overturned. For which service the Earl made many Knights, as Sir William Drury, Sir Thomas Manners, Sir George Carie, Sir Robert Constable and others, and then returned. And now to prevent further disorders, the Lords of Scotland being ready to assemble about the election of a new Regent, they asked Counsel of Queen Elizabeth in the matter; but she making answer she would not meddle in it, because she would not be thought to work any thing prejudicial to the Queen of Scots, whose cause was not yet tryed; they created Matthew Earl of Lenox Regent; which Queen Elizabeth did the better like, as conceiving he could not choose out of natural affection, but have a special care of the young King being his Grand-childe.

Matthew Earl of Lenox is made Regent in his place.

Many Princes intreat Queen Elizabeth to set the Queen of Scots at liberty, and her answer.

D But while Queen Elizabeth favoured the Kings party in Scotland, the Earl of Huntley, the Duke of Castile-Herald, and the Earl of Argyle, (the Queen of Scots Lieutenants) imploy the Lord Seton to the Duke D' Alva, requiring him for many great reasons, to vindicate the Queen of Scots liberty, alleaging how acceptable a work it would be to all Christian Princes and to the whole Catholick Church: whereunto the Duke made answer; they should find him ready to the uttermost of his power to satisfie their request. At which time also the French King dealt earnestly with Queen Elizabeth to the same purpose; and the Spanish Embassadour in his Masters name urged it no lesse extremely; but Queen Elizabeth assaulted with all these Importunities, made answer, That as she would omit nothing that might serve for the Reconciling of the Queen of Scots and her Subjects, so she must have leave to provide for her own and her Subjects safety; a thing which Nature, Reason, and her own Honour required at her hands. And now when these Princes prevailed not with Queen Elizabeth to set the Queen of Scots at liberty, out comes Pope Pius Quintus with his Bull Declaratory, which he caused to be fastned in the night time upon the gate of the Bishop of Londons Palace, wherein all her subjects are absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, or any other duty; and all that obey her, accursed with Anathema. He that fastned up the Bull was one John Felton; who never fled for the matter, but as affecting Martyrdom, suffered himself to be apprehended, confessed and justified the fact, and thereupon arraigned, was condemned and hanged near the place where he had fastned the writing.

A Bull of Pius Quintus against Q. Elizabeth for detaining the Q. of Scots.

Felton that brought the Bull hanged.

An. Reg. 12. The Duke of Norfolk upon his penitence is delivered out of the Tower: and Cecil's counsel to him.

F The same day that Felton was arraigned, the Duke of Norfolk seeming now extremely penitent for his fault, and utterly to abhor the marriage, was delivered out of the Tower, and suffered to go to his own House, but yet to be in the custody of Sir Henry Nevill still. Indeed Cecil being a good friend to the Duke, had told the Queen, That the Law of 25. of Edward the third could not take hold upon him: and now being in a kind of liberty, Cecil deals earnestly with him to marry speedily some other; thereby to take away all suspicion in that behalf; yet some again thought that this liberty of the Dukes was granted him on purpose to bring him into greater danger.

G At this time died William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, the grand-child of an Earl of Pembroke, yet the Son but of an Esquire, and Grand-father to Philip Earl of Pembroke and Mountgomery now living, who lieth buried in Pauls, under a fair Monument of Marble, with an Inscription testifying his great deservings while he lived.

Many conspiracies were at this time to set the Queen of Scots at liberty; amongst others, there conspired Thomas and Edward Stanley younger Sons of the Earl of Derby, with others; but the matter discovered, they were soon suppressed, and some of them executed. And now the Lords of the Queen of Scots Party continuing to protect the English Rebels, the Earl of Suffex once again, accompanied with the Lord Scroop, entereth Scotland, burneth the Villages all along the Valley of Anandale, and compelleth the Duke of Castile-Herald, and the Earls of Huntley and Argyle, under

Many conspiracies to set the Q. of Scots at liberty.

He is committed to the Tower.

The Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, raise Arms in the North, and why.

But pursued by the Queens Army, they flee.

Westmerland into the Low-Countries, where he lived poorly to old age.

Northumberland was taken and proscribed.

After this Leonard Dacres raise an Army, but is defeated, and flyeth into the Low-Countries.

Revenues in England were not much lesse then hers in Scotland; and that when he was at his house A in Norwich, he thought himself in a sort not inferior to some Kings: but notwithstanding, finding the Queens anger by her countenance, and perceiving *Leicester* to be in a manner quite alienated, and most of the Nobility also, as scarcely saluting him when they met him, he grew extremely dejected, and prepared presently to leave the Court, meaning to stay at *Norfolk*, till by his friends intercession and his own submissive Letters, the Queens heart might be mollified towards him: Mean while, the Court was suspiciously fearful, lest he should raise Rebellion, and (they say) it was concluded, that if he did so, the Queen of Scots should presently be made away. And now the Duke, who held secret commerce by Letters with the Bishop of *Ross*, *Throgmorton* and *Leicester* (for they were sent to and fro in bottles) being examined touching the marriage of the Queen of Scots, and certain secret conferences with the Bishop B of *Ross*, confessed most of the Objections, and was thereupon committed to the Tower, under the custody of Sir *Henry Nevill*; within two days after the Bishop of *Ross*, likewise is examined, and together with the Florentine *Robert Ridolph* is delivered to the custody of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, the Earl of *Pembroke* is confined to his house, and examined privately; but his confession was not committed to writing; It being his request because he could not write himself. At this time, the rumor of Insurrection in the North, begun in Autumn before, grew very strong, by reason of some frequent meetings of the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, and others, who thereupon being upon their Allegiance sent for to repair presently to the Queen, they make delays (for they stayed waiting for supplies, both from the Scots, and from the Duke D'Alva) when the Earl of *Northumberland*, doubtful what to do, was C frightened of purpose by his servants, telling him, that men in Arms were neer at hand to apprehend him; Who thereupon in a tempestuous night, riseth out of his bed, and in great fear gets into his Park at *Topcliffe*, and the night following to *Branspeth* to the Earl of *Westmerlands* house, where a great many were met that were acquainted with the Enterprize: Here they brake forth in an open Rebellion, being pressed forward, by one *Nicholas Morton* a *Romish* Priest, sent by the Pope to pronounce *Queen Elizabeth* an Heretick; and therefore to have utterly lost all Right of Sovereignty: By and by they send forth a writing, wherein they declare that they had taken Arms for no other end, but that the Religion of their fore-fathers might be restored, wicked Counsellors removed from the Queen, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and others of the loyal Nobility relieved, who were now in disgrace; but towards the Queen, professing D themselves most dutiful Subjects: withall they send Letters to the Papists all the Kingdom over, requiring them to come to their assistance; but they were so far from joyning with them, that many sent both the Letters and the bearers of them to the Queen, and afforded their aids and purposes against them; no lesse then the best Protestants, even the Duke of *Norfolk* himself was not backward in it. These Rebels go first to *Durham*, where they tear in pieces all the Bibles and Books of Common Prayer they could find in Churches of the *English* tongue: when they had been twelve days in Rebellion, they numbred their Army, and could not reckon above six hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot: whereupon being certainly informed, that the Earl of *Sussex* with seven thousand, and the Earl of *Warwick* with twelve, were setting out against them, they betook themselves to *Rabie*, the chief house of the Earl of *Westmerland*; going E from thence they besieged *Bernards Castle*, which for lack of provision, was yielded to them. At which time being proclaimed Traitors, and hearing a fresh of the great Forces that were coming against them, the two Earls with a small company, get presently into Scotland, hard by where the Earl of *Northumberland* hid himself at *Harcrow*, in a poor Cottage, amongst the *Graybams* (famous Robbers) who afterwards betrayed him to the Earl *Murray*: *Westmerland* made a shift to get into the *Low-Countries*, where he had a slender Pension from the King of Spain, and there lived even to old age. Of the rest, for terrour and examples sake, there were hanged at *Durham*, threescore and six of the chief; amongst whom, *Ploontree* a noted Priest. At York were executed, *Simon Digby*, *John Fulstrop*, *Thomas Bishop*, *Robert Pennyman*; and at London a few months after, *Christopher* and *Thomas*; and some other in other places. After this, the F heads of the Rebels being convict of High Treason, were proscribed; namely, *Charles* Earl of *Westmerland*; *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*; *Anne* Countesse of *Northumberland*; *Edward Dacres* of *Morton*; *John Nevill* of *Leversege*; *John Swinborn*, *Thomas Markensfield*, *Egremont Kitchiffe*, Brother to the Earl of *Sussex*; *Christopher Nevill*, *Richard Norton*, *Christopher Marmaduke*, *Robert* and *Michael Tempest*, *George Stafford*, and forty others of good account. Out of the ashes of this Rebellion, a new fire was kindled at *Naworth* in *Cumberland*, by *Leonard Dacres* second Son to the Lord *Dacres* of *Gylisland*; He was a Party with the Earls in their Rebellion; but they breaking forth sooner then he expected, and he at that time being at the Court, and there admitted to kisse the Queens hand, tendred his service to go against them; and to that purpose, was sent home: but in his Journey (branding himself with a double disloyalty) he consulted with the G Rebels, and encouraged them to go on; and by vertue of Letters of Credence from the Queen, he surprised the Castle of *Greystock*, and other Houses of the *Dacres*, and gathered together an Army of three thousand men: But being encountred by the Baron of *Hunsdon*, after a great fight, wherein, though he were crook-backt, he behaved himself valiantly, he was put to flight, and fled into Scotland, from whence soon after, he passed over into the *Low-Countries*, and in great misery and poverty died at *Louvain*.

But

A But though the Queen were thus intangled with Rebellions at home, yet she was not carelesse of the afflicted Protestants in France; for she stirred up the Protestant Princes to defend the common Cause; supplied them with money, taking in pawn the Queen of Navar's Jewels; and gave leave to *Henry Champenoon* to lead into France a Troop of a hundred Horse, Gentlemen all, and Volunteers; amongst whom were *Philip Busshed*, *Francis Barkley*, and *Walter Rawleigh*, a very young man, who now began to look into the world. But as the Queen of England assisted the French, so in revenge thereof, the King of France meant to assist the Scots, but that he was taken away by death; being slain by a shot, at the Siege of *S. John D' Angelo*.

Q. Elizabeth assisteth the Protestants in France.

The King of France slain at the Siege of *S. John D' Angelo*.

There was at this time a Rebellion in Ireland also, raised by *Edmund* and *Peter*, Brothers to *Boteler* Earl of *Ormond*; but after many outrages by them committed, the Earl of *Ormond* first by persuasions, obtained of them to submit themselves; and when notwithstanding they were committed to prison, he then obtained of the Queen they should not be called to the Bar, being exceedingly grieved that any of his Blood should be attainted of Rebellion. The rest of the Rebels were pursued by *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, and soon dispersed.

And now the Earl of *Murray*, Regent of Scotland, when he had brought all things to his hearts desire, and thought himself secure, at *Lithquo*, riding along the streets, was shot into the belly with a Bullet, beneath the Navill, and there fell down dead. The actor was a *Hamilton*, who did it upon a private revenge, for that *Murray* had forced him to part with a piece of Land which he had by his Wife; who thereupon falling Lunatick, he in a great rage committed this slaughter.

The Earl of *Murray* Regent of Scotland, is murdered riding in the street.

C After *Murray's* death, the Countrey being without a Regent, was cause of many disorders. *Tbo. Carre*, and *Walter Scot*, two principal men amongst the Scottish Borders, and devoted to the Queen of Scots, made Inrodes into England; wasting all places with fire and Sword, till by Forces sent out of England, under the command of the Earl of *Suffex*, and the Lord *Hunsdon*, they were defeated. In whose pursuit, three hundred Villages were fired, and above fifty Holds were overturned. For which service the Earl made many Knights, as *Sir William Drury*, *Sir Thomas Manners*, *Sir George Carie*, *Sir Robert Constable* and others, and then returned. And now to prevent further disorders, the Lords of Scotland being ready to assemble about the election of a new Regent, they asked Counsel of *Queen Elizabeth* in the matter; but she making answer she would not meddle in it, because she would not be thought to work any thing prejudicial to the Queen of Scots, whose cause was not yet tryed; they created *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* Regent; which *Queen Elizabeth* did the better like, as conceiving he could not choose out of natural affection, but have a special care of the young King being his Grand-child.

Matthew Earl of *Lenox* is made Regent in his place.

Many Princes incite *Queen Elizabeth* to set the Queen of Scots at liberty, and her answer.

D But while *Queen Elizabeth* favoured the Kings party in Scotland, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Duke of *Castile-Herald*, and the Earl of *Argyle*, (the Queen of Scots Lieutenants) imploy the Lord *Seton* to the Duke of *Alva*, requiring him for many great reasons, to vindicate the Queen of Scots liberty, alleaging how acceptable a work it would be to all Christian Princes and to the whole Catholick Church: whereunto the Duke made answer; they should find him ready to the uttermost of his power to satisfie their request. At which time also the French King dealt earnestly with *Queen Elizabeth* to the same purpose; and the Spanish Embassadour in his Masters name urged it no lesse extremely; but *Queen Elizabeth* assaulted with all these Importunities, made answer, That as she would omit nothing that might serve for the Reconciling of the Queen of Scots and her Subjects, so she must have leave to provide for her own and her Subjects safety; a thing which Nature, Reason, and her own Honour required at her hands. And now when these Princes prevailed not with *Queen Elizabeth* to set the Queen of Scots at liberty, out comes Pope *Pius Quintus* with his Bull Declaratory, which he caused to be fastned in the night time upon the gate of the Bishop of *Londons* Palace, wherein all her subjects are absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, or any other duty; and all that obey her, accursed with *Anathema*. He that fastned up the Bull was one *John Felton*; who never fled for the matter, but as affecting Martyrdom, suffered himself to be apprehended, confessed and justified the fact, and thereupon arraigned, was condemned and hanged near the place where he had fastened the writing.

A Bull of *Pius Quintus* against *Q. Elizabeth* for detaining the Q. of Scots.

Felton that brought the Bull hanged.

An. Reg. 12. The Duke of *Norfolk* upon his penitence is delivered out of the Tower: and *Cecil's* counsel to him.

E The same day that *Felton* was arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolk* seeming now extremely penitent for his fault, and utterly to abhor the marriage, was delivered out of the Tower, and suffered to go to his own House, but yet to be in the custody of *Sir Henry Nevill* still. Indeed *Cecil* being a good friend to the Duke, had told the Queen, That the Law of 25. of *Edward* the third could not take hold upon him: and now being in a kind of liberty, *Cecil* deals earnestly with him to marry speedily some other; thereby to take away all suspicion in that behalf; yet some again thought that this liberty of the Dukes was granted him on purpose to bring him into greater danger.

F At this time died *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the grand-child of an Earl of *Pembroke*, yet the Son but of an Esquire, and Grand-father to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Mountgomery* now living, who lieth buried in *Pauls*, under a fair Monument of Marble, with an Inscription testifying his great deservings while he lived.

G Many conspiracies were at this time to set the Queen of Scots at liberty; amongst others, there conspired *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley* younger Sons of the Earl of *Derby*, with others; but the matter discovered, they were soon suppressed, and some of them executed. And now the Lords of the Queen of Scots Party continuing to protect the English Rebels, the Earl of *Suffex* once again, accompanied with the Lord *Scroop*, entereth Scotland, burneth the Villages all along the Valley of *Anandale*, and compelleth the Duke of *Castile-Herald*, and the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, under

Many conspiracies to set the Q. of Scots at liberty.

under a Writing signed with their own Hands and Seals, to forsake the *English* Rebels. Whereupon A the Earl of *Sussex* returned home, he made these Knights; *Edward Hastings*, *Francis Rassel*, *Valentine Brown*, *William Hilton*, *Robert Stapleton*, *Henry Carwen*, and *Simon Musgrave*.

Propositions made to the Queen of Scots for setting her at liberty.

Queen *Elizabeths* minde being now in great suspension, by reason of that Bull from *Rome*, and the late conspiracy in *Norfolk*, sent Sir *William Cecil*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queen of Scots, who was then at *Chatterworth* in *Derbyshire*, to consult with her by what means the breach in *Scotland* might best be made up, she re-invested in her former dignity and her Son and Queen *Elizabeth* might be secured. The Queen of Scots did little deplore her own afflicted condition, putting her self wholly upon the Queens clemency; when the Commissioners made unto her certain Propositions of Agreement: First, That the Treaty of *Edenborough* should be confirmed: Then, B that she should renounce her Right and Title to *England*, during Queen *Elizabeths* life, or any children of her body lawfully begotten: Then, that she should send her Son for a Hostage into *England*, with other six Hostages; such as the Queen should nominate: Then, that the Castles of *Humes* and *Fass-castle* should be held by the *English* for three years; with some other. To which Propositions the Queen of Scots for the present gave a provident answer; but referred the fuller Answer to the Bishop of *Rosher* Ambassadour in *England*, and some other Delegates; who afterwards allowing some of the Propositions, and not allowing others; the Treaty came to nothing, but the matter rested in the state it was before.

But came to nothing.

At this time Philip King of *Spain* had contracted a marriage with *Anne of Austria*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, his own Niece by his Sister; who was now setting Sail C from *Zealand* towards *Spain*; when Queen *Elizabeth*, to testifie her love and respect to the House of *Austria*, sent Sir *Charles Howard* with the Navy Royal, to conduct her through the British Sea.

The seventeenth day of November began to be celebrated in honor of Q. Elizabeths coming to the Crown.

And now was the twelfth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign finished; which certain Wizards had made Papists believe should be her last: but contrary, as if it were but her first, a new Custom began, of celebrating the seventeenth day of November (the Anniversary day of her Reign) with ringing of Bells, Tiltings, and Bonfires: which Custom, as it now began, so it was never given over as long as she lived, and is not yet forborn so long after her death.

The Earl of Thowmond intending a rebellion, is strangely discovered.

At this time in *Ireland*, *Connagher O'Brien* Earl of *Thowmond*, not brooking the severe Government of *Edward Fitton*, President of *Connaght*, entred into Consultation with some few to raise a new Rebellion; which, being at the point ready to break forth, was strangely discovered: for D the day before they meant to take up Arms, *Fitton* knowing not at all of the matter, sent the Earl word in friendly manner, that the next day he and a few friends with him, would be his Guests. The Earl convinced by his own conscience, imagined that his Intendments were revealed; that *Fitton* would come as an enemy, rather than a Guest. Out of which fear, he presently set sail into *France*; where repenting himself seriously of his fault, he confessed the whole business to *Norris*, the Queens Embassadour in *France*; and by his intercession, was afterward pardoned and restored.

A guilty conscience betrays it self.

In January, the thirteenth year of her Reign, Queen *Elizabeth* in royal pomp entring the City of *London*, went to see the Burse which Sir *Thomas Gresham* had lately built for the use of the Merchants; and with sound of Trumpets, and the voyce of a Herald, solemnly named it the E Royal Exchange. A few days after, for his many great services, she made Sir *William Cecil* Baron *Burgley*.

Sir William Cecil is made Baron of Burgley.

There were now about the Scottish affairs, in the name of the King of Scots, the Earl *Morton*, *Pernuare* Abbot of *Dumfermelin*, and *James Mac-Gray*; whom when Queen *Elizabeth* required to shew more clearly, for what causes they had deposed the Queen; they exhibited a long and tedious Commentary; wherein with a certain insolent liberty, they endeavoured to prove, by the ancient Right of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that the people of *Scotland* were above the King: and urged *Calvins* Authority also, That Popular Magistrates are constituted for the moderation of the licentiousness of Princes: and that it is lawful for them, both to imprison Kings; and upon just causes, to depose them. This writing the Queen could not read without indignation; but to the F Delegates she gave this Answer; She saw no just cause yet, why they should handle the Queen in such manner; and therefore willed them to think upon some course out of hand, how to allay the dissensions in *Scotland*. Hereupon in Sir *Nicholas Bacons* house, Keeper of the Great Seal, a Proposition was made to the Bishop of *Rosse*, the Bishop of *Galloway*, and Baron *Levingston*, Delegates for the Queen of Scots, that for the security of the Kingdom, and the Queen of *England*; it were requisite, that before the Queen of Scots should be set at liberty, the Duke of *Castle-He-* rald, the Earl of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, the Lord *Humes*, *Heris*, and another of the Barons should be delivered for Hostages, and the Castle of *Dumbrition* and *Humes* yeelded up into the hands of the *English*, for three years. But they made answer, that to yeeld up great Personages, and such For- G tifications as were demanded, were nothing else, but to leave the miserable Queen utterly destitute of faithful friends, and naked of all places, fit for guard and defence: yet they offered, to give two Earls and two Barons for Hostages till two years were expired: which not being excepted, they straightway gathered, and spoke it openly; That now they plainly perceived the *English* meant to keep the Queen of Scots perpetually prisoner, and likewise to break off the Treaty; seeing they rigorously demanded such security as *Scotland* was not able to make good. And now Queen *Elizabeth* seeing that nothing could be done, for her own, the King and Queen of Scots safety, unlesse both Factions in *Scotland* consented; she held it

Q. Elizabeth requirith the Scottish Lords, to shew for what cause they had deposed their Queen; and what was done in it.

fit

A fit that the Lords of Scotland should themselves appoint some chosen persons to compound the matter.

While matters in England proceeded in this sort, the Queens party in Scotland was hardly used: *Dumbrilton Fryth*, the strongest Castle in Scotland was taken: and *I. Hamilton* Archbishop of Saint Andrews, the Duke of *Castle-Heralds* Brother, as an accessory to the murder of *Darley*, was hanged without being arraigned according to Law. In England, the Queen of Scots had all her servants taken from her, except ten only, and a Priest to say Masse: with which indignities the Queen of Scots provoked, causeth a large Commentary of her Counsels, with certain love-letters to the Duke of Norfolk, to be carried to the Pope, and the King of Spain, by *Ridolphus*; which being brought first to the Duke, *Higford* (one that waited on the Duke in his bed-chamber) had copied out: but being commanded to burn them, he hid them under a Mat in the Dukes Bed-chamber; and that it (should seem) purposely. *Ridolphus* to draw on the Duke to be Head of the discontented party in England, aggravated to him the wrongs he had suffered: how against all law he had been kept a long time in prison: and now, to his great disgrace, was not summoned to the Parliament: he exhibited to him a Catalogue of such of the Nobility, who had vowed to assist him: he shewed how the Pope, (so the Catholick Religion might be promoted) would himself undergo all the charge of the War, and had already laid down an hundred thousand Crowns; whereof himself had distributed twelve thousand amongst the English that were fled: he promised, that the King of Spain would send four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot to his Assistance; to these reasons the Bishop of *Rosse* added, that it was an easie matter for him to surprise the Queen; whom, when he had in his hands, he might then set the Queen of Scots at liberty, and might easily obtain of Queen Elizabeth, a toleration of Religion. The former Reasons took somewhat with the Duke, but this point of surprising the Queen, he abhorred, as an impious Fact, and therefore rejected as pernicious and dangerous.

Ridolphus incited the Duke of Norfolk to take Arms against Queen Elizabeth, and by what reasons.

In France a little before this, was the marriage solemnized between Charles the ninth King of France, and Elizabeth of Austria Daughter to the Emperor Maximilian; in gratulation whereof Queen Elizabeth sent into France *Thomas Lord Buckhurst*, who with great magnificence was received, and perhaps the more, in regard of a motion now intended to be made: for the Lord Buckhurst, having in his retinue, one *Guydo Cavalcantius* a Nobleman of Florence, the Queen mother of France, as being a Florentine her self, had often conference with him, when she would many times say, What a happinesse it would be to both the Kingdoms, if a Match were made between the Queen of England and her Son Henry Duke of Anjou; and at last desired him to commend the motion to the Queen of England, both from her, and from her Son the King of France, as a thing they both exceedingly desired. The Lord Buckhurst returned, having for a present from the King of France a Chain weighing a thousand French Crowns; and Cavalcantius at his return made the motion to the Queen, who seemed not unwilling to hearken to it; for by this Match, there should be added to the Kingdom of England, the wealthy Dukedoms of Anjou, Bourbon, Averno, and in possibility, the Kingdom of France it self. Hereupon a Treaty was held, in which the French propounded three Articles, one concerning the Coronation of the Duke; another, concerning the Joynt Administration of the Kingdom; a third, concerning a Toleration of his Religion: to which it was answered, that the two first Articles might in some sort be composed; but the third, scarce possibly: for though a contrary Religion might be tolerated, between Subjects of the same Kingdom; yet between a wife and her husband, it seemed very incongruous and inconvenient; yet the matter at last came to this conclusion, That if the Duke would afford his presence with the Queen at divine Service, and not refuse to hear and learn the doctrine of the Church of England; he should not be compelled to use the English Rites, but at his pleasure use the Roman; not being expressly against the Word of God. But upon these Punctilios they could not accord: and so the Treaty, after it had continued almost a year, brake utterly off. It was indeed generally thought, that the Match was never really intended on either side, but that they both pretended it, for only their own ends: for the Earl of Leicester (who knew more of the Queens minde then any man,) wrote at this time to Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queens Embassadour in France, that he found the Queens inclination so cold in the matter, that though the point of Religion were fully accorded; yet she would finde one point or other to break it off.

A motion of a match is made between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou.

The Articles of the match.

But could not be agreed: and so the Treaty brake utterly off.

At this time the continuance of the Duke of Norfolk's affection towards the Queen of Scots, came to be discovered by a packet of Letters, sent by *Ridolphus* to the Bishop of *Rosse*, and by *Bayliffs* confession (who brought the letters) being set upon the Rack: so as the Bishop of *Rosse* was confined to the Isle of *Ely*: *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, and *Rolston* were cast into the Tower: and *Henry Howard*, who had an aspiring minde to be Archbishop, was committed to the Archbishop of *Canterburies* keeping. At the same time the Queen of Scots sent money to her confederates in Scotland; which being by *Higford* delivered to one *Brown* to carry and told it was Silver, when he found by the weight that it was Gold, he began to suspect something; and thereupon went and delivered both the money and Letters to the Lords of the Councell. Upon this *Higford* being examined, confessed the whole matter; and withall gave notice of that Commentary also of the Queen of Scots which is mentioned before. Two days after, the Duke himself being examined, and knowing nothing what his servants had confessed, denied every particular; and thereupon, was brought again to the Tower, by *Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Smith*, *Henry Nevill*, and Doctor *Wilson*: And after him *Bannewester*, who was the Dukes Counsel at Law: The Earls of

The Duke of Norfolk's affection to the Queen of Scots is discovered to continue; and by what means.

He is committed again to the Tower.

Arundell

Arundell and Southampton; the Lord Lumley, the Lord Cobham, Henry Percy, Lowder, Powell, Goodyer, A and others, are committed to prison; who upon hope of pardon, confessed all they knew concerning the matter. When these things, and especially the Commentary, which the Duke thought had been burnt, were shewed him, he then cried out, I am betrayed by my own servants; not having learned to be distrustful, which is the very finew of Wisdom. And then with all submission, he besought the Lords to mediate for him to the Queen; towards whom, he protested he never had the least thought of doing any hurt.

The Civilians deliver their opinions what may be done with an Ambassador, if he prove a practiser against the State.

And now seeing it appeared that the Bishop of Rosse had been the whole contriver of the business, it was deliberated what to do with him, because he was an Ambassador. Hereupon divers Civilians are called; as David Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Drury, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones; of whom these questions were asked: B

First, *Whether an Ambassador who raiseth Rebellion against that Prince to whom he is an Ambassador, may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador, and is not lyable to punishment?*

They answered, *That such an Ambassador hath forfeited the Privileges of an Ambassador, and is lyable to punishment.*

Secondly, *Whether the Minister or Protector of a Prince, who is deposed by publick Authority, and in whose room another is Inaugurated, may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador?*

They answered, *That if such a Prince be lawfully deposed, his Protector cannot challenge the Privileges of an Ambassador, forasmuch as none but absolute Princes, and such as have Right of Majesty, can appoint Ambassadors.* C

Thirdly, *Whether a Prince who is come into another Princes Countrey, and held in Custody, may have his Protector; and if he shall be held an Ambassador?*

They answered, *If such a Prince have not lost his Sovereignty, he may have his Protector; but whether that Protector shall be reputed as an Ambassador or no, this dependeth upon the Authority of his Delegation.*

Fourthly, *Whether if a Prince gave warning to such a Protector, and to his Prince who is under custody, that this Protector shall not from henceforth be accounted for an Ambassador; whether that Protector may by Law challenge the Privilege of an Ambassador?*

They answered, *A Prince may forbid an Ambassador to enter into his Kingdom, and may command him to depart the Kingdom, if he contain not himself within his due limits; yet in the mean while he is to enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador.* D

What the Bishop of Rosse pleaderth for himself.

Upon these Answers, the Bishop of Rosse is warned by the Lords of the Council, that he shall no longer be esteemed an Ambassador, but be punished as his fault shall deserve. The Bishop alledged for himself, That he had not violated the Right of an Ambassador *Via Juris*, but *Via Facti*, (to use his own words) and therefore adviseth them, not to use harder measure to him, then was used to the English Ambassadors, Throgmorton in France, Randall and Tamworth in Scotland; who had raised rebellions there, and were open Abettors of the same; and yet had no greater punishment, then to be gone at a time limited. When they began to urge him what the English had testified against him, he lovingly requested them to give no credit to it; forasmuch as by a received custom, which hath the force of a Law, the Testimony of an English man against a Scot, or of a Scot against an English man, is not to be admitted: but after some other altercations, the Bishop is led away to the Tower, and kept close prisoner. E

Matthew Earl of Lenox Regent of Scotland is murdered.

In his place is set the Earl of Moray, who dyed within thirteen months.

At this very season, Matthew Earl of Lenox, Regent of Scotland, the Kings Grand-father, was by the adverse party set upon at unawares; who having yeilded himself to David Spense of Wormester, (that was then very careful to defend him) together with him, was slain by Bell and Caulder; when with great industry he had governed the Kingdom for his Grand-childe about fourteen moneths. In whose room, John Ereskin, Earl of Marre, by common consent of the Kings Faction, was chosen Regent of Scotland; who being a man of a quiet disposition, through extreme grief of the many troubles he sustained in the place, departed this life when he had governed thirteen F moneths.

To be reconciled to the See of Rome, made Treason.

And now a Parliament was held at Westminster; wherein, besides a Law for preventing of the treacherous endeavours of seditious subjects, another Law was made, That if any one during the Queens life, by Books written or printed, shall expressly affirm, That any is, or ought to be the Heir or Successor of the Queen (besides the natural Off-spring of her Body) or shall to that purpose publish, print, or disperse any Book or Schedules; he, and his favourers, shall for the first offence suffer a years imprisonment, and the losse of one half of his goods: and if they offend again, they shall be in a *Premunire*. A Law also was made, by which to be reconciled to the See of Rome, was made Treason; and it was pronounced against the Queen of Scots, That if she offended again against the Laws of England, it might be lawful to question her, as the wife of a Peer of the Kingdom of England. But here the Queen interposed her Authority, and would not suffer it to be enacted. About this time, in May, a solemn Tilting was performed at Westminster; where the Challengers were Edward Earl of Oxford, Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and Christopher Hatton Esquire; who all did valiantly, but the Earl of Oxford best.

John Story Dr. of the Laws executed for Treason, and why.

Assoon as the Parliament was dissolved, a Consultation was held, Whether John Story, Doctor of the Laws, the Duke D'Alva's Searcher (who sometime before, was by a wile brought into England) being an English man born; and having in Brabant consulted with a forain Prince, about the

A the invading of *England*, were to be held guilty of high Treason? It was resolved affirmatively: whereupon he is called to the Bar, and indicted of Treason; That he had consulted with one *Presball* a Conjuror, to make away the Queen; That he cursed her daily, when he said Grace at Table; That he shewed a way to the Secretary of Duke *D'Alva* how to invade *England*, &c. Where he affirming, that the Judges had no power to meddle with him, for that he belonged not to the Queen of *England*, but was the King of *Spain*s sworn subject; is nevertheless condemned by the Form of *Nihil dicit* (forasmuch as no man can renounce the Country wherein he was born, nor abjure his Prince at his own pleasure) and finally executed after the manner of Traytors.

B Ireland at this time was indifferent quiet; for Sir *John Perot*, President of *Munster*, had brought *James Fitz Morris* to submit himself, and crave pardon. *Sidney* the Lord Deputy returned into *England*, and Sir *William Fitz Williams*, who had married his Sister, succeeded in his room.

It was now the fifteenth yeeare of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign; when *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, on the sixteenth day of *January*, was brought to his Trial at *Westminster-hall*; where sate as Commissioners, *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewbury* (made High Steward of *England* for that day) *Renold Gray*, Earl of *Kent*; *Thomas Ratcliff*, Earl of *Suffex*; *Henry Hastings*, Earl of *Huntington*; *Francis Russell*, Earl of *Bedford*; *Henry Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke*; *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hertford*; *Ambrose Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*; *Robert Dudley*, Earl of *Leicester*; *Walter Devereux*, Viscount of *Hierford*; *Edward Lord Clinton*, Admiral; *William Lord Howard* of *Effingham*, Chamberlain; *William Cecil*, Lord *Burley*, Secretary; *Arthur*, Lord *Gray of Wilton*; *James Blunt*, Lord *Mountjoy*; *William Lord Sands*; *Thomas Lord Wentworth*; *William Lord Borough*; *Lewis Lord Mordant*; *John Pawlit*, Lord *St. John of Basing*; *Robert Lord Rich*; *Roger Lord North*; *Edmund Bruges*, Lord *Chandos*; *Oliver Lord St. John of Blesbo*; *Thomas Sackville*, Lord *Buckhurst*; and *William West*, Lord *de la Ware*.

C After silence bidden, Sir *Owen Hopton*, Lieutenant of Tower, is commanded to bring the Duke to the Bar; and then the Clerk of the Crown said, *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, late of *Keningale*, in the County of *Norfolk*, Hold up thy hand; which done, the Clerk with a loud voice readeth the crimes laid to his charge: That in the eleventh year of the Queens reign, he had trayterously consulted to make her away, and to bring in forain Forces for invading the Kingdom: Also, That he dealt with the Queen of *Scots* concerning Marriage, contrary to his promise made to the Queen under his hand-writing: Also, That he relieved with money, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, that had stirred up Rebellion against the Queen: Also, That in the thirteenth year of the Queens Reign, he implored Auxiliary Forces of Pope *Pius* the fifth, the Queens professed enemy, of the King of *Spain*, and the Duke *D'Alva*, for the freeing of the Queen of *Scots*; and restoring of the Popish Religion: And lastly, That he sent supply to the Lord *Herle*, and other the Queens enemies in *Scotland*. These Indictments being read, the Clerk demanded of the Duke, if he were guilty of these crimes, or not? Here the Duke requested he might be allowed to have Counsel. But *Catiline*, chief Justice, made answer, That it was not lawful. Yet (saith the Duke) I have heard that *Humphrey Stafford*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the seventh, in a Cause of Treason, had one assigned to plead for him. To which *Dyer* chief Justice of the Commons-Pleas, made answer, That *Stafford* had Counsel assigned him concerning the Right of Sanctuary, from whence he was taken by force; but in the Inditement of Treason he pleaded his own cause. After this, the Duke yeelding to be tryed by the Peers; first *Barham*, Serjeant at Law; then *Gerrard* the Queens Attorney; and lastly, *Bromley*, the Queens Solicitor, enforced the crimes objected against him: to all which the Duke made colourable answers; but most of them being proved by sufficient testimony, he asked upon occasion, Whether the Subjects of another Prince, who is confederate, and in league with the Queen, are to be accounted enemies? to which *Catiline* answered, They were; and that the Queen of *England* might wage war with any Duke of *France*, and yet hold firm peace with the *French* King. When it grew towards night, the Lord High Steward demanded of the Duke if he had any more to say for himself: who answered;

E I rely upon the equity of the Laws. After this, the Lords withdrawing a while, and then returning, the Lord Steward beginning at the lowermost, asked them, My Lord *de la Ware*, Is *Thomas* Duk of *Norfolk* guilty of these crimes of High Treason, for which he is called in question? He rising up, and laying his hand upon his breast, answered, Guilty: in like manner they answered all. After this, the Lord Steward with tears in his his eyes pronounced sentence in form as is used. A few days after were *Barnes* and *Mather* executed, who conspired with one *Herle*, to make away certain of the Counsellors, and to free the Duke; but *Herle* revealed the businesse presently, to whom *Barnes* (when he saw his Accuser brought forth) smilingly said, *Herle* thou wert but one hour before me; else I had been in thy place for the accuser, and thou in my room to be hanged: at the same time with them was hanged also *Henry Relf*, for counterfeiting the Queens hand. But though the Duke were now condemned, yet the Queen was so tender of his

F G case, that it was four monerhs after before he was executed, at last on the second of *June* at eight of the clock in the morning, he was brought to the Scaffold upon the Tower-Hill, and there beheaded.

The Duke of Norfolk is brought to his Tryall, and condemned.

No Counsel to be allowed in case of Treason.

The Duke is beheaded.

At this time and upon this occasion, a Parliament was Assembled, wherein amongst other Laws, it was Enacted, That if any man shall go about to free any person imprisoned by the Queens expresse Commandement; for Treason or suspicion of Treason, and not yet Arraigned, he shall lose all his goods for his life time; and be imprisoned during the Queens pleasure; if the said person

person have been arraigned, the Rescuer shall forfeit his life; if condemned, he shall be guilty of A Rebellion.

Walter D. Devereux is created Earl of Essex, and by what right.

The L. Clinton is made Earl of Lincoln, Henry Compton, Henry Chyney, & Henry Norris are made Barons by Summons.

Q. Elizabeth sends the Lord de la Ware and others, to the Q. to charge her with many crimes, and what she answered.

How the Dutch got possession of their Sea Towns.

A League concluded between Queen Elizabeth and the King of France.

Great preparation for the marriage of Henry King of Navarre with the French Kings Sister. At which marriage was the cruel massacre of Protestants at Paris, and throughout all the Cities of France.

The King of France, by this shedding of blood, falls himself into a bloody Flix, and in grievous torments ends his life.

In the time of this Parliament, the Queen created *Walter Devereux* Earl of *Essex*, being before but Viscount *Hereford*; because he was descended by his Great-grand-mother from the *Bourchiers*; and made the Lord *Clinton* (who had large Revenues in *Lincolnshire*) Earl of *Lincoln*; Also she called forth *John Pawlet* of *Basing*, the Marquess of *Winchesters* Son, *Henry Compton*, *Henry Chyney*, and *Henry Norris* for Barons by Summons.

Within ten days after the Dukes death, *William Lord De la Ware*, *Sir Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Wilson* Doctor of the Laws, and *Thomas Bromley* the Queens Solicitor, were sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to expostulate with her; That she had usurped the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of *England*, and had not renounced the same, according to the agreement of the Treaty at *Edenburgh*; B That she had endeavoured the marriage of the Duke of *Norfolk*, without acquainting the Queen, and had used all forcible means to free him out of prison; had raised the Rebellion in the North, had relieved the Rebels both in *Scotland* & in the *Low-Countries*; had implored Aids from the Pope, the King of *Spain* and others; had conspired with certain of the *English*, to free her out of Prison, and declare her Queen of *England*; Lastly, that she had procured the Popes Bull against the Queen, and suffered her self to be publicly named the Queen of *England* in Forain Countries: All which accusations she either absolutely denied, or else fairly extenuated: and though (as she said) she were a free Queen, and not subject to any creature; yet she was content, and requested, that she might make her personal answer at the next Parliament.

About this time, the King of *Spain* by his Embassadour here, complained to the Queen, that the C Rebels of the *Netherlands* were harboured and entertained in *England*, contrary to the Articles of the League; whereupon the Queen set forth a severe Proclamation, That all the *Dutch*, who could any ways be suspected of Rebellion, should presently depart the Realm, which yet turned little to *D'Alva's*, or the King of *Spain's* benefit: For hereupon Count *Vander-Mark*, and other *Dutch* going out of *England* surprised the *Brill* first, then *Flushing*, and afterwards drew other Towns to revolt, and in a short time excluded the Duke *D'Alva* in a manner from the Sea. And this error, to suffer the Protestant party to get possession of the Sea-towns, hath been the cause they have been able to hold out, even all this long time, against the King of *Spain*. And now many military men having little to do at home, got them into the *Netherlands*, some to Duke *D'Alva*; but the far greater number to the Prince of *Orange*: The first of whom was *Thomas Morgan*, D who carryed three hundred *English* to *Flushing*; then followed by his procurement nine Companies more under the conduct of *Humphry Gilbert*; and afterward it became the Nursery of all our *English* Souldiers.

At this time *Charles* the French King setting his mind wholly (at least seeming so) upon the *Low-Country* War, concluded a peace and entred into a league with Queen *Elizabeth*; which was to remain firm, not only during their two lives, but between their successors also, if the successor signifie to the survivor within a year that he accepteth it, otherwise to be at liberty. It was likewise agreed, what aid by Sea or Land they should each of them afford to other upon occasion. And for ratification of this League, *Edward Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln* and Admiral of *England* was sent into *France*, with whom went the Lord *D'Arcy*, *Rich*, *Talbot*, *Sands*, and others. The French E King likewise sent the Duke of *Memorancy*, and *Paul Foix* into *England* with a great train; that the Queen in the presence of them, and the Embassador in Ordinary might swear to the league, which she did at *Westminster*, the seventeenth of May, in the year 1572. The day after she made *Memorancy* Knight of the Garter.

Memorancy whilst he tarried in *England*, made intercession in his Kings name, that what favour could be without danger, might be shewed to the Queen of *Scots*; and then made much ado again about the marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*; but being hopelesse to make conclusion thereof, by reason of the diversity of Religion, he returned into *France*; for now was great provision making ready for the marriage, between *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and the Lady *Margaret* the French Kings Sister; to which solemnity with notable dissimulation, the Queen of *Navarre* and the chief F of all the Protestants were allured, being born in hand that there should be a renovation of love, and a perpetual peace established. The Earl of *Leicester* likewise, and the Lord *Burleigh* were invited out of *England*, and out of *Germany*, the Sons of the Prince Elector Palatine, under colour of honour, but indeed, that they might be intrapped, and they, and together with them the Protestant Religion at one blow, if not clean cut off, yet receive a deadly wound: For the marriage being celebrated, there presently followed that cruel Massacre at *Paris*, and the terrible slaughter of the Protestants throughout all the Cities of *France*; but to set a shew of equity upon the Fact, Edicts and and Proclamations were presently set forth, that the Protestants had plotted a wicked conspiracy against the King, the Queen Mother, the Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, and the Princes of the blood Royal; and to keep the thing in memory, Coyn was presently stamped, G upon the one side whereof was the Kings Picture with this Inscription, *Virtus in Rebelles*, on the other side, *Pietas excitavit iustitiam*; But the King of *France*, notwithstanding all the shew he made of Piety, escaped not the Divine revenge, for before the year came about, he fell sick of a bloody Flix, and afterwards with long and grievous torments ended his life.

A little before this, *Mote Fenell* Embassadour to the King of *France*, being in *England*, by virtue of an order from the Queen Mother of *France*, propoundeth to Queen *Elizabeth* at *Kenilworth* (two days before the Massacre in that Kingdom) the marriage of her youngest Son *Francis* Duke

A Duke of *Alanson* (for the Queen Mother had been told by some cunning men, that all her sons should be Kings, and she knew no way for it but this.) But Queen *Elizabeth*, by reason of the disparity of age, modestly excused her self, (for he was scarce seventeen years old, and she was now past eight and thirty) yet she promised to consider of it, and *Alanson* did not leave to prosecute the suit.

At this time, *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, who first rebelled, and afterwards fled into *Scotland*, was for a sum of money delivered by the Earl of *Morton*, to the Lord *Hunsdon* Governour of *Berwick*; and a while after was beheaded at *York*. And now as these two great Personages, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Northumberland* were taken away by a violent death; so three other great Personages were at this time taken away by a natural death: First *William*

B *Paulet*, who from a private man came by degrees to be Marquess of *Winchester*: lived to the age of within three years of a hundred, and could reckon a hundred and three of his children, and his childrens issue, after he had held the place of Lord Treasurer of *England* above twenty years; in whose room succeeded Sir *William Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*: Then died *Edmund* Earl of *Darby*, famous as well for his Hospitality and good house-keeping, as for his skill in Surgery and Bone-setting; Then died Sir *William Peter*, who being descended from an honest stock at *Exeter* in *Devonshire*, was Privy Counsellor and Secretary to King *Henry* the Eighth, King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Elizabeth*; who planted himself in *Essex*, where he purchased great possessions; whose Son *John* was by King *James* made Barron of *Writtle* in that Countrey.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* having formerly borrowed money of her Subjects, she thankfully repaid it, which won her no lesse love, then if she had given it, and more love she gained also at this time by two Proclamations, by one of which, she commanded Noble men to observe the Law of keeping retainers; by the other, she restrained Informers, who under colour of spying out Crown-land concealed by private persons, sacrilegiously seized upon the Lands of Parish-Churches, and Alms-houses piously endowed by the Queens Ancestors. And more Love and Honour also she gained at this time by two acts of Justice; the one that she satisfied the *English* Merchants out of the goods which were detained belonging to the *Dutch*, and restored the rest to the Duke D' *Alva*, and made a full transaction with the Merchants of *Genova* for the money intercepted; the other, that she freed *England* at this time of the debts which her Father and her Brother had run into in forain parts, and were increased by yearly interest, and caused the obligations of the City of *London*, which had so often been renewed to be given in, to the great rejoycing of Citizens.

The *Spanish* affairs growing now very turbulent in the *Netherlands*, *Flushing* lost, the Towns of *Holland* revolted, and the *Spanish* Navy vanquished by the *Zealanders*, Duke D' *Alva* against his will, began to shew more kindnesse towards the *English*, so as in the moneth of *January*, the trade which in *Anno* 1568. had been forbidden, was now allowed again between the *Dutch* and the *English* for two years; but those two years expired, the *English* removed their trading to the confederate States.

The last year in the moneth of *November*, a Daughter was born to the *French* King, to whom he requested Queen *Elizabeth* to be God-mother, who thereupon sent *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester* into *France* with a Font of massy Gold to stand as her Deputy at the Christning. Hereupon, and for that the Queen promised to observe the League strictly, the *French* King and the Queen Mother began to affect her more and more, and the Duke D' *Alanson* wrote sundry Love-letters to her, and the *French* King and his Mother interceding for the marriage with all earnestnesse. It is true, the Queen conceived divers reasons, why it was fit for her to marry; but the Courtiers for their own ends dissuaded her as much from it: at last the Queen Mother of *France* was wonderful importunate, that her Son *Alanson* might have leave to come and see her: whereunto, being wearied with continual Letters and Messages, she gave her consent; but upon condition, that he should not take it for any disgrace to him, if he returned without obtaining his suit: But as soon as Queen *Elizabeth* had notice, that his Brother *Henry* was elected King of *Poland*, and that the King of

F *France* was very sick, she gave intimation to *Alanson*, by *Edward Horsey* Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, that he should not make too much haste into *England*; but should first procure a peace by some means or other in *France*, and declare by some notable argument, his good will towards the Protestants, thereby to be the more welcome Guest into *England*. Hereupon a peace was concluded in *France*, and in certain places the Protestants were allowed to exercise their Religion: and then again the *French* King and the Queen Mother, used all their endeavour to have the marriage go forward (for they were very desirous that *Alanson* who was of a crooked and perverse disposition, and prone to raise tumults) might be removed out of *France*; and withall, they requested of Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* took his voyage into *Poland* by Sea; he might have publick caution to sail through the *British* Ocean. To this last request she not only consented with all alacrity, but also made offer of a Fleet to conduct him thither. In the mean while, *Alanson* fell sick of the Meazles, which his Mother signified to Queen *Elizabeth* by Count *Rbets*, excusing him thereupon for not coming into *England* as he had determined. The Count found the Queen at *Canterbury*, where she gave him Royal entertainment: and *Matthew Parker* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Royal entertainment to them both.

All this while since the death of the Earl of *Marre*, there had been no Regent in *Scotland*, but now by the procurement of Queen *Elizabeth* chiefly, *James Dowglas* Earl of *Morton*, is made Regent; who, when his Authority in a Parliamentary Assembly was established, Enacted many profitable

A motion is now made to Q^e *Elizabeth* to marry *Francis* Duke of *Alanson*: and her Answer.

Thomas Percy Earl of *Northumberland* is beheaded.

William Paulet Marquess of *Winchester* dies; his great age, and numerous issue.

Some good acts of Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Earl of *Worcester* sent as Deputy for the Queen, to Christen the King of *France*'s daughter.

The Duke D' *Alanson* solicits the Queen by letters.

The Queen gives leave that the Duke D' *Alanson* may come and see her, but with condition.

In hope of this match, the Protestants are better used in *France* then before.

James Dowglas Earl of *Morton* is made Regent of *Scotland*, but is opposed by divers of the Lords.

It belongs to the Earls of *Marre* to have the custody of the Kings person in his Minority.

Q. *Elizabeth* lendeth aid to the Regent of Scotland, with which he representeth the adverse Faction.

Lydington for his variable disposition called the Chamæleon.

The Duke D'Alva is called home, and *Zuinga* sent Governour in his place.

A frantick opinion of *Peter Bouchet*.

The Keeper of the Privy Seal the fourth degree of Honour in England.

fitable Laws for the defence of Religion against Papists and Hereticks, in the name of the King: A But the protection and keeping of the Kings Person, he confirmed to *Alexander Erskine* Earl of *Marre* (to whom the custody of the Kings in their tender years, by special privilege belongeth) though he were himself in his Minority: Upon these conditions, That no Papists, nor factious persons should be admitted to his presence: An Earl should come with only two servants attending him: A Baron, with only one: All other, single: and every one unarmed. The French King in the meantime, sent his Embassadour Mounfier *Vyriar*, to corrupt the Earls of *Arbott* and *Huntley* with large promises, to oppose the Regent: Queen *Elizabeth* as much laboured to defend him: but though by the Ministry of *Killingrew*, she had drawn *James Hamilton* Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and *George Gourdon* Earl of *Huntley*, and the most eminent of that Faction, upon indifferent conditions, to acknowledge the Regent, yet *William Kircald*, Lord *Graunge*, (whom *Murray* when he was Regent, had made Governour of *Edenburgh* Castle) the Lord *Humes*, *Lydington*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld* and others, would by no means admit of the Regents Government, but held that Castle, and fortified it in the Queen of Scots name, having *Lydington* for their Counsellour herein, and trusting to the natural strength of the place, and to the Duke D'Alva's and the French Kings promises, to send them supplies both of men and money. Now when these persons could by no means be drawn to accept of conditions of peace, and to deliver up the Castle to the Regent, Queen *Elizabeth* (who could in no case indure the French in Scotland) suffered her self at length to be intreated by the Regent, to send Forces, Guns and Ammunition, for assaulking the Castle, upon certain conditions, whereof one was, that ten Hostages should be sent into England, to be security for returning the men and Munition, unlesse by the common hazard of War they should chance to miscarry. The conditions being agreed on; *William Drury* Marshal of the Garrison at *Barwick*, with some great Ordinance and fifteen hundred Souldiers (amongst whom were some Noble Volunteers, *George Carie*, *Henry Carie*, *Thomas Cecil*, *Henry Lee*, *William Knolles*, *Sutton*, *Cotton*, *Kelway*, *William Killingrew*, and others, entred into Scotland, and besieged the Castle, which after three and thirty days siege, was delivered up to the Regent for the Kings use, with all the persons that were in it; amongst whom *Kircald* Lord *Grange*, and *James* his Brother, *Mujman* and *Cook* Goldsmiths (who had counterfeited Coyn in the Castle) were hanged; although to redeem *Granges* life, a hundred of the Family of the *Kircalds*, offered themselves to be in perpetual servitude to the Regent, besides an annual Pension of three thousand Marks; and twenty thousand pounds of Scottish money in present; and to put in caution, that from thenceforth he should continue in duty and homage to the King; but it would not be accepted. *H* and the rest were spared, through Queen *Elizabeths* merciful intercession; *Lydington* was sent to *Leith*, where he died, and was suspected to be poisoned: A man of the greatest understanding in the Scottish Nation, and of an excellent wit, but very variable; for which; *George Buchanan* called him the Chamæleon.

And now from this time Scotland began to breath, after long Civil Wars, and as well the Captains of both parties, as the Souldiers betook themselves into *Swedeland*, *France* and the Low-Countries, where they valorously behaved themselves, and won great commendation. As for *John Lesse* Bishop of *Rosse* he was now set at liberty, but commanded to depart presently out of England, and being beyond the Sea, he continued still to sollicite his Mistress the Queen of Scots cause, with the Emperour, the Pope, the French King, and the German Princes of the Popish Religion; who all led him on with fair promises, but performed nothing: For indeed he in whom he had greatest confidence, which was the Duke D'Alva, was at that time called away, partly out of Jealousie of State, as being thought to grow too great, and partly out of opinion, that by his cruelty he made the people to revolt; and therefore in his place was sent *Ludovicus Zuinga*, a man of great Nobility in Spain, but of a more peaceable disposition then D'Alva; and now this man did all good Offices to win Queen *Elizabeth* to him, and minding his own affairs only, would not intermeddle with the Scottish or English matters.

About this time a frantick opinion was held by one *Peter Bouchet* a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, that it was lawful to kill them that opposed the truth of the Gospel; and so far was he possessed with this opinion; that he assaulted the famous Seaman Captain *Hawkins*, and wounded him with a Dagger; taking him for *Hatton*, who at that time was in great favour with the Queen, and of her Privy Council, whom he had been informed to be a great Adversary to Innovations. The Queen grew so angry hereat, that she commanded Martial Law should be executed upon him presently, till her Council advised her that Martial Law was not to be used, but in the Field, and in turbulent times, but at home and in time of Peace, there must be Legal proceedings: Hereupon *Bouchet* was sent to the Tower, where taking a brand out of the fire, he struck it into the brains of one of his keepers named *Hugh Longworth* and killed him; for which fact, he was condemned of murther, had his right hand cut off, and nailed to the Gallows, and then himself hanged.

After the violent death of this Varlet, we may speak of the natural death of two great persons; First, *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Son of that warlike *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, by his second Wife *Agnes Tilney*. This *William* was made a Baron by Queen *Mary*, and Lord High Admiral of England, and by Queen *Elizabeth* Lord Chamberlain, till such time that being taken with age, he yielded up that place to the Earl of *Suffex*, and was then made Keeper of the Privy Seal, which is the fourth degree of honour in England. His Son *Charles* succeeded him in the Dignity of his Barony, who was after made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen,

A Queen, and then Lord High Admiral of England. A while after him dyed *Reginald Gray* Earl of Kent, whom the Queen a year before of a private man had made Earl of Kent, when as that Title, from the death of *Richard Gray* Earl of Kent, who had waisted his Patrimony, and was elder Brother to this mans Grand-father, had lien asleep for fifty years together.

Reginald Gray of a private man made Earl of Kent.

At this time many particular Rebellions were in Ireland; The O-Conors and O-Moors took Arms, and committed many outrages: In Munster *James Fitz-Morris*, and *Fitz-Edmund* did the like; but by the industry of Sir *John Perrot*, President of Munster, were suppressed. In Ulster, *Bryan Mac Phelym* burnt *Knockfergus*, and many other joyned in Rebellion with him. Against these, *Walter Devereux*, (whom the Queen had lately created Earl of Essex) desired leave to goe; which Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Deputy of Ireland opposed, as fearing that the glory of so great an Earl would eclipse his light. But for this, the Queen findes a remedy, by appointing Essex, to take a Patent of the Deputy, whereby to be made Governour of Ulster. But this remedy for *Fitz-Williams*, might have made a sore in the minde of Essex; (to receive his Authority from his inferiour) but that the noblenesse of his minde, made him more to regard the vertue, then the glory. And so, in the end of August, he landed at *Knockfergus*, having with him the Lords *Darcy* and *Rich*, and Sir *Henry Knowles* and his four Brothers, *Michael* and *John Carver*, *Henry*, *William*, and *John Norris*: At his landing *Bryan Mac Phelym* welcomed him, rendering unto him all manner of dutifullnesse and service; but presently after, falls from him, and joyns with *Turlough Leynigh*. After this revolt, the Earl of Essex finding many difficulties in the businesse, and himself not well provided of skilful Souldiers, makes suit to the Queen for leave to come home; which the Earl of Leicester, (who liked his room better then his company) opposed; till after expence of a years time, and much treasure, he at last obtained leave, and returned home.

Many Rebellions are in Ireland.

Walter Devereux Earl of Essex is made Governour of Ulster, by a Patent from the Deputy.

The next year, being 1574. and the seventeenth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign, the Duke of *Alanson* grew more importunate in his suit, then at any time before; so he obtained of the Queen, to come into England, any time before the twentieth of May; and this she the rather did, because she perceived him now to be really bent against the *Guyes* her sworn Enemies. But before this Answer was brought him, *Valentine Dale* Doctor of the Civill Law, the Queens Embassadour in France, gave intimation to the Queen, That *Alanson* and *Navarre* were in restraint; and committed to Keepers: For the *Guyes* had suggested, that *Alanson* held intimate friendship with Admiral *Colin*, the chief Leader of the Protestants in France; and indeed, *Alanson* being examined, freely confessed, that he had now for a good while desired the marriage of the Queen of England; and conceiving that good correspondence with *Colin* might be useful to him to that end, he had thereupon had conference with him thereabout, and concerning the Low-Country War. In the mean time *Thomas Wilkes*, Dales Secretary, got cunningly to *Alanson*, and in the Queens name, made promise both to him, and to *Navarre*, that she would omit no opportunity of procuring their enlargement. For which, the subtle Queen Mother so complained of him to Queen Elizabeth, that he was faine to go into France, and there to crave pardon for his fault. But *Navarre*, not unmindeful of this kindenesse in *Wilkes*, when about five and twenty years after, being King of France, he saw him in Normandy, he Knighted him. Hereupon the Queen sent *Thomas Randall* into France, to the Queen Mother, that if it were possible, he might gain Reconciliation for *Alanson* her Son, and for the King of *Navarre*. But before he was landed in France, *Charles* the then French King dyed, whose Funeral Rites were solemnly performed in Saint Pauls Church in London.

An. Reg. 17. The Duke of Alanson continues his suite to Queen Elizabeth.

Charles the French King dies,

As soon as *Henry* the third, King of France, was come from Poland, Roger Lord North was sent into France, to congratulate his return, and his happy Inauguration into the Kingdom; who thereupon, together with the Queen-Mother, did forthwith send their joyat Letters into England, strongly soliciting the businesse of Marriage, between *Alanson* and the Queen. In the mean time notwithstanding they used all possible devises, (and left no means unsought) to get the young King of Scotland to be sent into France; and to deprive *Morton* who was the Regent, of his Authority; whereof the Queen of Scots also was very desirous; she being perswaded, that if her Son were once gotten safely into France, she and the Catholics in England should be more mildly used. At which time, an aspersion was cast upon the Queen of Scots, as if she had made the match between *Charles* Uncle to the Queen of Scots (who had lately the Earldom of Lenox confirmed to him by Parliament) and *Elizabeth Cavendish* the Countesse of *Shrewsburie*'s Daughter by a former Husband; upon which ground, both their Mothers and some others also were kept in Prison for a time; and being doubted whereunto this marriage should tend, *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, President of the Council in the North, is authorized with secret Instructions to examine it. It will be fit here to say something of this place of Government in the North; which from small beginnings, is now become so eminent as it is at this day, whereof this was the Original. When as in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, after that the Rebellion in the Northern parts, about the subversion of Abbies was quieted, the Duke of *Norfolk* tarried in those quarters, and many complaints of injuries done were tendered unto him, whereof some he composed himself, and others he commended under his Seal to men of wisdom to determine: Hereof when King *Henry* heard, he sent down a peculiar Seal to be used in these cases, and calling home the Duke, committed the same to *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, and constituted Assistants with Authority to hear and determine the complaints of the poor, and he was the

Henry the new King of France solicites the Queen for *Alanson*.

How the President of the North came first to be ordained.

first that was called President; and from that time, the authority of his successours grew in A credit.

An. Reg. 18. It was now the year One thousand five hundred seventy five, and the eighteenth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when Henry the third King of France being returned from Poland, and Crowned at Rheims, was careful to have the League of Blois confirmed; which, in the year 1572. had been concluded between his Brother Charles and the most Illustrious Queen Elizabeth; Now therefore he confirmed it with His own Subscription, and delivered it to Dale the Queens Legier, as the Queen likewise ratified it at Saint James neer Westminster. But a little after he demanded by Letters, whether the mutual defence against all persons mentioned in the League, was intended to comprehend the case of Religion also? Whereunto she answering, that it did comprehend it: he thereupon hearing this from the Queen, began presently to prepare War against the Protestants, and Alanson being drawn to the Adverse party, there was no speech of the marriage for a long time. B

Henry King of France prepares war against the Protestants.

In the Netherlands at this time, Lodovick Zuinga, who was successor unto Duke D'Alva, was wholly bent to recover the Command of the Seas, which D'Alva had neglected, but not being sufficiently provided of a Navy, he sent Boischoitt into England, that with the Queens leave, he might take up Ships and Mariners to go against the Hollanders and Zelanders, but this she would not grant: Then he made suit, that the Queen would please not to take it in evill part, if the banished persons of the English in the Low-Countries served the King of Spain in a Sea-fight against the Hollanders; and that they might have free access to the Ports of England, to buy provision for ready money; but this she would not grant C neither: Then he made request, that the Dutch, who were Rebels against the King of Spain, might be put out of England; but neither would she grant this, as being an Action void of Humanity, and against the Laws of Hospitality; yet because she would not be thought to violate the old Burgundian Law, she commanded by Proclamation, that the Ships of the Dutch which were made ready, should not go forth of the Haven; nor yet the Dutch, who had taken up Arms against the King of Spain, enter into the Ports of England, and by name, the Prince of Orange, and Fifty other the prime of that Faction; and this she did the more willingly, because Zuinga at the intercession of Wilson the English Embassadour, had removed the Earl of Westmerland, and other English Fugitives out of the Dominions of the King of Spain, and had also dissolved the English Seminary at Doway; though in stead thereof, the Guises through the procurement of Pope Gregory the thirteenth, set up another Seminary at Rheims. D

The English Seminary at Doway is dissolved, and another set up at Rheims.

The States of the Low-countries make choice of Q. Elizabeth to be their Protector, and why.

And at this time the Prince of Orange, perceiving his Forces but small, and thinking himself too weak for the King of Spain, and little hope of aid from England, he entred into Consultation with the Confederate States, to whose protection they were best and in the most security to betake themselves: The Princes of Germany they knew were not all of one minde, parted from money very hardly, and did not every way, nor would not by any means possible accord and concur with them in their Religion; and therefore they were not so fit. Then, the French they saw, were intangled in a Civil a War, and so had enough of their own to do; besides the old grudges and heart-burnings that were between the French and Dutch; and therefore neither were they so fit. There remained then the English, as fittest of any (if it might be obtained) seeing they were Neighbours, of the same Religion, and of a Language not much different, strong in shipping, and rich in Merchandize. Hereupon (considering the commodiousnesse of the English Nation) they send into England, Phillip Marnixie of Saint Aldegonde, Janus Dowsa, William Nyvell, and Doctor Melsen; who in an honourable Ambassage, offer the Countries of Holland and Zealand to be possessed or protected by the Queen, forasmuch as she was descended from the Princes of Holland, by Philippa Wife of Edward the third, Daughter of William of Bavaria, Count of Hanonia and Holland; by whose other Sister, the hereditary Right of those Province came to the King of Spain. To this offer, the Queen takes time to answer; and at last, having maturely F advised of the matter, her Answer was this, That as yet she conceived not how with safety of her honour, and an upright conscience, she could receive those Provinces into her Protection, much lesse assume them into her possession; but promised, she would deal earnestly with the King of Spain, that a well conditioned Peace might be concluded. Presently upon this, Zuinga, Governour of the Low-countries dyed; after whose death, the States of Brabant, Flanders, and the other Provinces, took upon them the ancient Administration, and Authority in the Common-wealth; which the King of Spain was fain to confirm to them, till such time as John of Austria were come, whom he determined to make Governour there. In the mean time, Queen Elizabeth in behalf of the King of Spain, sent William Davyson in Ambassage to those Princes, to exhort them to be peaceable and quiet, which yet, by reason the G Spanish Souldiers were so outrageous, little prevailed.

Zuinga dying John of Austria is sent Governour into the Netherlands.

The Queens Answer to their offer.

In England all was calm and quiet for all this year, onely a difference fell out between Sir John Forster, Governour of Berwick, and John Cormiehill, Keeper of Liddesdale in Scotland: In composing whereof, the Regent of Scotland, having given Queen Elizabeth some discontentment, was fain to come unarmed before the Earl of Huntington, appointed the Legate for England, at Bonderod, and so the matter was taken up, and the Regent ever after continued constant in observing the Queen, and to his great commendation,

A dation, restrained the Free-booters of the Borders, to the great good of both Kingdomes.

This year there dyed in Scotland, James Hamilton Duke of Castle-Herald, and Earl of Arran, who was great Grand-child to James the second, King of Scots, by his Daughter, appointed Tutor to Mary, Queen of Scots, and designed Heir and Governour of the Kingdom, during her minority.

At this time the Earl of Essex is come into Ireland again, where having done good services, and being in the midst of Victory, he was on a suddain commanded to resign his Authority in Ulster: and as though he were an ordinary Commander, is set over three hundred Souldiers: which disgrace was wrought by his adversaries in Court, to the continual perplexing of his milde spirit. B And now is Sir Henry Sidney the third time sent Deputy into Ireland; who going into Ulster, there came to him and submitted themselves Mac Mahon, Mac Guyre, Torlogh Leynigh, the O-Conors and O-Moors, the Earl of Desmond, and the rebellious Sons of the Earl of Clanriccard, all whom he received into favour, and with great commendation administred the Province.

The Earl of Essex going into Ireland again, is disgraced with being made an ordinary commander.

At this time the Spaniard in the Low-Countries began to deal roughly with the people, and harried the Inhabitants with all manner of spoil and injury; Antwerp, the most famous Town of Traffick in all Europe, was miserably pillaged, the English Merchants houses rifled, insomuch that the States were enforced to take up Arms, and Messengers were sent to all neighbouring Princes; and to Queen Elizabeth was sent Monsieur Aubigny, both to shew her upon how necessary and just causes they had taken up Arms, and also to borrow of her a great sum of money, the better to enable them to resist the Spaniard. C But she being certainly informed, That they first sued to the French King for help, denyeth the request, yet promiseth to intercede earnestly with the King of Spain for peace. And in that employment, she addressed into Spain, John Smith, couzen german to King Edward the sixth, a man of Spanish behaviour, and well known to the King of Spain, who was liberally received by the King; and with such wisdom retorted the contumelious speech of Gaspar Quiroga Archbishop of Toledo and the Spanish Inquisitors, who would not admit in the Queens Title, the Attribute of Defender of the Faith; that he had gained great thanks from the King of Spain himself, who requested him not to speak of it to the Queen, and gave severe command, that the Title should be admitted.

John Smith Embassadour into Spain, his stout carriage.

And now by this time was John of Austria come into the Low-Countries with a large Commission: D for he was the Natural Son of the Emperour Charles the fifth, to whom the Queen sent Edward Horsey, Governour of the Isle of Wight, to congratulate his coming thither, and to offer help, if the States called the French into the Netherlands; yet at the same time, Swevingham being exceeding importunate on the States behalf, she sent them twenty thousand pounds of English money; (so well she could play her game of both hands) upon condition they should neither change their Prince nor their Religion, nor take the French into the Low-countries, nor refuse a Peace, if John of Austria should condescend to indifferent Conditions; but if he embraced a Peace, then the money should be paid back to the Spanish Souldiers, who were ready to mutiny for lack of pay. So careful she was to retain these declining Provinces in obedience to the King of Spain.

E At this time a Voyage was undertaken, to try if there could be found any Sea upon the North part of America, leading to the wealthy coast of Catbaia, whereby in one commerce might be joyned the riches of both the East and West parts of the world, in which voyage was employed Martyn Forbisher, who set sail from Harwich the eighteenth of June, and the ninth of August, entred into that Bay, or Sea, but could passe no further for Snow and Ice. The like expedition was taken in hand, two years after, with no better successe.

Martyn Forbisher, is sent to discover the North part of America.

About this time dyed the Emperour Maximilian, a Prince that deserved well of Queen Elizabeth and the English, who thereupon sent Sir Philip Sidney to his Son Rodolphus King of the Romans, to condole his Fathers death, and congratulate his succession: as likewise to do the like, for the decease of the Count Electour Palatine, named Frederick the third, with his surviving Son.

F And now Walter Devereux Earl of Essex, who out of Leicesters envy, had been recalled out of Ireland, was out of Leicesters fear, (as being threatned by him) sent back again into Ireland, but with the empty title of Earl Marshal of Ireland; with the grief whereof, he fell into a bloudy Flux, and in most grievous torments ended his life: When he had first desired the standers by to admonish his Son (scarce ten years old at that time) to have always before his eyes, the six and thirtieth year of his age, as the utmost term of his life, which neither himself, nor his Father before him could out-go, and the the Son indeed attained not to it, as shall hereafter be declared. He was inspected to be poysoned, but Sir Henry Sidney, Deputy of Ireland, after diligent search made, wrote to the Lords of the Council, That the Earl often said, It was familiar to him upon any great discontentment to fall into a Flux, and for his part, he had no suspicion of his being poysoned: yet was this suspicion encreased; for that presently after his death, the Earl of Leicester with a great sum of money and large promises, putting away Dowlas Sheffeld, by whom he had a Son, openly married Essex his widow. For although it was given out, that he was privately married to her, yet Sir Francis Knolles her Father, who was well acquainted with Leicesters roving loves, would not believe it, unlesse he himself were present at the marriage, and had it testified by a publick Notary. At this time also dyed Sir Anthony Cook, of Gyddy-Hall in Essex, who had been School-master to King Edward the sixth, and

Walter Devereux Earl of Essex out of discontentment dieth in Ireland.

The Earl of Leicester marries his widow.

Sir Anthony Cook dieth, and how his learned daughters were bewowed.

and was no lesse School-maſter to his own Daughters, whom he made ſkilful in the *Greek* and *A Latine* Tongues; married all to men of great Honour; one to Sir *William Cecil*, Lord Treasurer of *England*; a ſecond to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; a third to Sir *Thomas Hobby*, who dyed Embaſſadour in *France*; a fourth to Sir *Ralph Lowley*; and the fifth to Sir *Henry Killigrew*.

At this time, the Sons of the Earl of *Clamricard*, who ſcarce two moneths before had obtained pardon for their Rebellion, fell into Rebellion again; but were by the Deputy ſoon ſuppreſt; and *William Drury* newly made Preſident of *Munſter*, reduced the whole Province to good Order, except only the County of *Kerry*, whither a number of Vagabonds were gotten, truſting to the Immunities of the place. For King *Edward* the third made *Kerry* a County Palatine, and granted to the Earls of *Deſmond* all the Royal Liberties which the King of *England* had in that County, excepting *Wreckby Fyre*, *Foreſhall*, and *Treasure Trouve*. The Governour notwithstanding, who wiſely judged that theſe Liberties were granted for the better preſervation of Juſtice, and not for maintenance of outrageous malefactours, entred into it, and violently put to flight and vanquiſhed the miſchievous crew, which the Earl of *Deſmond* had placed there in ambuſh. The Earl in the mean while made great complaints of *Drury* to the Deputy; and particularly, of the Tax which they call *Ceaſſe*, which is an exaction of proviſion of Victuals at a certain rate, for the Deputies Family; and the Souldiers in Garrifon. This Tax, not he only, but in *Lemſter* alſo many Lords reſuſed to pay, alleading that it was not to be exacted but by Parliament; but the matter being examined in *England*, it appeared by the Records of the Kingdom, That this Tax was anciently impoſed; and that a certain Right of Maſteſty, a Prerogative Royal, which is not ſubjected to Laws, yet not contrary to them neither, as the wiſe Civilians have obſerved. Yet the Queen commanded to uſe a moderation in exactions of this nature, ſaying, She would have her ſubjects ſhorn, but not devoured.

It was now the year 1577, and the twentieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when *John* of *Austria*, pretending to Queen *Elizabeth* nothing but Peace, yet is found to deal ſecretly with the Pope, to deprive her of her Kingdom, and himſelf to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and invade *England*: of which his praſtiſes the Prince of *Orange* gives Queen *Elizabeth* the firſt Intelligence. Whereupon (finding his deep diſſembling) ſhe enters into a League with the States, for mutual defence both at Sea and Land, upon certain Conditions; but having concluded it (be-
D
cauſe ſhe would not have it wrongfully interpreted, as though ſhe meant to foſter a Rebellion in the *Netherlands*) ſhe ſent *Thomas Wilkes* to the King of *Spain* with theſe Informations, That ſhe had always endeavoured to keep the *Low-Countries* in obedience to the King of *Spain*; had perſwaded (even with threatnings) the Prince of *Orange* to accept of Peace; but withall, if the King of *Spain* would have his Subjects obedient to him, ſhe then requeſts him to reſtore their privileges, and to remove *John* of *Austria* from the Government, who not only was her deadly enemy, but laboured by all means to bring the *Netherlands* into utter ſervitude. If this be granted by the King of *Spain*, ſhe then faithfully promiſeth, That if the States perform not their Allegiance to him, as by their Promiſe to her they are engaged to do, ſhe will utterly forſake them, and bend her ſelf with all her Forces to compel them. While *Wilkes* in *Spain* unfoldeth theſe matters, *John* of *Austria* ſendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, in moſt grievous manner accuſing the States for diſ-
E
obedience and making a large declaration of the cauſes for which he had taken up Arms again. Thus Queen *Elizabeth* (like a fortunate Princeſſe) ſate as an Honourable Arbitreſſe between the *Spaniſh*, the *French*, and the States; inſomuch that it was not untrue which one wrote, That *France* and *Spain* were Ballances in the Scale of *Europe*; and *England* the Beam to turn them either way; for they ſtill got the better, to whom ſhe adhered.

About this time, when the Judges ſate at the Aſſizes in *Oxford*, and one *Rowland Jenkes* a Book-ſeller was queſtioned for ſpeaking opprobrious words againſt the Queen, ſuddenly they were ſurpriſed with a peſtilent ſavour; whether riſing from the noyſome ſmell of the priſoners, or from the damp of the ground, is uncertain, but all that were there preſent, almoſt every one, within forty hours dyed, except Women and children; and the Contagion went no further. There dyed *Robert Bell*, Lord chief Baron *Robert D' Oylie*, Sir *William Babington*, *D' Oyle* Sheriff of *Oxfordſhire*, *Harcourt*, *Weyman*, *Phetiplace*, the moſt noted men in this Tract; *Barham* the famous Lawyer; almoſt all the Jurours, and three hundred other, more or leſſe.

This year the title of the Lord *Latimer*, (which had flouriſhed in the Family of the *Nevills* ever ſince the days of King *Henry* the ſixth) was extinct in *John Nevill*, who dyed without iſſue male, and left a fair eſtate to four Daughters, whereof the eldeſt married *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, the ſecond *Thomas Cecil*, who was afterward Earl of *Exceſter*; the third, Sir *William Cornwallis*; and the fourth, Sir *John Daverſe*.

In *Ireland* the *O-Moores* and *O-Connors*, and others, whoſe Anceſtours the Earl of *Suffex* in Queen *Maries* days, had for their rebellion deprived of their Patrimony in *Leyſe* and *Ophallie*, did now break forth into a new Rebellion, under the conduct of *Rorie Oge*, that is, *Raderick* the younger: ſet on fire the Village of *Naſſe*, aſſault *Lochlin*; from whence being driven back by the valour of *George Carew* the Governour, he was afterward ſlain.

Out of *England* at this time there went into the *Low-countries*, *John North*, the Lord *Norths* eldeſt ſon; *John Norriu*, ſecond Son to the Lord *Norris*, *Henry Cavendiſh*, and *Thomas Morgan* Colonels, with many voluntaries, to learn Military experience. Thither alſo came *Casimire* the Elector Palatine's Son, with an Army of *German* Horſe and Foot, at the Queens charges: upon theſe

Don

The County of *Kerry* in *Ireland*, a County Palatine.

The Tax in *Ireland* called the *Ceaſſe*.

An. Reg. 19. A ſudden mortality at the Aſſizes at *Oxford*.

The Lord *Latimers* family, in iſſue male extinct, and how his four Daughters were beſtowed.

Engliſh Volunteers go into the *Low-countries*, and do valiantly.

A *Don John*, assisted by the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, and other the best Commanders of *Spain*, confident of victory, flyeth furiously, before they expected him, yet after a long fight, was forced to retreat; but then turning again, and thinking to break through the Hedges, and brakes where the *English* and *Scottish* Voluntaries had placed themselves, was again repulsed; for the *English* and *Scottish* were so hot upon the matter, that casting away their garments, by reason of the hot weather, they fought in their shirts, which they made fast about them. In this battel *Norris* fought most valiantly, and had three Horses slain under him, as also *Stuard* the *Scot*, *Bingham*, and *William Markham*.

Now for comfort to the afflicted Provinces, there came at that time into the *Netherlands*, the Count *Swarzenberg* from the Emperor, *Monfieur Belieure* from the French King, and from the Queen
B of *England*, the Lord *Cobham* and *Walsingham*, with Commission to procure conditions of Peace, but returned without doing any thing, for that *Don John* refused to admit the Protestant Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* refused to return into *Holland*.

About this time *Egremond Ratcliffe*, Son to *Henry* Earl of *Suffex*, by his second wife, who had been a prime man in the rebellion of the North, and served now under *Don John*, was accused by the *English* fugitives, that he was sent under hand to kill *Don John*; which (whether true or false) he was thereupon taken and put to death. The *Spaniards* have affirmed, That *Ratcliffe* at his last end, confessed voluntarily, That he was freed out of the Tower of *London*, and moved by *Walsingham's* large promises to do this Fact; but the *English* that were present at his death, deny that he confessed any such thing, though the *English* Rebels did all they could to wrest this confession
C from him.

Egremond Ratcliffe is put to death in *Flanders*, and why:

At this very time, *Don John*, in the flower of his age, died of the Pestilence, or (as some say) of grief, as being neglected by the King of *Spain* his Brother; a man of an insatiable Ambition, who aimed first at the Kingdom of *Tuniz*, and after, of *England*; and who, without the privity of the French King, or King of *Spain*, had made a league with the *Gaisers*, for the defence of both Crowns.

John D' Au-Asia dyeth.

Alanson although very busie about the *Belgick* War, yet now began again to pursue the Marriage with *Queen Elizabeth*; for renewing of which suit, first was *Bachervyle* sent to the Queen; and soon after *Ramboulet*, from the French King; and within a moneth after that, *Simier*, a neat Courtier, and exquisitely learned in the Art of Love, accompanied with a great number of the French Nobility; whom the Queen at *Richmond* entertained in such loving manner, that *Leicester* began to rage, as if his hopes were now quite blasted. Certainly a little before, when *Ashley*, a Lady of the Queens Bed-chamber, mentioned the Earl of *Leicester* to her for a Husband, she with an angry countenance, replied, Dost thou think me so unlike my self, and so forgetful of Majesty, as to prefer my servant, whom I my self have advanced, before the greatest Princes of the Christian World?

The Duke D' *Alanson* solicits his suite with the Queen atreth.

But it is now time to return to the *Scottish* Affairs. The Earl of *Morton*, Regent of *Scotland*, though a man of great wisdom and valour, yet was now so overcome with covetousnesse, that he grew universally hated; and thereupon, with the joynt consent of the Nobility, the Administration of the Common-wealth was translated to the King, though he was yet but
E twelve years old, and twelve of the chief Lords were appointed to attend him in Council, three of them by course for three moneths; amongst whom, the Earl of *Morton* for one, that they might not seem to cast him quite off. The King having taken upon him the Administration, sent presently the Earl of *Dumferlin* to *Queen Elizabeth*, acknowledging her great deserts towards him, and requesting to have the Treaty of *Edenburgh*, agreed on in the year 1559, to be confirmed, for the more happy restraining the robbers about the borders; and withall, That his ancient Patrimony in *England*; namely, the Lands granted to his Grand-father *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, and the Countesse his Grand-mother, might be delivered into his hands who was the next Heir. The Queen readily promised the former demands, but stuck a little at the last, concerning the Patrimony; For she would not grant, That *Arbella*, the Daughter of
F *Charles* the King of *Scots* Unkle, born in *England*, was the next Heir to the Lands in *England*; neither would she grant the Ambassadors proof out of History, That the Kings of *Scots*, born in *Scotland*, did anciently (without question) hold the Earldom of *Huntington* by Right of Inheritance. Yet she commanded a Sequestration to be made of the Revenues of those Lands; by *Burleigh* Master of the Wards; and willeth the King, That out of the goods of the Earl of *Lenox* in *Scotland*, satisfaction might be made to his Grand-mothers Creditors here. For she took it in ill part, that the King had recalled the Infeoffment of the Earldom of *Lenox* (made to his Unkle *Charles* and his Heirs) after the death of *Charles*, to the prejudice (as was suggested to her) of *Arbella*; although indeed, it be a Priviledge of the Kings of *Scotland*, That they may recall Donations made in their minority.

The Earl of *Morton* Regent of *Scotland*, is removed, and the King though but twelve years old is admitted to govern.

G The Earl of *Morton* in the mean while, not enduring the disgrace to be outed of his Regency, regarded not the Prescript Form of Government lately set down, but drew the Administration of all matters to himself, and kept the King in his own power; at the Castle of *Sterling*, admitting none to his presence, but whom he pleased. At this presumption, the Lords growing angry, made the Earl of *Atboll* their Captain, and in the Kings name levied a great Army, and were ready to encounter *Morton*; but by the Intercession of *Robert Bowes*, the *English* Ambassadour, they were stayed from fighting; and *Morton* presently betook himself home, and the Earl of *Atboll* soon after dyed, not without suspicion of being poysoned.

The King of Spain and the Pope conspire against Queen Elizabeth.

Thomas Stukeley is by the Pope honoured with the greatest dignities, and sent into Ireland. But diverted by the King of Portugal, is slain in Africa.

Alexander Farnese Prince of Parma is made Governour of the Netherlands.

Alanson comes privately into England, and hath secret conference with the Queen. Burleigh and others are enjoined to consult of the marriage Covenants. The title of Lord D^r Aubigny from whence it came.

Esme Steward made first Duke of Lenox.

At this time the King of Spain, and Pope Gregory the thirteenth held secret Consultation, to A invade at once both England and Ireland, and to work the absolute ruine of Queen Elizabeth; The Pope to gain the Kingdom of Ireland for his Son James Buon of Campagno, whom he had made Marquess of Vincola: The King of Spain secretly to relieve the Irish Rebels, as Queen Elizabeth did the Dutch, while friendship in words was upheld on both sides: and being known, That the greatest strength of England consisted in the Navy Royal, and Merchants Ships, it was advised, that the Italian and Dutch Merchants should hire these Ships for long Voyages; to the end that while they were absent, the Queens Navy might be surprised with a greater Fleet: and at that time Thomas Stukeley, an English iugitive, should joyn himself to the Irish Rebels with new Forces. For he making great boast, and promising the Kingdom of Ireland to the Popes Bastard Son, had had so insinuated himself into grace with the ambitious old man, that he adorned him with the B Titles of Marquess of Lemster, Earl of Wexford and Caterlogh, Viscount Morogh, and Baron of Rosse (the principal dignities of Ireland) and made him Commander over eight hundred Italian Souldiers, to be employed in the Irish War. With which Forces Stukeley setting sail from Civita Vecchia, arrived at length in Portingal, where he and his Forces were by the divine Providence diverted another way. For Sebastian King of Portingal (to whom the chief Command in this Expedition against England was assigned) being first to dispatch a War in Africa, in aid of Mahomet Abdall, Son to the King of Fesse, perswaded Stukeley to go along with him into Mauritania, together with his Italian Souldiers, and then afterward they would go together against Ireland: To this motion Stukeley soon agreed, and therein agreed with his destiny; for in that memorable Battel where three Kings were slain, both he and Sebastian lost their lives.

At this time Sir Henry Sidney (who had been Deputy of Ireland at several times eleven years) delivered up his Deputy-ship to Sir William Drury, President of Munster: Such a Deputy, for good Government, that if any have equalled him, none have exceeded him.

It was now the year 1579, and the two and twentieth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when John Casimire, Son of Frederick the third, Count Palatine of the Rhine, came into England; where, after he had been entertained with Tiltings and Jests, made Knight of the Garter (the Queen tying the Garter about his leg) and rewarded with a yearly pension, he returned. And now was Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, made Governour of the Netherlands by the King of Spain, and Queen Elizabeth supplied the States with a great sum of mony; for which William Davison brought into England the ancient precious Habiliments of the Family of Burgundy, and their Costly Vessels, D laid to pawn by Matthew of Austria and the States.

Simier in the mean time here in England, ceaseth not by all amorous devises to perswade the Queen to marry Alanson; wherein he drew her so far, that the Earl of Leicester gave out, he crept into the Queens affection by Love-potions and unlawful Arts: and Simier on the other side endeavoured by all means to cast down Leicester, discovering his marriage with the Earl of Essex widow: whereat the Queen grew so angry, that she confined him to the Castle at Greenwich, and had meant to have him committed to the Tower, but that the Earl of Suffex (though his greatest Adversary) dissuaded her: telling her that none ought to be molested for contracting lawful Matrimonie. But Leicester notwithstanding was so provoked for his confining, that he was bent to revenge it, and if it be true, as some said, he had suborned one Tinder a Yeoman of the Guard to murder Simier. E Sure it is the Queen by Proclamation commanded that no person should offer injury to the Embassadour or any of his servants. At which time it fell out that as the Queen, together with Simier, the Earl of Lincoln, and Hatton Vice-Chamberlain were rowed in a barge to Greenwich, a young man shooting off a Harquebus out of a boat, shot one of the rowers in the Queens Barge through the arm with a bullet, who was presently taken and led to the Gallows, but upon solemn Protestation, that he did it unwillingly, and out of no malicious intent, he was let go and pardoned. Some would have perswaded the Queen that he was purposely suborned to shoot either her or the French Embassadour: but she was so far from suspecting her subjects, that she would often say, She would not believe any thing against them which a mother would not believe against her children.

After a few days Alanson himself came privately into England with only one or two attendants, and came to the Queen at Greenwich, at a time when she thought not of it; they had secret conference together, all parties being sent away: after which, being seen of very few, he returned home; but within a moneth or two after the Queen enjoined the Lord Burleigh Treasurer, the Earl of Suffex, Leicester, Hatton and Walsingham, seriously to weigh both the dangers, and the commodities likely to arise from the marriage with him, and to consult with Simier concerning the marriage Covenants.

As in England there was some fear of this Frenchman: so in Scotland at this time of another Frenchman, called Esme Steward, Lord of Aubigny, who came now into Scotland to visit the King his cousin. He was the Son of John Steward Brother to Matthew Steward Earl of Lenox the Kings G Grand-father, and had denomination from Aubigny in France, which title Charles the seventh King of France had anciently conferred upon John Steward of the Family of Lenox, who being Countable of the Scottish Army in France, vanquished the English in one battail, and was slain by them in another: and from that time the title belonged to the younger-descent of that house. This Esme Steward, the King embraced with exceeding great love, made him Lord Chamberlain of Scotland, and Captain of the Castle of Dumbarton, and created him first Earl and then Duke of Lenox. The fear from this man was; because he was devoted to the Guises and the Popish religion; and

A and that which encreased the fear from this man, because he applyed himself to *Mortons* adversaries: and mediated to have *Thomias Carre* Lord of *Fernsburch* called home, who of all men was most addicted to the Queen of *Scots*.

About this time Queen *Elizabeth*, at the request of *William Harbouzne* an *English* man, procured a grant from the *Turkish* Emperour for the *English* Merchants to exercise free traffick in all places of his Dominions, as well as *Venetians*, *Polanders*, and other neighbouring Nations; whereupon they set up first the Company of *Turkie* Merchants; managing a most gainful Trade at *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Aleppo*, *Cyprus*, and other parts of *Asia*, bringing home Spices, Perfumes, unwrought Silks, Tapistrie, Indico, Corrants, and the like.

The *Turkie* Merchants when set up.

This year dyed Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; but who by vertue of an Act of Parliament, always exercised the Jurisdiction of Lord Chancellor; a very fat man, but singularly wise, and a chief prop of the Queens Privy Council: In whose place succeeded Sir *Thomas Bromley*, the Queens Solicitor, with the Title of Lord Chancellor *England*.

In *Ireland* at this time, in the Province of *Munster* *James Fitz Morris* kindled a new fire of Rebellion; for after his former submission upon his knees, vowing all Obedience to the Queen, he stole away into *France*, and promised the *French* King, if he would lend him assistance, to make him King of *Ireland*. But being by him slighted, he went into *Spain*, and made the like offer to the King there. The King of *Spain* sent him to the Pope, from whom (by means of *Nicholas Sanders*, an *English* Priest, and *Alan* an *Irish* man, both Doctors of Divinity) he obtained a little money, a Legats Authority for *Sanders*, a consecrated Banner, and Letters of Commendation to the Catholick King. And returning from *Spain* with those Divines, three Ships, and a few men, he landed at *Smerwick Kerry*, a demy Island in the West part of *Ireland*, about the first day of *July*; where (the place being first of all consecrated by the Priests) he built a Fort, and brought the Ships close under it; but these were presently set upon and carried away, by *Thomas Courtney*, and thereby the *Spaniards* deprived of their opportunity of coming thither by Sea. But now *John* and *James*, Brothers to the Earl of *Desmond*, gathering together a small number of *Irish*, joyn themselves presently with their kinsman *Fitz Morris*. Yet the *Spaniards* seeing that but a very few *Irish*, and those unarmed, came unto them, began to distrust the estate they were in, and to cry out, That they were undone; whom *Fitz Morris* heartened the best he could, telling them that Supplies were presently to come. And going himself to get more company, he passed through the Land of his Cousin *William a Burgh*, who though he had been a Rebel before, yet was now grown loyal, so as there fell out a skirmish between them; in which *Fitz Morris* being stricken through with a Pike, and shot into the head with a leaden bullet, died in the place, and most of his Company with him; but withall, two of *William Burghs* Sons were in that skirmish slain also; when the Queen, to comfort him for the losse of his Sons, adorned him with the Dignity of Baron of *Castle Connell*, and rewarded him with a yearly Pension besides: which favours so overwhelmed him with joy, that he lived but a short while after. And now Sir *William Drury* the Deputy growing very sick, appointed Sir *Nicholas Malby* then Governour of *Connaght* to be President of *Munster*, and General of the Army; at which time, the Earl of *Desmond*, who had all this while made a shew of Loyalty, breaks openly out into Rebellion; when now *Drury* the Deputy dying at *Waterford*, by his death *Malbys* Authority ceasing, Sir *William Pelham* is by the Council chosen Justice of *Ireland*, with the Authority of Vice-roy, until such time as a Deputy were appointed, and the Earl of *Ormond* is made President of *Munster*. *Pelham* goeth into *Munster*, and sendeth for the Earl of *Desmond*, who refusing to come, is thereupon proclaimed Traytor, and an enemy to the State; and this being published, the Justice committed the following the War to the Earl of *Ormond*, who slaying most of the *Spaniards*, and adherents to *Desmond*, compelleth him to send his Wife to the Justice, to beg his pardon.

Fitz Morris raiseth a Rebellion in *Ireland*, but is by *William a Burgh* encountered and slain.

The Lord Justice *Pelham* now certified, that *Arthur Lord Gray* was landed with authority to be Deputy of *Ireland*, at *Munster* delivereth the Army to *George Bourcquier* the Son of *John*, second Earl of *Bathe*, of that name, and himself returneth to *Dublin*, to deliver up the Province to his Successor. The Lord *Gray* at his landing, before he received the Sword, hearing where the Rebels had their Randevouz, marched towards them, who presently betake themselves to *Glandilough*, a grassie Valley, and beset thick with Trees, where they who dwell neer, scarce know the winding out; yet the Deputy (taking one *Cosbie* an old man, well acquainted with the place, to be his leader) entred into it, where he lost divers of his men, namely, *Peter Carew* the younger, *George Moore*, *Audley* and *Cosbie* himself that was his Leader.

The Earl of *Desmond* rebels, Sir *William Pelham* is made Justice of *Ireland*.

A short time after, there landed at *Smerwick* in *Kerry* under the command of *San Joseph* an *Italian*, about seven hundred *Italian* Souldiers, who fortifie the place, and name it *Fort del Or*: Whereupon the Deputy sent a Trumpeter to the Fort to demand who they were, what they had to do in *Ireland*, and who sent them; withall commanding them to depart immediately. But they replied, That some of them were sent from his Holiness, other from the Catholick King, upon whom the Pope had bestowed the Kingdom of *Ireland*, for that Queen *Elizabeth* (by reason of heresie) hath forfeited the Right unto her; and therefore what they had gotten, they would maintain. Upon this the Deputy prepares for battery, let flies his Ordnance four days together; in which time the *Spaniards* once or twice make Sallies out, to their own losse much, but not an *English* man slain, but only *John Cheek*, a courageous young Gentleman, Son to Sir *John Cheek*, a learned Knight. And now *San Joseph*, who commanded the Fort, a white-liver'd Souldier, terrified with the continual Battery, and having no hope of relief, either from the

The *L. Gray* is made Deputy of *Ireland*.

San Joseph an *Italian* with seven hundred Souldiers landeth in *Ireland*.

King

No Parlee to
be allowed to
Rebels.

San Josepb
yeelds himself
to the Deputy,
without any
condition.

His men are
all slain, and
why.

What Colleges
were called Se-
minaries, and
why.

Parsons and
Campian Jesu-
ites come into
England, in dis-
guise, and of
their educ-
tion.

Captain Drake
return from
his Voyage a-
bout the world.
His Parentage
and education.

The Pass-ages
of his Voyage.

King of Spain, or *Desmond* (contrary to the will of all his Souldiers) he set up a white Flag, and A
desired Parlee, but Parlee was denied, because he had combined with Rebels, with whom it is
not lawful to hold Parlee. Then he demanded that his Company might passe away with their
Bagge, but neither would this be granted. Then he required that some of the chieffer sort
might have leave to depart; but neither could this be obtained. At last, when they could pre-
vail in nothing, they hanged out the white Flag again, and submitted themselves absolutely,
without any condition, to the Deputies mercy, who presently consulteth how to deal with them,
and this was the Case; Their number was well-near as great as the *English*; there was present fear
of danger from the Rebels; and the *English* were so destitute of meat and apparel, that they were
ready to mutiny, unlesse they might have the spoil granted them; and besides, there were no
ships to send them away if they were spared: For these Reasons it was concluded (the Deputy B
gain-saying, and letting tears fall) That only the Leaders should be saved, the rest slain, and all
the *Irish* hanged up; which was presently put in execution, to the great disliking of the Queen,
who detested the slaughter of such as yeelded themselves, and would not accept of any excuses or
allegations.

And yet more cruelty then this was at that time committed in the *Netherlands*; for *John Nor-
ris*, and *Oliver Temple*, *English* Commanders, together with some Companies of *Dutch*, set-
ting out early one morning, took *Mechlyn* a wealthy Town of *Brabant*, at an assault with
Ladders; where they promiscuously murdered both Citizens and religious persons, offering
violence even upon the dead, taking away Grave-stones, which were sent into *England* to
be sold. C

About this time certain *English* Priests, who were fled into the *Netherlands*, in the year 1568.
by the procurement of *William Allen*, an *Oxford* Scholar, joyned themselves to study at *Dorray*,
where they entred into a Collegiate Form of Government; to whom the Pope allowed a year-
ly Pension. But tumults arising in the *Low-countries*, and the *English* Fugitives being com-
manded by the King of Spains Deputy to depart from thence, other the like Colleges, for the
training up of the *English* youth, were erected, one at *Rheims* by the *Guises*, and another at
Rome by Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, which always afforded new supplies of Priests for *England*,
when the old failed, who should spread abroad the seeds of the *Romish* Religion here amongst
us; from whence those Colleges had the name of Seminaries, and they called Seminary-Priests D
who were trained up in them. In these Seminaries, amongst other Disputations, it was con-
cluded, That the Pope hath such fulnesse of Power, by divine Right, over the whole Christian
world, both in Ecclesiastical and Secular matters, that by vertue thereof, it is lawful for him
to excommunicate Kings, absolve their subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and deprive
them of their Kingdoms. From these Seminaries at this time, there came two into *England*,
Robert Parsons, and *Edmund Campian*, both of them *English* men, and Jesuites. *Parsons* was born
in *Somerset-shire*, a fierce and rough conditioned fellow; *Campian* was a *Londoner*, of a milder
disposition. They had been both brought up in *Oxford*; *Campian* a Fellow of *S. Johns*
College, and had been Proctor in the year 1569; and when he was made Deacon, coun-
terfeited himself to be a Protestant, till such time as he slipped out of *England*. *Parsons* was
of *Baylioll* College, where he made open profession of the Protestant Religion, till for dishonest E
carriage, he was expelled the House, and then fled to the Popish Party. Both these came pri-
vily into *England*, in the disguise one while of Souldiers, another while of Noble-men; some-
times like *English* Ministers, and sometimes in the habit of Apparitors. *Parsons*, who was
made the Superior, brake forth into such open words amongst the Papists, about deposing
the Queen, that some of themselves had a purpose to complain of him to the Magistrates.
Campian, though something more moderate, yet in a Writing provoked the *English* Ministers
to a dispute; and published in *Latine* an elegant Book of his ten Reasons, in maintenance of
of the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church; as *Parsons* in like manner, set forth another violent
Pamphlet against *Clark*, who had written modestly against *Campians* Provocation. But Doctor *Whi-
taker* soundly confuted *Campian*, who being after a year apprehended, and put upon the Rack, F
was afterward brought out to a Disputation; where he scarcely made good the great fame that
went of him.

In this year was the return of Captain *Drake* from his incredible Voyage round about the
World (which *Magellan* had before attempted, but died in the Voyage) whereof to relate all parti-
cular accidents, would require a large Volume: It may suffice in this place, to deliver some spe-
cial passages. He was born of mean parentage in *Devonshire*, yet had a great man (*Francis Russel*,
after Earl of *Bedford*) to be his God-father. His father, in King *Henry* the eight's time, being
persecuted for a Protestant, changed his Soyl, and lived close in *Kent*. King *Henry* being dead, he
got a place amongst the Mariners of the Queens Navy, to read Prayers, and afterward bound his
son *Francis* to a Ship-Master, who in a Ship which went to and fro upon the Coast with Commo- G
dities, one while to *Zealand*, another while to *France*, training him up to pains and skill at Sea;
and afterward dying, took such a liking to him, that he bequeathed his Barque to him by his Will:
This Barque *Drake* sold, and then in the year 1567. went with Sir *John Hawkins* into *America*;
in which Voyage he unfortunately lost all he had. Five years after, having gotten again a
good sum of money by Trading and Piracy, (which the Preacher of his Ship told him was law-
ful) he bought a Ship of War, and two small Vessels with which he set Sail again for *America*,
where his first Prize was great store of Gold and Silver, carried over the Mountains upon Mules;
whereof

A whereof the Gold he brought to his Ships, but left the Silver, hiding it under ground : After this, he fired a great place of Traffique, called, *The Crosse*, at the River *Chiruge*, when roaming to and fro upon the Mountains, he espied the South Sea ; where falling upon his knees, he craved assistance of Almighty God, to finde out that passage, which he reserveth for another Voyage ; and for the present, having gotten much riches, he returned home. Afterwards, in the year 1577: the thirteenth day of *November*, with five Ships, and Sea-men to the number 163, he set sail from *Plimmouth*, for the Southern Sea, and within five and twenty days, came to *Cantyne*, a Cape in *Barbary*, and then sailed along by the Isle of *Fogo*, which sends forth flames of Sulphur ; and being now under the Line, he let every one in his Ships blood. The sixteenth of *April*, entering into the mouth of the Plate, they espied a world of Sea-Calves ; in which place *John Doughty*, the

B next to *Drake* in Authority, was called in question for raising Sedition in the Navy, who being found guilty, was beheaded. Some report, That *Drake* had charge given him from the Earl of *Leicester*, to make away *Doughty* upon some pretence or other, for that he had said, that the Earl of *Essex* was craftily made away by *Leicester* : The twentieth of *August*, two of his Ships he turneth off, and with other three came to the Sea, which they call, *The Strait of Magellan*. The Sixth of *September*, entering into the wide Southern Ocean, which they call, *The Pacificque* Sea, he found it out of measure troublous, so that his Ships were here by Tempests dispersed ; in one of which, *John Winter* was Master, who returned back into *England* ; *Drake* himself, with only one Ship, coasted along the Shore, till he came to the Isle *Moueba*, from whence loosing, he lighted upon a fellow fishing in a little Boat, who shewed him where a *Spanish* Ship laden with Treasure

Doughty beheaded by *Drake*.

C lay ; *Drake* making towards it, the *Spaniards* thought him to be their own Countreyman, and thereupon invited him to come on ; but he getting a boord presently shut the *Spaniards* (being not above eight persons) under hatches, and took the Ship, in which was four hundred pound weight of gold. At *Taurapasa*, going again to shoar, he found a *Spaniard* sleeping by the Sea-side, who had lying by him twenty bars of massie Silver to the value of four thousand Duckats, which he bid his followers take amongst them, the *Spaniard* still sleeping. After this, going into the Port of *Africa*, he found there three Vessels without any Mariners in them ; wherein, besides other wares, were seven and fifty silver bricks, each of which weighed twenty pound ; From hence, Tyding it to *Lime*, he found twelve Ships in one Road, and in them great store of Silks, and a Chest full of money coined, but not so much as a Ship-boy aboard ; (such security there was in that Coast :) Then putting to Sea with those Ships, he followed the rich Ship called the *Cacofoga* ; and by the way met with a small Ship, without Ordinance or other Arms, out of which he took fourscore pound weight of Gold, a golden Crucifix, and some Emraulds of a fingers length. The first day of *March*, he overtook the *Cacofoga*, set upon her, and took her ; and in her, besides jewels, fourscore pound weight of Gold, thirteen Chests of Silver ready coyned, and as much Silver as would Ballast a Ship. And now thinking he had gained wealth enough, he resolved to return home ; and so on the third of *Novemb.* 1580. he landed at *Plimmouth*, having sayled round about the World, in the space of three years ; to the great admiration of all that know what compasse the world is of.

How he gained his great Treasure.

The Queen welcomed him home, but made a sequestration of the goods, that they might be ready if the King of *Spain* required them ; and commanded the Ship to be drawn on shoar near *Desford* for a monument (where the carkasse of it is yet to be seen) and her self feasted in it, at which time she Knighted Captain *Drake*. But *Bernardine Mendoza*, the King of *Spains* Embassadour in *England*, began to rage ; and earnestly demanded Restitution of the Goods, and complained, that the *English* sailed upon the *Indian* Sea. To whom it was answered ; That the goods were sequestred, and ready to make the King of *Spain* satisfaction, although the Queen had expended against the Rebels, whom the *Spaniard* had excited in *England* and *Ireland*, more money then that which *Drake* brought home. And as for sayling on the *Indian* Sea, that it was as lawful for the Queens subjects as his, seeing the Sea and the Air are common for all to use. Norwithstanding, to *Pedro Sebur*, the King of *Spain*'s Agent in this businesse, a great sum of money was repaid, which was not restored to them to whom it belonged, but employed to the *Spaniards* Wars in the *Low-Countryes*, as was known after, when it was too late.

But at this time, when *Jackman* and *Pett*, two skilful Pilots, were sent forth with two Ships by the *Londoners*, to finde out a shorter cut to the *East-Indies*, by the North-West passage ; they had not the like Success ; for a few Leagues beyond the Isles of *Vaygato*, they met with such uncertain Tydes, so many Shallows, and such Mountains of Ice, that they could go no further, and had much ado to return home.

About this time, *Henry Fitz Allen*, Earl of *Arundel* died, in whom the Surname of a most Noble Family ended, which had flourished in this Honour for above three hundred years, from *Richard Fitz Alan* ; who being descended from the *Albanets* (ancient Earls of *Arundel* and *Sussex*, in the G Reign of King *Edward* the first) obtained the Title of Earl, by reason of the possession of *Arundel* Castle, without Creation. He had three Daughters by his Wife *Katherine*, Daughter to *Thomas* *Grays*, Marquess of *Dorset*, all whom he out-lived ; *Henry*, a young man of great hope, who dyed at *Brussels* ; *Joan*, Wife to the Lord *Lumley* ; and *Mary*, who being married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, brought forth *Philip*, in her Right, Earl of *Arundel*.

Henry Fitz Allen Earl of *Arundel* dies, in whom ended the Surname of that Noble Family.

In *Ireland*, *Arthur* Lord *Gray* the Deputy, going against the *O Connors*, who raised stirs in *Opbalie*, putteth to death *Hugh O Moley*, quieteth all that Quarter, even the Families of the *Mogbigans*, and the Title of *O Charles*, and in the very beginning suppresseth a conspiracy which was breaking forth, by putting that honour.

The possession of *Arundel* Castle gives the Title of that honour.

to death the Lord *Nogent*; who being confident in his own innocency, when the Deputy promised A to save his life, if he would but confesse himself guilty, chose rather to die and be held guiltlesse, then to live in infamy, by betraying his own Innocency. With whose death the Queen was extremely displeased, as by which she was made a Patronesse of cruelty, to her great dishonour. But the Deputy knew with what kinde of people he dealt, and by this example of severity, brought *Turlough Leymigh* to accept conditions of Peace; and the *O'Brians*, and *Cavenaghs* (Rebellious Families in *Leinster*) humbly to crave Peace also, and to offer Hostages.

The Earl of *Morton* is beheaded, as necessary to the murder of the Kings Father.

In Scotland at this time, great jealousie was had of *Lenox*, Lord of *Aubigny*, left, being in so great favour with the King, he should allure him to marry into France, and bring into Scotland the Popish Religion. Whereupon (although he purged himself by letters to Queen Elizabeth, and profered himself to be a Protestant) yet many courses were taken to sequester him from the B King; but so far from taking effect, that on the contrary, the Earl of *Morton* (who among all other was most addicted to the English) was soon after accused of Treason by the Earl of *Arran*, and cast into prison; and not long after (notwithstanding all the means the Queen could use to save him) was beheaded, as convicted to be accessory to the murder of the Kings Father. Whereupon the Earl of *Angus*, and other, who laboured for *Morton*, fled straightways into England.

General *Norris* raiseth the Siege at *Stenwick*.

But is afterward vanquished, wounded, and a great number of his men slain.

In these Dutch wars the English learn to be Drunkards.

The King of Spain seizeth upon the Kingdom of *Portingal*, and putteth *Don Antonio* to flight.

In the Low-Countries about this time, the Count *Rheinberg* proceeded victoriously for the King of Spain, and beleaguer'd *Stenwick* in *Freezland*; against whom the States sent *Norris* General of the Field, who put the *Rheinburghs* Company to the worst, and raised the Siege: but afterward joyning Battel with *Verduge* the Spaniard at *Northone*, even when the Victory was almost gotten C (*Roger Williams* having put the enemies to flight) the Fortune of the War turned, *Norris* is vanquished, wounded, and a great number of his men slain; amongst whom were *Cotton*, *Fitz Williams*, and *Bishop*, stout Commanders. Here it must not be omitted, That the English (who of all the dwellers in the Northern parts of the World, were hitherto the least Drinkers, and deserved praise for their sobriety) in these Dutch Wars learned to be Drunkards; and brought the vice so far to over-spread the Kingdom, that Laws were fain to be enacted for representing it.

Whom Queen Elizabeth received, and relieved.

But now whilst the States and the King of Spain contend about a few Towns in the Low-Countries, he seizeth upon the whole Kingdom of *Portingal*. For the last year, *Henry*, King of *Portingal* dying, many Competitors challenge the Kingdom; as the Duke of *Savoy*, the Prince of D *Parma's* Son, *Katherine Bracant*, and the Queen of France. But *Philip* King of Spain, the Son of *Henries* eldest Sister, putting the case to his Divines and Lawyers, and adjuring them to pronounce to whom of right it belonged, they pronounced, For him: whereupon he sent Duke D'Alva, who put to flight *Antonio*, whom the people had elected King, and within seventy days subdued all *Portingal*. The Queen of France angry hereat, and enviously beholding the King of Spain's Dominions thus enlarged (being now Master of *Portingal*, the *East-Indies* and many Islands besides) adviseth, amongst other Princes, Queen Elizabeth, to bethink themselves in time, of restraining his so excessive Dominions. Whereupon the Queen received *Don Antonio*, and lovingly relieved him, which she thought might be done without any breach of the League with Spain, seeing *Don Antonio* was descended of English blood, and of the House of Lancaster; and that no Caution was in the League, That the *Portuger* should not be admitted into England. E

The Match with *Alanson* now Duke of *Anjou* is pursued athis:

And Articles of the Marriage are agreed on.

And now the Queen-Mother of France, and the King her Son, more eagerly then ever, pursue the Match with *Alanson*, now Duke of *Anjou*; for the transacting whereof, they sent in Ambassage into England, *Francis Bourbon*, Prince of *Dauphine*, *Arthur Cosse*, Marshal of France, and many other honourable Personages, who were entertained with great respect (a House being purposely built at *Westminster* for that use, royally furnished; Tiltings and Jufts proclaimed, by *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, *Frederick* Baron of *Windfor*, *Sir Philip Sidney*, and *Sir Fulk Grevill*, against all comers. The Delegates that were to confer with the French concerning the marriage, were *Sir William Cecil*, Lord Treasurer; *Edward* Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord Admiral; *Robert Dudley*, Earl of *Leicester*; F *Sir Christopher Hatton*, and *Sir Francis Walsingham*, Secretary; by whom, Covenants of Marriage were at length agreed on; First, that the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Queen of England, within six weeks after the ratification of the Articles, should contract Matrimony, and the rest, most of them such as were before agreed on, in the Marriage between Queen *Mary* and King *Philip*, chiefly consisting in conferring Honour upon the Duke, but Power upon the Queen. It was also agreed, That all particulars should be ratified within two Moneths, by the faithful Promise and Oath of the French King, for him and his Heirs, and a Reservation also was added apart, with the Hands and Seals of every one of the Delegates, That Queen Elizabeth is not bound to finish the Marriage, until she and the Duke have given each other satisfaction in some Particulars, and have certified the French King of the same within six weeks. Before those six weeks were expired, G *Simier*, Secretary to the Council, is sent into France, to require the King of France his Confirmation: The King will not hear him, but presseth to have the Marriage accomplished, as it was contracted, and that nothing else was to be done. *Simier* on the other side, sheweth by the Articles, That a League offensive and defensive must first be concluded: This the French King disclaimeth: Whereupon *Walsingham* is presently sent to compose this difference, who jointly with *Henry Cobham*, the Ambassadour in ordinary, and *Simier*, alledgeth to the French King these Particul. rs, That Queen Elizabeth for no other reason was willing to marry, but for

But the King of France disclaimeth the Articles.

^A for the satisfaction of her people; and seeing many Impediments were come in the way since the first Treaty, namely the Civil War in *France*, and the Dukes engagement in a War with *Spain*, which makes the wisest of her Subjects now to be against the Match: This hath made her to deter the accomplishment of it, although her affection be still constant toward the Duke. For this cause the Queen would have no further Treaty to be held, till the *French* Duke be freed from the *Spanish* war, and a League of mutual offence and defence be agreed on. The *French* King willingly accepted of the League defensive; but of the offensive he would hear no speech, till the marriage were finished.

Not long after, the *French* Duke himself came into *England*, having with good successe raised the Siege of *Cambray*; he was here received with as great humanity as he could wish, and nothing omitted, whereby he might judge himself to be truly welcome: Insomuch that in *November*, when the Anniversary of the Queens Inauguration came to be solemnized, the Queen (while they were in Love conference) drew a Ring off from her finger, and put it upon his, upon some private conditions. The standers by imagined, that by this Ceremony the marriage was confirmed between them; and *Aldegonde* Governour of *Antwerp* being there, presently dispatched messengers into the *Low-Countries*, to give notice of it; and thereupon Bonfires were made, and all shews of rejoycing. But the Earl of *Leicester* (who privily plotted to crosse the Match) *Hatton* the Vice-chamberlain, and Secretary *Walsingham*, fret and are enraged, as if the Kingdom, the Queen and Religion, were now utterly overthrown. The Maids of Honour, and Ladies that were familiar with the Queen, made grievous lamentation, and so terrified and daunted her, that she could take no rest that night. The next day, she calleth to her the *French* Duke, and causing all company to go aside, they privately entertain a long discourse. At length the Duke returning to his lodging, cast the Ring away from him, and after a while takes it up again, terribly exclaiming against the levity and inconsistency of Women.

The Queen at this time was much troubled at a Book lately put forth, with this Title, *The Gulph wherein England will be swallowed, by the French Marriage*: whereof, conceiving that some Puritan was the Author, it made her highly displeased with the Puritans: whereupon within a few days, *John Stubbes* of *Lincolns-Inne*, a zealous Professor, and the Author of this Book, (whose sister, *Thomas Cartwright*, the Father of the Puritans, had married) *William Page* that dispersed the copies, and *Singleton* the Printer, were apprehended, against whom Sentence was pronounced, That their Right hand should be cut off, by virtue of a Law made in the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary*, against the Authors and dispersers of Seditious Writings, (though the chief Lawyers and Judges of the Kingdom could not agree concerning the force of that Statute) Hereupon *Stubbes* and *Page* were brought to the Scaffold, made of purpose, in the Market place at *Westminster*, and their right hands with a Butchers knife and a mallet cut off by the wrist; the Printer was pardoned. At that time, *Stubbs* when his right hand was cut off, uncovered his head with the left, and cried out, *God save the Queen*, to the great amazement of all the beholders.

At this time the Queen, upon importunate suit of her Councel, gave way, that *Edmund Campian*, *Ralph Sherwin*, and *Alexander Bryant*, Priests, should be called to the Bar, who being accused by virtue of a Law made in the five and twentieth year of King *Edward* the third, to have plotted the ruine of the Queen and Kingdom; to be adhering to the Pope, the Queens enemy, and coming into *England*, to raise Forces against the State, were then condemned of High-treason, and accordingly executed. *Campian* after he was convicted, being demanded; First, whether Queen *Elizabeth* were a lawful Queen? would make no answer; afterward, Whether he would stand for the Queen, or for the Pope, if he should send an Army against the Queen; he plainly professed, That he would be of the Popes side, and witnessed so much under his hand. After this some other Papists upon the like occasion were also put to death, which the Queen rather necessarily, then willingly assented to, as being unwilling to force the conscience of any. These, and the like exorbitances of Papists, were cause, that new and strict Laws were enacted against them the Parliament following, which began the next *January*.

^F The *French* Duke after three moneths abode in *England*, took his Journey in *February*, into the *Low-Countries*, whom the Queen her self brought on his way as far as *Canterbury*; and then commanded the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord *Charles Howard*, *Hunsdon*, *Willoughby*, *Windsor*, *Sheffield*, *Sir Philip Sidney*, *Sir Francis Russel*, *Sir George Bourcier*, and some other prime Knights to accompany him to *Antwerp*, where he is made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limbourg*, and *Lorrain*; for the *Dutch* had long before removed the King of *Spains* Government, and quitted the people from their oath of Allegiance, that it might be in their power to choose any other Prince. Here the Duke of *Ajou* gave free leave to exercise the *Roman* Religion, to as many as would swear Fealty to him, and abjure the King of *Spains* authority: but after all, having spent a great masse of money, with which he was supplied from *England*; and observing that only vain and empty titles were conferred upon him, while the States held all the Dominion in their own hands, he rashly enterprized an assault upon *Antwerp*, and some other Towns, and shortly departed without any great matter performed.

At this time Queen *Elizabeth*, as well to get her some friends, as she had procured her self many enemies; received into the Order of the Garter, *Frederick* the second King of *Denmark*; to whom she employed *Sir Peregrine Bertie* (whom she had lately made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*) to invest him.

The Duke of *Ajou* comes himself into *England*.

And in a private conference with the Queen, she draws a Ring off from her finger and put it upon his.

The *English* Lords and Ladies, imagining the marriage to be confirmed, fret exceedingly.

The next day she calleth the *French* Duke to her, and after a long discourse, made him exclaim against the Inconstancy of women; *Stubbes* and *Page* have their Right hands cut off for writing a seditious Book against the marriage.

Campian, *Sherwin* and *Bryant* Priests are executed.

The Duke of *Ajou* goes out of *England*, whom the Queen brought on his way as far as *Canterbury*.

Sir Peregrine Bertie made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*.

The Earl
Gowry and
other Lords
take the King
and keep him
as a prisoner.

But now to prevent the Duke of *Guyse* design in *Scotland*, which was to make use of the Duke of *Lenox* favour with the King, to withdraw his affection from the English: *William Reuben*, whom the King had lately made Earl of *Gowry*, endeavoured with others, by all means to remove *Lenox*, and the Earl of *Arran* from the King; and so, while *Lenox* was gone from *Perth*, (where the King at that time was) to *Edinburgh*, and *Arran* was also absent on a journey: the Earls *Gowry*, *Marre*, *Lindsey*, and other, taking the opportunity, invited the King to the Castle of *Reuben*, and there detained him, not permitting him to walk abroad: All his trusty servants they removed from about him, *Arran* they cast in Prison, enforced the King to call home the Earl of *Angus*, and to send away *Lenox* into *France*, who being a man of a soft and gentle disposition, for the Kings safety readily consented; and not content with all this, they compelled the King by his Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, to approve and allow of this his thralldom. The Queen of *Scots* in the mean while, bewailing her own hard fortune, and the distresse of the King her Son, layeth open the same in a large Letter, written to the Queen in *French*: With which Letter, Queen *Elizabeth* being somewhat affected, sent unto her *Robert Beal* Clerk of the Council, to expostulate with her concerning the querulous writing, and joyntly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to treat of the setting her at liberty. And indeed serious consultations was held at the Councell Table about it, and the most were of opinion, that upon certain conditions she should have her liberty; but the *Scottish* of the *English* faction opposing it, nothing was effected.

The King of
Scots frees him-
self from those
that had sur-
prized him.

Soon after this, the King sent Colonel *William Steward*, and *John Colvill* to Queen *Elizabeth*, profering all manner of respect and observance, and requesting her advice for quieting the tumults in *Scotland*, and also for his contracting of marriage. At which time, news was brought, that the Duke of *Lenox* was dead in *France*, who departing this life at *Paris*, even at the very point of death, as often times before, made open profession of the Protestant Religion; thereby confuting those who had maliciously traduced him for a Papist. After whose death, when the surprisers of the King were lift up in their own conceits, as thinking they had him safe enough; He on a sudden, (though scarce eighteen years of age) with some few others, conveyed himself to the Castle of *S. Andrews*, to whom the Nobility presently repaired, bringing Armed Bands with them, as fearing some danger might befall him. Afterwards, in fair words he advised some of his surprizers to go from the Court, for avoiding of tumult, and promising them pardon, if they would crave it. But *Gowry* only asked pardon, and submitted himself, using this distinction, That he had not offended in matter, but in form only; and then the King sent for the Earl of *Arran* to the Court, and respected him as his intimate friend, imploying him to compose the differences amongst the Nobility, and to purge the Kingdom and his own Court from civil dissensions.

Walsingham is
sent to the K.
of *Scots*, to ad-
vise him to take
heed of evil
Counsellours:
and the Kings
Answer.

While he is sedulous in these cares, comes Sir *Francis Walsingham* from Queen *Elizabeth*, to advise him not to be led away by evil Counsellors to the destruction of both Kingdoms. He findeth the King accompanied with the flower of the Nobility, and beholdeth another manner of Majesty then he looked for in *Scotland*: Having Audience given him, he put the King in minde, of what the Queen out of *Ilocrates*, in private Letters had formerly admonished him: That a Prince must be such a lover of Truth, that more credit may be given to his bare word, then to anothers oath; and in many words advised him, to beware now in his youth of evil Counsellours, and always to be like himself. The King answered, that he was an absolute Prince, and would not that others should appoint him Counsellours whom he liked not; but that he had long since devoted the first-fruits of his amity to the Queen of *England*, his dear Sister, and doth now willingly make profer of the same. *Walsingham* now dealt with him further; not to lay to the Queens charge what broyls had lately fallen out in *Scotland*; sheweth, how beneficial to him, and to both Kingdoms Amity had been hitherto, and would be in time to come also, so it were not neglected; and that the same might the better be confirmed, if the variance between the Nobility were laid asleep, by a Law of Oblivion enacted in Parliament, the Peers which now were removed from the Court called back again, Religion looked into, and a firm League concluded between both Kingdoms. The King made answer, that he gladly embraced Amity with *England*, and that he would constantly defend the Religion already established: Afterward he lovingly dismissed *Walsingham*, though he held him no good friend to him and his Mother; and carefully looking to matters with understanding, even above his years, proposed and profered reconciliation to those that had surprized him, if within a limited time they asked pardon; which they were so far from doing, that they entred into new consultations to surprize him again; whereupon they are commanded within a set time to leave the Kingdom, of which number, *Marre*, *Glames*, *Paslet*, and some other, betook themselves into *Ireland*; *Boyde*, *Zester Weeme*, *Lochevin*, into the Low-countrie; *Dumfermilin* into *France*; the Earl of *Angus* is confined to his Earldom, *Gowry* only to his own ruine stayeth behinde after the limited time, hatching new devises.

About this time happened a difference, and thereupon a War, between the Emperours of *Muscovia*, and the King of *Sweden*; when John King of *Sweden*, doubting himself to be no fit Match for the Emperour, sent a Royal Ambassage to Queen *Elizabeth*, requesting her to intercede for him to the Emperour; which she did without delay, and by her Ambassadour drew the *Muscovian* to a Peace upon reasonable Conditions. But the *Muscovian* shortly after dying, and *Theodorm* his Successor granting free Traffique to Merchants of all Nations that would come thither; the Queen importuned him to admit of none but *English* Merchants, requiring him to confirm

A confirm the Priviledges which his Father had granted them : Whereto, by way of Answer, he demanded Free Trading for all the *English*, saying, It was not fit that a small Company should exercise a Monopoly, and all other be restrained : But as for Customs, he promised to take lesse by one half of that Company, then of any other, because they first opened the way thither.

The next Summer, *Albertus Alasco*, a Palatine of *Poland*, of a comely personage, and great learning, came into *England* to see the Queen, who was nobly entertained, both by her, and the Nobility, as also by the Scholars of *Oxford*, with learned Orations, and other Recreations : but having into tarried here four Months, and run into much debt, he secretly withdrew himself & departed. This man I saw my self afterward in *Crakow*, very bare, though it was reported of him, That he had in a Dowry with a Wife, fifty Castles of great value : but what Myne can bear the charges of prodigality ?

Albertus Alasco
a Palatine of
Poland comes
England.

This year proved fatal to divers great men ; for there dyed this year, first *Thomas Ratcliffe*, the third Earl of *Suffex* of this Family ; a man of great spirit, and great faithfulness to his Country. There dyed also *Henry Wriothesley* Earl of *Southampton* ; one exceedingly devoted to the *Romish* Religion, and a great favourer of the Queen of *Scots*, which cost him Queen *Elizabeths* displeasure, and imprisonment besides. There dyed also *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, who was cast away at Sea, in his return from the North part of *America*, whither he lately sayled with five Ships, having fold his Patrimony, in hope to plant a Colony there. There dyed also *Edmund Grindall*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being blinde through age, a grave and pious Prelate, who stood highly in the Queens favour for a long time, till he lost it at last, by favouring (as was said) the Puritans Conventions, but the true cause indeed was, for disallowing the Marriage of *Julio* an *Italian* Physician, with another man Wife, against the Earl of *Leicester* pleasure. *Grindall* dying, *John Whitgift* succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*, being translated thither from the See of *Worcester*.

A year fatal to
divers great
men.

At this time, certain Popish Books written against the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate, withdrew divers from their Allegiance, and particularly, so intoxicated one *Somerville*, an *English* Gentleman, that he went privately to the Court, and breathing out nothing but bloud and death against all Protestants, set upon one or two by the way with his drawn sword. Being apprehended, he stuck not to say, That he would murder the Queen with his own hands. Hereupon he, and upon his intimation, *Edward Arden* his father-in-law (a man of an ancient House in *Warwickshire*) *Ardens* wife, their daughter, *Somervilles* wife, and *Hall* a Priest, were brought to the Bar, and all condemned ; *Somerville* as principal, the rest as accessaries. Three days after, *Somerville* was found strangled in the Prison ; *Arden* was executed and quartered ; the women and the Priests were spared. Many pitied the old Gentleman *Arden*, as misled by the Priest, and as it was generally believed) brought to his end through the envy of *Leicester*, whom he used to call Whore-master, Up-start, and many such opprobrious names.

Somerville and
Arden are con-
demned ; and
why.

In the *Netherlands*, the *English* Garrison at *Alost* in *Flanders* being neglected, the Governour *Pigot*, and the other Captains, for want of pay, upon Composition, yielded up the Town to the *Spaniard*, and then fearing disgrace at home, joyned themselves to the Prince of *Parma* ; at whose hands finding themselves slighted, by degrees they stole all away, and came all to unlucky ends.

In *Ireland* the famous Rebel, *Gyralt Fitz Gyralt*, the eleventh Earl of *Desmond* of this Family, having a long time in lurking places escaped the *English*, was now by a common Souldier found out in a poor Cottage, and slain. His head was sent into *England*, and set upon *London* Bridge. This end had this great Lord, descended from *Maurice*, the Son of *Gyralt* of *Windfore*, an *English* man, famous amongst those who first set upon *Ireland*, in the year 1170. He possessed whole Countries, together with the County Palatine of *Kerry*, and had of his own Name and Race, at least five hundred Gentlemen at his Command. All whom, and his own life also, he lost within the space of three years, very few of the House being left alive. And this dysaster he fell into, by proving Trayterous to his Prince, at the instigation of certain Popish Priests. Of whom, the chief was one *Nicholas Sanders* an *English* man, who at the same time dyed miserably of Famine, being starved to death, when as being forsaken, and running mad upon his ill success, he roamed up and down the Mountains and Groves, finding nothing to sustain him. In his Scrip were found certain Orations and Letters, written to hearten the Rebels, and promising large rewards from the Pope and King of *Spain*. Upon the Rebels ill success, *James Fitz Eustace*, Viscount *Baltinglas* fled into *Spain*, where he pined away with grief. He out of zeal to the *Roman* Religion, a little before he had taken up Arms with the Rebels, and exhorting the Earl of *Ormond* his neighbour, to do the like, (who drew his Linage from *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury*) he used these words to perswade him, That if *Saint Thomas* of *Canterbury* had not died for the Church of *Rome*, thou hadst never been Earl of *Ormond* ; for King *Henry* the second, to expiate the murder of *Thomas Becket*, gave large lands in *Ormond* to his Predecessors.

Gyralt fitz
Gyralt the ta-
mous Rebel in
Ireland, is by a
common souldier
slain.

His great posses-
sions, and
numerous kindred,
all dead
within the
space of three
years.

The beginning of the next Spring, certain *Scots*, together with *Gowry*, plotted again to surprize the King, pretending only a care of Religion, and to remove ill Counsellors from him : but the King having intelligence of their practise, used means by Colonel *Steward*, to have *Gowry* taken and cast into prison : whereupon *Marre*, *Glames*, *Angus*, and other of the confederates fled into *England*, and beseech the Queen to commiserate their estate, who had incurred the Kings

Whether a Secretary of State may not transact a business of State, without special Commission from the Prince.

The Earl Gowry is arraigned, condemned and beheaded.

Many practises are plotted against Queen Elizabeth in behalf of the Queen of Scots.

Sir William Wade sent into Spain, being not admitted to have Audience of the King, comes away without doing his message.

Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador is thrust out of England, and why.

Sir William Wade is sent to the Queen of Scots to treat with her about some conditions for setting her at liberty.

displeasure, to do her and the Kingdom of England service. The King on the other side, accu- A
seth them to the Queen of hainous crimes, and requires to have them delivered up into his hands. But Secretary *Walsingham*, who bore great good will to these men, sent Letters with a Command, That they should be safely admitted into *Lindisferne*, otherwise called, The holy Island; where *Hunsdon* being Governor there, and greatly addicted to the King of Scots, resisted *Walsingham's* Command, alleading he could not satisfy the Secretary in this point, unless the Queen gave expresse Command. Hereupon grew a Dispute, Whether a Secretary of State might not transact a business of State, without special Commission from the Prince. How this Case was determined, is uncertain; but sure it is, the Scots came not thither, though some favour they had shewed them here in England. In the mean time, Gowry was tryed by his Peers, at *Sterlyn*; where, being accused of many Treasons, though he gave colourable answers to them all, yet was B
found guilty, condemned, and beheaded; whose head his servants sewing to his body, committed to the Grave.

About this time were practises plotted against Queen Elizabeth, in behalf of the Queen of Scots, chiefly by *Francis Throgmorton*, eldest Son of *John Throgmorton*, Justice of Chester, who came to be suspected, by reason of Letters sent to the Queen of Scots which were intercepted. Upon his apprehension, *Thomas Lord Paget*, and *Charles Arundel*, privately stole away into France, grievously complaining against *Leicester* and *Walsingham*, for alienating the Queen from them, and using such wiles, that scarce any man was able to live in safety. *Henry Earl of Northumberland*, and *Philip Earl of Arundel*, were confined to their houses, his wife committed to the custody of *Sir Thomas Shirley*, *William Howard*, the Earls Brother, and *Henry Howard* their Uncle, Brother to the Duke of Norfolk, were examined about Letters from the Queen of Scots, and many C
Stratagems were set on foot, dangerous to some particular persons, but necessary (as should seem) for the Queens security. Certain it is, That now the malice of the Papists against the Queen, brake forth more violently then ever before; for in printed Books they stirred up the Queens own servants to attempt the like upon her, that *Judith* did on *Olophernes*. The Author of these Books could not be found, but the suspicion lay upon one *Gregory Martin* sometime of Oxford; and *Carter* a Stationer, who printed the Books, suffered for it. And whereas the Papists every where traduced the Queen for cruelty, she desirous always to leave a blessed remembrance behinde her, grew extremely offended with the Commissioners for Popish causes, taxing them of too much cruelty: insomuch that they were fain, in a printed Declaration, to clear themselves; protesting; That they questioned no man for his Religion, but only for dangerous attempts against the Queen and State; and that *Campion* himself was never so racked, but that he could presently walk up and down. But all this gave not the Queen satisfaction, but she commanded the Commissioners to forbear tortures, and the Judges other punishments; and not long after, when seventy Priests were taken, and some of them condemned, and the rest in danger of the Law, she caused them all to be shipped away, and sent out of England: The chief of whom were *Gaspard Heywood*, the great Epigrammatist's Son, the first Jesuite that ever set foot in England; *James Bosgrave*, *John Hart*, and *Edmund Riston*.

At this time Mendoza the Spanish Ambassadour, was thrust out of England, for joyning with Throgmorton in his Treason against the Queen; whereupon Sir William Wade was sent to the King of Spain, to satisfy him how ill Mendoza had discharged the Office of an Ambassadour here in England; who, when the King admitted him not to his Presence, but in a slighting manner, putting him off to his Counsellors; Wade taking it in great disdain, boldly said, That it was a declared Custom amongst Princes (though in heat of War) to give Ambassadours audience, and thereupon stoutly refused to declare his Ambassage, and so returned into England unheard. The greatest matters laid to Mendoza's charge, were gotten out of Throgmorton's Confession; for when he was in danger to be apprehended, he sent to Mendoza a box of Writings; and when his Chests were searched, there were found two Scrowls, one with the names of the Ports of England, and in the other the names of the Nobility and Gentry in England, that favoured the Romish Religion. These, when Throgmorton saw brought forth, he said they were F
counterfeited, and stood to it upon the very Rack; but being brought to the Rack the second time, he then confessed all, That Morgan by Letters out of France, had given him information, that the Catholick Princes had decreed to invade England, and with the help of the Duke of Guise, to free the Queen of Scots; and that nothing was now wanting, but money and aid in England; and that for procuring of this, Charles Paget, under the counterfeit name of Mope, was sent into Suffex, where the Duke of Guise intended to land; and that he had imparted all this matter to Mendoza, and intimated the names of the Ports, and of the Noblemen that should assist. But being arraigned at the Guild-hall, he denied all this again, saying, He had spoken so, because he would not be Racked again. Yet being condemned to die, he flying to the Queens mercy, confessed in a manner all he had before related; and then at the Gallows went about to deny it again. So false G
to it self is the minde of man when it is divided between hope and fear, and lies under the burden of a guilty conscience.

Sir William Wade being returned from Spain, was employed to the Queen of Scots, about a Treaty begun two years before: To whom the distressed Queen sincerely professed, That she devoted her service and her self to the Queen of England; and made solemn promise, That if the former Treaty might go on, she would mediate with the King her Son, to receive into favour the Earl of Angus, and the other Scottish Lords, and would charge the Bishops of *Resse* and *Glasco*, her

A her Agents in *France*, to have no further to do with the *English* Fugitives. These things Queen *Elizabeth* heard gladly, and thereupon sent *Beal* to the Queen of *Scots*, who joyntly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* should signifie unto her, That if she continued still in the same minde, as she had delivered to *Wade*; Sir *Walter Mildmay* should come out of hand to her, and treat concerning her liberty: but withall she commanded *Mildmay* and *Beale* to dive into her as well as they could, to know what practises the Duke of *Guyse* had on foot. To that which she had spoken to Sir *William Wade*, the Queen of *Scots* made a wary answer; but to that concerning the Duke of *Guyse*, she plainly confesseth; That being sickly her self, and weak of body, she had committed her self and her Son, to the Protection of the Duke of *Guyse*, her dear Cousen, of whose intendments she knoweth nothing; nor if she did, would she disclose them, unlesse she might be sure of her own liberty. Lastly, she requesteth, That being a free and an absolute Prince, she may not be worse handled, then Queen *Elizabeth* her self was, when she was a Subject, and kept in prison by her Sister. These things had a hearing, but no feeling, and the rather by a strange accident; for *Creighton* a *Scottish* Jesuite, sayling from the *Low-Countries*, and taken by *Dutch* Pirats, had certain papers which he tore and threw away, which thrown over-board, and by the winde blown back unto the Ship, miraculously (as *Creighton* himself said) they were brought to Sir *William Wade*, who patching them together with much labour and cunning, discovered by them some new intendments of the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Guyse*, about the Invading of *England*: Whereupon, and upon divers other rumors, the better to provide for the safety of the Queen, a number of her Subjects (the Earl of *Leicester* being the formost) men of all ranks and conditions, bound themselves mutually to each other, by their oaths and subscriptions, to persecute all those to the very death, that should attempt any thing against the Queen; which league of theirs, they called the Association.

An Association of Lords and others in defence of Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Queen of *Scots* who presently apprehended, that this Association was entred into for her destruction; maketh this proposition by *Nave* her Secretary, to the Queen and the Council; That if she might have her liberty granted, and be assured of the Queens love, she would enter a strict league and amity with her, and passing by all matters of offence, esteem and honour her, above all the Princes of the Christian World; yea, and (saving the ancient League betwixt *France*, and *Scotland*) she would her self be comprehended in the Association, and a League defensive, against all that should go about to injure the Queen. Herewith Queen *Elizabeth* was wonderfully pleased, and at that time certainly had an inclination to grant her freedom. But see what malice can do; for many in *England*, but specially the *Scots* of the adverse party, endeavoured by all means to hinder it; exclaiming, That the Queen could be no longer in safety, if the Queen of *Scots* were set liberty, That both Kingdoms were utterly undone, if she were admitted into the joynt Government of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that the reformed Religion lay a bleeding, if Papiests were admitted within the Court walls; nor was this all, but the *Scottish* Ministers in their Pulpits, loaded the Queen *Scots* with all manner of contumelies, slandered the King himself, and his Council in the most bitter manner; and being cited to appear before him, refused, saying, That the Pulpits were exempted from all Regal Authority, and that Ecclesiastical persons were not to be censured by their Prince, but by their own Consistory (directly against the Laws made the year before in Parliament) whereby the Kings Authority over all persons, whether Ecclesiastical, or Secular, was confirmed; and namely, That the King and his Council, were Supreme Judges in all Causes; and that whosoever refused to be tryed by them, should be holden guilty of High-treason; all Presbyters and Lay-conventicles forbidden, Parity of the Clergy taken away, and the authority of Bishops restored, whose Calling the Presbyteries had condemned as wicked and Antichristian: And lastly, all scurrilous Labels against the King and his Mother, prohibited; namely, the *Scottish* History of *George Buchanan*, and his Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*.

The Queen of *Scots* offers to enter into the Association, if she may have her liberty.

To which *Q. Elizabeth* is inclining. But is made averse from it by *Scots* and *English* of the adverse party, and specially by *Scottish* Ministers.

At this time, upon her adversaries suggestion, the Queen of *Scots* is taken from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and committed to the custody of Sir *Amias Pawlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, and that on set purpose (as some were perswaded) to drive her into abrupt and desperate attempts; and indeed upon this, she grew more importunate with the Pope and King of *Spain*, to hasten their intendment, whatsoever became of her, as ill indeed was like to become of her, if it be true (as some said) that *Leicester* sent out assassins to make her away, but that *Drury* detested the villany, and would grant them no access.

The *Q. of Scots* is taken from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and committed to the custody of Sir *Amias Pawlet*.

And now to alienate Queen *Elizabeth* utterly from her; it is suggested to her, That *Allen* for the Catholics of the Clergy, *Inglefield* for the Laity, and the Bishop of *Rosse* for the Queen of *Scots*, with consent of the Pope and the King of *Spain*, had joyntly combined to depose her, and to bar the King of *Scotland* from his hereditary Right to the Crown of *England*, and to marry the Queen of *Scots* to an *English* Nobleman of the Romish Religion, and him the *English* Catholics should choose King of *England*, and the Pope confirm the Election: and all this upon the credit of *Hart* the Priest: but who this *English* Nobleman should be that should marry the Queen of *Scots*, could not be found, though *Walsingham* were busie to search it out: the fame went upon *Henry Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*s Brother, who was a single man, a great Papist, and of high estimation amongst the Catholics.

A Combination in the Catholics to marry the Queen of *Scots* to some *English* Nobleman of the Romish Religion; and who he was thought to be.

This year died in Exile and misery, *Charles Nevill*, who was in the Rebellion of the North, the last Earl of *Westmerland* of this Family; a House from whence descended many Noble

Charles Nevill the last Earl of Westmerland of this Family, dies in Exile: and of the many Noble Personages descended from that House.

Plowden the great Lawyer dies.

The Prince of Orange is shot and slain by a Burgundian.

William Parry Doctor of the Laws, condemned and executed; and for what cause.

Personages, six Earls of *Westmerland*, two Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, an Earl of *Kent*, a Mar- A
quesse *Montacute*, a Duke of *Bedford*, Baron *Ferrers of Ousley*, the Lord *Laymer*, the Lord of
Aburgeny, one Queen, and five Dutcheffes (to let passe Countesses and Baronesses) an Archbi-
shop of *Tork*, and a numerous company of other Lords. In *England* died none of reckoning this
year, but only *Plowden* the famous Lawyer; but in *France*, the Duke of *Anjou* died of grief; and in
Holland, *William* Prince of *Orange*, shot into the body with three Bullets, by one *Balibaser Gerard*, a
Burgundian.

It was now the year 1585. and the eight and twentieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when, to
tie the *French* King more nearly to her, whom the year before she had received into the number of
the Knights of the Garter, she sent the Earl of *Derby* into *France*, to invest him with the Robes and
Ornaments, according to the due Solemnity; which he kindly accepted, and at Evening Prayer B
was invested with them.

At this time a Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*, wherein *William Parry* a *Welsh* man, a
Doctor of the Laws, when in the Lower House a Bill was read against the *Jesuites*, he alone stood
up, and exclaimed that it was a cruel and bloody Law: and being asked his reason, he stoutly
refused, unless he were required by the Lords of the Council. Hereupon he was sent to
the Gate-house, but upon submission was received into the House again. Soon after, he was
accused by *Edward Nevill*, for holding secret consultations about making the Queen away;
Who thereupon apprehended, upon his examination, confessed in effect thus much, That out
of discontent he went beyond the Sea, where, by the encouragement of *Campegio* the Popes
Nuntio at *Venice*, and grant of a plenary Indulgence from the Pope, he undertook to kill the C
Queen; but coming into *England* to that intent, he altered his minde, and disclosed to the Queen
the whole matter. After this, he received a Letter from the Cardinal of *Como*, perswading
him to go forward with the Enterprize; and this Letter also he shewed the Queen. After this,
he chanced to see a Book of Doctor *Allens*, written contra *Iustitiam Britannicam*, wherein was de-
clared, That Princes who were for heresie excommunicate, might lawfully be deprived of their
life and Kingdom. This Book wonderfully confirmed him, and he read it to *Nevill*; who,
though he took an oath of secrecy, yet now upon a hope of the Earldom of *Westmerland*, be-
trayed him. This was his confession, before Baron *Hunsdon*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir
Francis Walsingham: as likewise in his Letters to the Queen, to the Lord *Burleigh*, and the Earl
of *Leicester*, acknowledging his fault, and craving mercy. A few days after, he was called to D
the Bar in *Westminster* Hall, where he confessed himself guilty, and thereupon was condemned.
After the sentence of death pronounced, he furiously cited the Queen to Gods Tribunal: five days
after he was laid upon a Hurdle, and dragged through the City to *Westminster*, where at the Gibbet
he made a vain-glorious boasting of his faithfulness to the Queen, but not so much as in a word
commended himself to God; and in the great Palace at *Westminster* was executed as a Traytor, the
Nobility and Commons sitting then in Parliament.

Laws made
for safeguard
of the Queen.

In this Parliament, the Association before spoken of, was universally approved, and enacted
in this Form; That four and twenty, or more, of the Queens Privy Council, and Peers of the
Realm, should be selected and authorized, under the Great Seal of *England*, To make enquiry of
all such persons as shall attempt to invade the Kingdom, or raise Rebellion, or shall attempt any evil E
against the Queens Person, for whomsoever, and by whomsoever, that layeth any claim to the Crown of
England; and that person for whom, or by whom they shall attempt any such thing, shall be altogether un-
capable of the Crown; and more to this purpose. Laws also for the Queens safety, were enacted
against *Jesuites* and *Popish* Priests, and against all that shall receive or relieve them. These Laws
terrified many, and particularly out of fear of them, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, the Duke of *Nor-*
folks eldest Son, purposed with himself to travel beyond Seas; for having been once or twice
cited before the Lords of the Council, and confined to his house, and after six moneths set at
liberty, he thereupon wrote a Letter to the Queen, That for the service of God, and his souls
health, he purposed to leave his Countrey, but not his loyal affection towards her; but as he
was taking Shipping; by his own servants treachery he was discovered, apprehended and laid in F
the Tower.

The Earl of
Arundel com-
mitted to the
Tower, and
why.

Henry Percy
Earl of *Nor-*
thumberland
being in the
Tower, is
found dead in
his bed.

At the same time lay in the Tower *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*; a man of a lofty spirit,
being suspected by reason of secret consultation with *Throgmorton*, the Lord *Paget*, and the *Guise*,
about the invading of *England*, and freeing of the Queen of *Scots* (whose cause he ever highly
favoured) but in the moneth of *June*, he was found dead in his bed, shot into the body
with three bullets, under his right pap, and the door bolted on the inside. The Coroners
Inquest examining the matter, found and pronounced that he had killed himself. Three days
after, the Lords meeting in the *Star-chamber*, *Bromley* Lord Chancellor, declared this fact of the
Earls, and then commanded the Attorney General to shew the cause of his imprisonment, and the
manner of his death; whereupon, *Popham* first, and then *Egerton* the Queens Solicitor, in long Orati- G
ons, lay open all his Treasons, and how for fear of the Law, he had laid violent hands upon himself.

Q. Elizabeth
enters League
with the Prin-
ces of *Germany*.

And now the Queen knowing that the seeds of these Treasons proceeded from the Duke of
Guise, and his adherents, she sought for the strengthening of her self, to enter into the League
with the Princes of *Germany*; and to this end, she sent Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmark*,
to the Count Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, to the Duke of *Saxony*, *Wittenberg*, *Brunswick*, *Lonce-*
burg; the Marquels of *Brandenburg*, and the Landgrave of *Hessia*; and into *Scotland*, she sent Sir *Ed-*
ward Wootton, to let the King understand how sincerely she was affected towards him, and withall

A to draw the King (if he could) into a League of mutual defence and offence, and to commend to him the Match of the King of Denmark's Daughter. The King was very inclinable to the matter of the League, but for the present the business was interrupted, by the death of *Francis Russel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, slain at a meeting to compound a difference between the Borderers, by a sudden tumult of the *Scots*, but who it was that slew him, was not known. The *English* laid it upon the Earl of *Arran*, and the Lord *Ferniburst* Governour of the middle Borders; whereupon, at the Queens complaint, the Earl of *Arran* was confined, and *Ferniburst* committed to prison at *Dundee*, where he dyed; a man of great valour and resolution, and one that was always firm for the Queen of *Scots*. But Queen *Elizabeth* not thus satisfied, gave leave by way of connivence to the *Scottish* Lords that were fled into *England*, namely, the Earl of *Angus*, the B *Hamiltons* and *John Cladius*, the Earl of *Marre*, *Glames*, and other, that they should steal away into *Scotland* (the supplying them with money) there to master and subdue the Earl of *Arran*. For *Maxwell*, who was lately made Earl of *Bothwell*, Baron *Humes*, *Goldingknolls*, and other in *Scotland*, had already promised them their assistance, even in the very Court. Sir *Patrick Gray* (*Arrans* great Rival for the Kings favour) *Belenden*, and Secretary *Maitland* (by *Wottons* craft) were made against *Arran*. These men, upon their first entry into *Scotland*, command all persons in the Kings name, to aid them for conserving the truth of the Gospel, for freeing the King from corrupt Counsellors and for maintaining of Amity with the *English*, so as there presently joyned with them about eight thousand men. The Earl of *Arran* hearing hereof, makes hast to the King; and accuseth *Patrick Gray* as Author of this commotion: but whiles *Arran* was making provision for defence of the Town, the enemies were ready to scale the Walls: whereupon *Arran* being advised, that only his life was sought, gets secretly away with only one servant, the rest betook themselves to the King in the Castle. Then the Rebels get into the Market-place, and display their Banners against the Castle: the King sends *Gray* to know the reason of their coming; they answer, to submit themselves and in humble manner to kisse the Kings hands: the King offereth restitution of all their goods, if they would depart; They desire to be admitted to his Presence, which upon these conditions the King granted. That they should not attempt any thing against his life, or those whom he should nominate, nor make any innovation in the Government. They protest; They are ready to sacrifice their lives for the Kings safety; and of any Innovation they had not so much as a thought; only they request to have their adversaries, and the Fortifications of *Scotland* delivered up into their hands. Hereupon after a days Consultation, they are admitted into the Kings Presence, and forthwith the Earls of *Mount Ruffe*, *Crawford*, and *Rothsay*; Colonel *Steward*, *Downs*, *Arran's* Brothers, and others, were delivered to them: The Earl of *Arran*, who was fled into the Western Islands, is called home; the assaulters were pardoned, and pronounced good subjects. *Hamilton* is set over *Dumbrition* Castle; *Goldingknolls* over *Edenburgh*; the Earl of *Angus* over *Tantallon*; the Earl of *Marre* over *Stein*; and *Glames* is made Captain of the Guard. Upon this, all Proscriptions and Outlaws against all persons, since the Kings Inauguration (saving some few proscribed for the murder of the Kings Father) are called in, and with an unanimous consent of all parties, the Treaty of a League with the Queen of *England* is agreed upon, and Delegates nominated to that purpose.

E In *Ireland* likewise was a Combustion this year, first the *Burkes* (descended of the ancient Family of the *Burroughs* in *England*) provoked by the severe Government of *Richard Bingham*, Governour of *Cannaght*, raise Rebellion; but this was soon suppressed, for *Thomas Burk* dyed fighting; *Meyler* and *Thesbald Burk* were taken and hanged. After this, the *Clan Gibbons*, *Clan Donells*, and *Foyes*, combined together in great numbers, and say plainly, They will have a *Mac-William* of their own, one of the *Burks* to rule over them, or some other Lord out of *Spain*; they will admit of no Sheriffe into their Countrey, nor appear before the *English* Courts of Justice; and thereupon harried all the Countrey with Fire and Sword, and neither by the persuasions of the Archbishop *Tuan*, nor by the intreaties of the Earl of *Clan-riccard* (the chief of the House of the *Burks*) would be quieted, till *Jon Bingham* the Presidents Brother, following them into the Woods, drave away five thousand Head of their Cattell, so as after forty days, half starved, they came forth and submitted themselves. But this was not yet an end; for now the President understood, That two thousand *Scottish* Islanders were landed, and ready to break into *Cannaght*; whereupon he musters his men to give them Battel; but they flying to Bogs and Woods, he retires back as though in fear, thereby to draw them from the Bogs to firm ground, and then with his whole Forces set upon them, slew three thousand of them (indeed all but four-score) amongst whom were *Donell Garmy*, and *Alexander Garmy*, the sons of *James Mac-Conel*, who had long disquieted this part, and those *Burks* who were the first authors of this Rebellion. This was a famous Victory, for the good of the present and future times; for hereby the name of the G *Mac-Williams* in *Cannaght* was utterly extinct, and the insolent attempts of the *Scottish* Islanders absolutely crushed.

In the Low-Countries at this time the States were very hard beset, so as they held a Consultation, whither to flee for protection, either to the French King, or to the Queen of *England*. Monsieur *Prunie* the French Ambassadour shewed many advantages, and gave many reasons why they should flee rather to the French King; the *English* on the other side, alledged many reasons why they should flee rather to the Queen of *England*: but in conclusion they have first recourse to the king of *France*, and afterward being by him neglected, to the Queen of *England*.

A great tumult amongst the Lords in *Scotland*, and why.

A combustion in *Ireland* how caused, and how pacified.

The name of the *Mac-Williams* in *Cannaght*, is utterly extinct.

The States of the Low-countries flee to Q. *Elizabeth* for protection, which she for the present refused.

England. But then in England it was consulted, Whether it were meet to protect them; wherein A the Council was divided; some were of opinion, That it were good to receive and aid them, lest the Spaniard first conquering them, might have the better way to annoy England; other again thought, They were to be held no better then Rebels to their lawful Sovereign, and therefore unworthy of assistance. After long debating the matter, the Queen refuseth to take into Protection, much lesse to exercise Sovereignty over them. Nevertheless, to raise the Siege of Antwerp, which was then beleaguere'd by the Prince of Parma, she was content to supply them with four thousand Souldiers, so as the Town of Sluce, and the Ordinance belonging to it, were given up into their hands: but while this matter was discussing, the Town of Antwerp was fain to yeeld it self.

For at last she undertakes it.

She sends Sir Francis Drake and Christopher Carlile to the West, and what they effected there.

Tobacco first brought into England at this time by Ralph Lane.

John Davis findes out a way to the East-Indies by the higher part of America.

The Earl of Leicester is sent General of the Queens Forces into Holland.

The States commit to him the absolute command over the united Provinces. Which the Queen is angry at.

And the States excuse it.

What was done by the Earl of Leicester at his being in Holland.

But the Queen better bethinking her self, partly as fearing the growth of the King of Spain's B power, and partly, as commiserating the afflicted of her own Religion, at last resolves to undertake their protection, upon condition of her part, to supply them with five thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, under a sufficient General, paying them during the War; and afterward the expenses to be payed back, upon condition on their part, by way of Pledge, to deliver Flushing and the Fort of Kamekin, the Town of Brill, with the two neighbouring Forts: and for the justifying of this her action, she set forth a large Declaration. And knowing that herein she incensed the King of Spain, she thought best to turn his anger further from home, and thereupon sent out Sir Francis Drake, and Christopher Carlile, with a Navy of one and twenty Ships (wherein were two thousand Volunteers and Mariners) towards the West-Indies; who first surprized the Town of St. Jago, afterward St. Dominick (where five and twenty thousand Crowns were given them, to spare the Town from burning) afterward Cartagena, which they held seven weeks, till the Spaniards redeemed it for a hundred and ten thousand Crowns. After this, the Calenture waxing hot, and diminishing their Forces, they returned homewards, passing by Virginia, a Colony which Sir Walter Raleigh had there planted; from whence Drake brings home with him Ralph Lane, who was the first that brought Tobacco into England, which the Indians take against crudities of the Stomach. At this Expedition were lost about seven hundred men, who for the most part dyed of Calentures: their Booty amounted to the value of threescore thousand pounds Sterling, besides two hundred and forty Brasse and Iron Pieces. These things were done under the Torrid Zone in America; when in the mean while, Captain John Davis, with two Ships (at the charges of William Sanderfun, and other Citizens of London) found out a way to the East-Indies, by the higher part of D America, under the Frigid Zone.

At the end of this year the Earl of Leicester is sent General of the Q. Forces into Holland, accompanied with the Earl of Essex, the Lords Audley, and North, Sir Wil. Russell, Sir Tho. Sherley, Sir Arthur Bassett, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Gervase Clifton, and divers other Knights, besides five hundred Gentlemen. Landing at Flushing, he was first by Sir Philip Sidney the Governor his Nephew, a stranger by the Towns of Zeland and Holland, entertained in most magnificent manner; and coming to the Hague in January, the States by Patent committed to him the command and absolute authority over the united Provinces, with the Titles of Governour and Captain General of Holland, Zeland, and the Confederate Provinces: So as being now saluted with the Title of his Excellency, he began to assume unto him Princely spirits. But the Queen took him soon off from further aspiring, E writing unto him in most peremptory manner; That she wondred how a man whom she had raised out of the dust, could so contemptuously violate her commands, and therefore charged him upon his Allegiance, to put in execution the Injunctions she sent him by Hennage her Vice-Chamberlain; Withall, in Letters apart, she expostulateth with the States, that to her great disparagement, they had cast upon the Earl of Leicester her Subject, the absolute command over the united Provinces, without her privity, which she her self had utterly refused; and therefore willeth them to develt him of that absolute authority, to whom she had set bounds, which he should not passe. The States return Answer, That they are heartily sorry they should incur her displeasure by conferring upon the Earl that absolute Authority, not having first made her acquainted, but they beseeched her to consider the necessity of it; seeing, that for avoiding of F confusion, that Authority must needs be cast upon some one or other; Neither was there any great matter in the word Absolute, seeing the Rule and Dominion resided still in the people. By these Letters and Leicesters own submissive writing, the Queen was soon satisfied; Leicester all this while receiveth Contributions and Rewards from all Provinces, maketh martial Laws, and endeavouring likewise to raise new Customs upon Merchandizes, incurred great dislike amongst the common people. His first service was to relieve Grave a Town in Brabant, which the Prince of Parma, by Count Mansfield had besieged: Hither he sent the Count Hobenlo a German, and Norris General of the English Foot, but notwithstanding all the great service they did there, the Town in the end was taken; but Hismart the Governour, for his cowardly yeelding it up, lost his head. From hence the Prince of Parma marched into Gelderland, and pitched his Tents before Venlow, where G Skenkic a Frizlander, and Roger Williams a Welshman performed great service, yet that Town in a short time was taken also. But in the mean while, the Lord Willoughby Governour of Bergen up Zome, cut off the enemies Convoyes, and took away their victuals; and Sir Philip Sidney, and Maurice the Prince of Oranges Son, upon a sudden onset, took Axales Town in Flanders. From Venlow the Prince of Parma goes to Berke, where there were twelve thousand English, under the command of Colonel Morgan; he notwithstanding laid Siege to the Town, which the Earl of Leicester came to raise, but finding his Forces too weak to raise it, he seeks to divert it, by beleaguering

A guering *Duisburgh*; which before the Prince of *Parma* could come to relieve, he took. And now the Prince of *Parma*, fearing lest *Zutphin* should come in danger, commandeth victuals to be carried thither, which the *Spaniards* carrying along in a fogge, the *English* by chance lighted on them, vanquished a Troop of their Horſe, ſlew *Hannibal Gonzaga*, and divers others, but then on the *English* ſide was one ſlain, more worth then all the *English* and *Spaniards* put together, Sir *Philip Sidney*, who having his Horſe ſlain under him, and getting upon another, was ſhot into the thigh, and 25 days after, in the flower of his age, dyed: A man of ſo many excellent parts of Art and Nature, of Valour and Learning, of Wit and Magnanimity; that as he had equalled all thoſe of former Ages, ſo future Ages will hardly be able to equall him. His Funerals were in ſumptuous manner ſolemnized at *St. Pauls Church* in *London*. *James King of Scotland* made his Epitaph, and

Sir Philip Sidney is ſlain.

B both Universities celebrated his death with Funeral Verſes.

After this, *Leiceſter* aſſaulteth *Zutphen*, where ſetting upon a Fort, he takes it in this manner; *Edward Stanley* (of the *Stanleys* of *Elford*) catching hold of a *Spaniards* Launce, which was brandiſhed at him, held it ſo faſt, that by it he was drawn into the very Fort; whereupon the *Spaniards* being affrighted (as thinking all the enemies were coming up) forſook the place; *Leiceſter* Knighted *Stanley* for this act, gave him forty pounds in preſent money, and a yearly Penſion of an hundred Marks during his life. And now though in this forwardneſſe to win the Town, yet Winter being already come on, he thought it unreaſonable to beſiege it any longer (eſpecially ſo many *English* Garrisons lying round about it, which were in nature of a ſiege) but returned to the *Hague*, where the States entertained him with complaints, that their money was not care-

Leiceſter takes the Fort at *Zutphen* by the valour of *Edward Stanley*, and in what manner.

C fully huſbanded, that the number of the *English* ſupplies were not full, that foreign ſouldiers were levied without their conſent, that the privileges of the united Provinces were ſet at nought, and new deviſes for contribution invented; for all which evils, they entreated him to provide ſome preſent remedy. To which complaints (having a purpoſe to go for *England*) he gave a friendly answer; but upon the very day in which he was to depart, he committeth the government of the Province, to the deliberation of the States; and the ſame day made another private inſtrument of writing, where he reſerved to himſelf the whole authority over the Governours of the ſeveral Provinces, Cities, and Forts; and more than this, taketh away the wonted jurisdiction from the States Council, and Preſidents of the Provinces; and came into *England* the third day of December. And thus paſſed the affairs of the *Netherlands* for this year.

The States complain of the Earl of *Leiceſters* carriage.

D But in *England*, *Philip Earl of Arundel*, who had lyen in Priſon a whole year, was at laſt brought to the Star-chamber; and being charged with foſtering of Priests, and having correſpondence with *Allen* and *Parſons* the Jeſuite, and offering to depart the Kingdom without liſence, was fined ten thouſand pounds, and impriſonment during the Queens pleaſure.

Philip Earl of Arundel is fined, and why.

At this time, the Queen, by Sir *Horatio Palavacino*, ſupplied with a large ſum of money the King of *Navarre*; through whoſe ſide, the *Guyſes* oppoſed the reformed Religion in *Scotland*, but her moſt intentive care was how to unite *England* and *Scotland* in a ſolid friendſhip: To which end, ſhe ſent *Thomas Randall* into *Scotland*, who making Propoſitions to the King, touching a League offenſive and deſenſive, though the King at firſt required ſome additions, and though the *French* Ambaſſadour infinitely oppoſed it, yet at laſt he conſented to it; and in July following, there met

A League of ſtrict Amity concluded with the King of *Scots*.

E at *Barwick*, *Edward Earl of Rutland*, *William Lord Ever*, and *Thomas Randal* for the Queen of *England*; *Francis Earl of Bothwell*, *Robert Lord Boyde*, and *Humes* for the King of *Scots*, and there the League (which was called the League of ſtrict Amity; for that the word *offenſive* liked not the *Scots*) was upon certain points concluded: Firſt, for the maintenance of the reformed Religion, and then other ſuch Articles, as commonly in Leagues are uſual.

The very ſame moneth that this league was agreed on, a moſt dangerous conſpiracy againſt the Queen was diſcovered. For firſt, one *John Savage* was by the perſwaſions of *Gifford*, Doctour in Divinity, induced to believe, that it was a meritorious work, to take away the lives of Princes Excommunicate, who thereupon vowed to kill Queen *Elizabeth*: but to make the Queen and her Council ſecure, at the very ſame time they wrote a Book, exhorting the Papiſts in *England*, to

F attempt nothing againſt their Prince, and to uſe only the Chriſtian weapons of Tears, Prayers, Watching, and Faſting. About *Whiſſun-tide*, one *Ballard* a Seminary Prielt of *Rheims*, acquainted with the vow of *Savage*, (having dealt in *France* with *Mendoza* and *Charles Paget*, about invading of *England*) arrived here in a ſouldiers habit, and by a counterfeit name, called Captain *Foſcu*; with theſe matters he acquaints one *Anthony Babington*, a Gentleman of *Darbyſhire*, who by the Biſhop of *Glaſco*, the Queen of *Scots* Ambaſſador in *France*, had been commended to her, as one worthy of her love; ſo, as between them, there paſſed often letters in unknown characters. In ſhort time, *Babington* had drawn into the Plot, other Gentlemen as zealous of the *Romiſh* Religion as himſelf; namely, *Edward Windſor*, Brother to the Lord *Windſor*, *Thomas Saluſbery* of a good Family in *Devonſhire*, *Charles Tilney* one of the Queens Penſioner, *Chydrick Tichburn* of *Hamſhire*, *Edward Abington* (whoſe Father was Coſerer to the Queen) *Robert Gage* of *Surrey*, *John Traverſe*, and *John Charnock* of *Lancashire*, *John Jones*, *Savage* formerly ſpoken of, *Barnwell* of a noble Family in *Ireland*, and *Henry Dun* a Clerk in the Office of Firſt-fruits and Tenths; one *Polle* alſo ſcrwed himſelf into their company, a fellow thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Queen of *Scots*, who was thought to have revealed all their conſultations to *Walsingham* day by day. To theſe Gentlemen, *Babington* communicateth his affairs, but not every particular to every one, but to *Ballard*, *Tichburn*, and *Dunne*, he ſheweth the Letters which paſſed between him and the Queen of *Scots*: with *Tilney*, and the reſt, he dealeth to be Aſſiſtants; of whom, ſome at firſt loth, at laſt

A dangerous Conſpiracy is at this time diſcovered, begun by *John Savage*, but proſecuted by *Anthony Babington* and divers others.

The chief discoverer of this Conspiracy was one Gifford, and by what means.

Walsingham's State-craft.

Babington seeks to escape.

But is discovered and taken.

The Queen of Scots hath her Closets broken open and her Boxes searched.

consented, and in a foolish vaingloriousness, a picture of the Assassins was made to the life, and Babington in the midst, with these words: *Quorsum hæc aliis properantibus?* This Picture (they say) was gotten and privately shewed to the Queen, who knew none of them by face, but only *Begunell*, (who had oftentimes come to her in the causes of the Earl of *Kildare*, whose servant he was.) Certain it is, that the Queen one day walking abroad, spied this *Begunell*, and turning to *Halton*, said, Am not I well Guarded, that have not so much as one man in the company with a sword by his side? Thus much *Begunell* himself told the rest of his confederacy; and how easie a matter it had been to have dispatched her at that time, if the rest had been present. The chief discoverer of the Plot, was the aforesaid *Gifford*: This man was a Gentleman of a good House at *Chellington* in *Staffordshire*, not far from *Chartley*, where the Queen of Scots was kept prisoner, and was now sent by the English fugitives in *France*, under the counterfeit name of *Lusson* to put *Babington* in minde of the vow he had made, and to convey letters between them and the Queen of Scots. But he, whether pricked in conscience, or dismayed in minde, came to *Walsingham* privately, revealing who he was, and for what end, and by whom sent into *England*. *Walsingham* courteously entertained him, and sent him down into *Staffordshire*, to do the work he had undertaken. Here *Gifford* bribing the Brewer of the house, where the Queen of Scots lay, contrived the matter in such sort with him, that by a hole in the wall, in which a loose stone was put, he should give in, and receive forth Letters, the which by messengers purposely laid by the way, came evermore to *Walsingham's* hands, who broke them open, copied them out, and by the rare cunning of one *Thomas Philips*, found out the meaning of the private Characters, and by the singular Art of *Arthur Gregory*, sealed them again so curiously, that no man would imagine them to have been opened, and ever sent them to the parties, to whom the superscription directed them. In like manner were the former letters from the Queen of Scots to *Babington* intercepted; as also, other letters written at the same time to *Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassador, *Charles Paget*, the Lord *Paget*, the Archbishop of *Glascow*, and *Francis Englefield*. The Queen as soon as she understood by these Letters of the storm hanging over her head, both at home and abroad, commanded *Ballard* to be apprehended, who on a suddain is taken in *Babington's* house. *Babington* hereupon goeth to *Walsingham*, with whom he had long been a suitor, for licence to go into *France*, promising to do great matters in discovering the practises of the Fugitives; *Walsingham* with fair promises drives him off from day to day; and now perswades him, that for a small space till he could get his license sealed, he would lodge at his house in *London*, where they might have secret conference without suspicion. This web *Walsingham* himself had spun hitherto, and no other of the Queens Council were made acquainted; and longer yet he would have drawn the thread out, but that the Queen was unwilling; lest (as she said) by not avoiding danger when she might, she should seem rather to tempt God, then to trust in him. Whereupon, *Walsingham* sent a Note to his man *Scudamore* from the Court, to look carefully to *Babington*: This Note was delivered in such manner, that *Babington* sitting by a Table when *Scudamore* read it, overlooked him, and read it likewise; Hereupon suspecting that all was discovered, the next night he and *Scudamore*, and one or two more of *Walsingham's* servants supping at a Tavern, and being very merry, he made an excuse that he must needs step aside, and rose up, leaving his cloak and his sword, and so made hast through the dark to *Westminster*, where *Gage* and he changed apparel, and then together withdrew themselves into *S. Johns* wood neer the City, whither *Barnwell* and *Dun* betook themselves. In the mean space they were proclaimed Traytors all *England* over. Hereupon they lay lurking in Woods and by-places; they shave *Babington's* face, disfigure the beauty of his countenance (for he was of an extraordinary beauty) with the husks of green Wall-nuts; and when they were half starved, went to the houses of the *Bellamies*, neer *Harrow* on the hill, who were great Papists: There they were hid in Barns, and put into a Countrey habit: but notwithstanding all their shifting, within ten days after they were discovered and brought to *London*. The other Complices were soon after taken, most of them in the Suburbs of the City, *Salisbury* and *Traverse* in *Cheshire*, and *Jones* in *Wales*, who harboured them in his house, after he knew they were proclaimed Traytors, *Windore* only was never heard of. Many days were spent in the examination of them, who cut one the others throats, with their own confessions. All this while, the Queen of Scots and her servants are so narrowly looked to by *Pawlet*, that she knew nothing of all these passages: as soon as they were apprehended, *Thomas Gorge* was sent to acquaint her with the whole matter, which yet he did not do, till she was got on Horse-back to ride a hunting, and was not then suffered to return, but in shew of curtesie was carryed up and down, to see the Houses of the Gentry thereabouts. In which mean while *John Manners*, *Edward Aiton*, *Richard Bagot*, and *Sir William Wade*, took *Nave* and *Curle* the Queen of Scots Secretaries, and the rest of her servants, and delivered them to Keepers apart, that they might have no speech between themselves, nor with their Lady the Queen of Scots. Then they broke open all dores, and such Desks and Boxes as they found with any papers in them, they set their seals upon, and sent them to the Court: In which, being broken open before the Queen, were found a number of Letters from Foreign parts, the copies likewise of Letters sent to several persons, and threescore Alphabets at least of private Characters; as also, Letters to her from some of the English Nobility, containing great proffers of love and service, which the Queen notwithstanding took no notice of, but passed over in silence, according to her Motto, *Vides & Taces*, I see, and say nothing. *Gifford* now, who had all this while served their turn, is sent into *France*; but ere he went hence, left an Indenture with the French Ambassador herein *England*, with Instructions that he should deliver no Letters to the Queen

A Queen of Scots, or the Fugitives in France; but to him that exhibited an Indenture matching with that, the which he sent under-hand to Sir Francis Walsingham.

The twentieth of September, seven of the forenamed Conspirators were Arraigned, and pleading guilty, were condemned of High-Treason. Two days after, seven other were called to the Bar, who pleaded not guilty, but notwithstanding were found guilty by their own confessions, and condemned; *Pollie* only, though he were privy to all passages, yet because he had disclosed many things to *Walsingham*, was not called in question. The twentieth day of the moneth, the first seven in *St. Giles Fields*, where they were wont to meet, were hanged, cut down instantly, their privy members cut off, and themselves yet living and beholding it, were in cruel manner bowelled and quartered; namely, *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Savage* (who, the roap breaking, fell down from the Gibbet, and was presently taken by the hangman, his privy members cut off, and bowelled, while he was perfectly living) *Barnwell*, *Ticbburn*, *Tibney*, and *Abbingdon*. The next day, the other seven were drawn to the same place, and executed in the same fashion, but in a more gentle manner, by the Queens special charge, who detested the former cruelty, for they were to hang till they were quite dead. *Salisbury* first, then *Dun*, then *Jones*, *Chernock*, *Traverse*, *Gage*, and with them *Hierome Bellamy*, who had concealed *Babington* after he was Proclaimed Traytor (whose Brother being guilty of the same fact, had strangled himself in Prison)

Fourteen of the Conspirators are Arraigned, and hanged.

When these men were executed, *Nave* a French man, and *Curle* a Scotch man, Secretaries to the Queen of Scots, were examined concerning the Letters, the copies of Letters, and private Characters found in the Queen of Scots Closet; who under their own voluntary subscriptions acknowledged, that they were their own hand-writings, dictated in French by the Queen her self, taken by *Nave*, turned into English by *Curle*, and copied out in secret Characters. Hereupon, Sir Edward Wootton was sent out of hand into France, to make known to the King, the order of the Treason, and to shew him the copies of the Queen of Scots Letters, confirmed by the testimony of sundry of the English Nobility, that the French King might see what dangerous plots were by *Charles Paget*, and the English Fugitives contrived against the Queen of England.

Sir Edward Wootton is sent into France, to acquaint the King with this conspiracy.

And now, what should be done with the Queen of Scots, was a great consultation; wherein the Counsellours were not all of one minde; some conceived, That it were not good to take any rigorous course against her, but only to hold her in fast custody; both for that she was not Author of the Treason, but only consicious to it, and because she was crazie, and not likely to live long. Others, out of a care of Religion, were of opinion, to have her forthwith Arraigned and put to death according to Law; *Leicester* thought it better to have her poisoned, and sent a Divine to *Walsingham* to prove it lawful, but *Walsingham* protested against that course. A difference then arose amongst them, by what Law to proceed against her; Whether by the Law of the 25. of *Edward the Third*; (In which they are pronounced guilty of Treason, who plot the destruction of the King or Queen, raise War in his Dominions, or adhere to his Adversaries) Or else by the 27. of the Queen, Enacted a year since: Their opinion at last prevailed, who thought best to proceed against her by this latter Law, as being indeed in this case provided. Whereupon, divers of the Lords of the Privy Council, and other of the Nobility, are Authorized by the Queens Letters, to enquire by virtue of that Law, and passe sentence against all such as raised Rebellion, invaded the Kingdom, or attempted any violence against the Queen.

Consultation is held, what should be done with the Q. of Scots, and the resolution.

These Commissioners therefore upon the eleventh day of October, repaired to *Fotheringay Castle* in *Northamptonshire*, where the Queen of Scots was then held prisoner; and the next day, sent unto her *Walter Mildmay*, *Pawlet*, and *Edward Barker*, publick Notary, who delivered her the Queens Letters; which having with a settled countenance read, she said, It seems to me strange, that the Queen should lay her Command upon me, to hold up my hand at the Bar, as though I were a Subject, seeing I am an absolute Queen, no lesse then her self; but howsoever, I will never do any thing prejudicial to Princes of my degree, nor to my Son the King of Scotland. After many meetings, she standing still upon her innocency, and upon her exemption from answering, as being an absolute Prince, and specially for yeelding to be tryed by the English Laws; of which, One (she said) had lately been made of purpose for her destruction: It was at last told her plainly, by the Chancellour and Treasurer, That if she refused to answer to such crimes as should be objected, they would then proceed against her, though she were absent. Being brought at last with much ado to consent, the Commissioners came together in the Presence Chamber; a Chair of Estate was set for the Queen of England, in the upper end of the Chamber under a Canopy; beneath over against, was placed a Chair for the Queen of Scots; on both sides of the Cloth of Estate, stools were set, upon which on the one side sate the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, Lincoln, and Viscount Mountacute; On the other side sate the Lords *Aburgavenny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *St. John of Bleisbo*, *Compton*, and *Cherney*; Next to these, sate the Knights that were Privy Counsellors, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and Sir *Amias Pawlet*; Forward, before the Earls, sate the two Chief Justices, and the Lord chief Baron; on the other side, the two Barons, and the other Justices; *Dale*, and *Foord*, Doctors of the Civil Law, at a Table in the midst, *Popham* the Queens Attorney General, *Egerton* her Solicitor, *Gawdie* her Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two Notaries. When the Queen of Scots was come, and had placed her self, silence being made; *Bromley* Lord Chancellour turning towards her,

Commissioners are sent to the Q. of Scots to acquaint her with the resolution.

But she stood upon her Innocency, and upon her exemption from answering as being an absolute Prince.

Yet at last she was brought to consent.

Hereupon she appears before the Commissioners.

said;

And the Queens Council open the crimes with which she was charged.

Upon which afterward, in the Star-chamber, Sentence was pronounced against her.

And in a Parliament presently following, the Lords petition the Queen, that the Sentence passed against her, might presently be promulged.

And the Queens Answer,

A while after, the Queen intreats the Lords to think of some way, by which the Queen of Scots life may be saved, and her own not endangered. The Lords return Answer, that there can be no way of her safety, but the Queen of Scots death.

said, That the Queen had appointed these Commissioners, to hear what she could answer to A crimes laid to her charge, assuring her, that nothing would be cause of more joy to the Queen, then to hear, that she had proved her self innocent. Upon this, she rising up, said; That although, being an absolute Prince, she could not be compelled to appear before the Delegates, yet to manifest her innocency, she was now content to appear. Then *Gawdie*, opened every speciality of the Law lately made (against which she had taken exception) shewing by *Babingtons* confession, by Letters passed between them, by the confessions of *Ballard* and *Savage*, by the confessions of her Secretaries, *Nave* and *Curle*, that she was privy to their Treasons, and consented to the Invasion of *England*, and destruction of the Queen. To which she answered, That Letters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be corrupted, the rest, in hope of life, might be drawn to confesse that which was not true: In this she stood peremptorily, That she never B consented to any attempt against the Queens Person; though for her own delivery, she confessed she did. After many other charges by the Commissioners, and replies by the Queen of Scots; At last, she requested, that she might be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen her self, and her Council. But this request prevailed not; for on the twenty fifth day of *October*, following, at the Star-chamber in *Westminster*, the Commissioners met again, and there pronounced sentence against her; Ratifying by their Seals and subscriptions, that after the first day of *June*, in the seven and twentieth year of our Sovereign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*, divers matters were compassed and imagined in this Kingdom, by *Anthony Babington*, and others, with the privy of *Mary Queen of Scots*, pretending Title to the Crown of *England*, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royal Person of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen.

After a few days, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, the which was begun by Authority from the Queen, derived to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Derby*; and the same, not without some Presidents. At this Parliament, the Proscriptions of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chydock Tichburne*, *Charles Tilney*, and other the complices, was confirmed, and their goods and possessions adjudged confiscate. Also the Peers of the Kingdom, with an unanimous consent, exhibit a Petition to the Queen by the Lord Chancellor, that for the preservation of the true Religion, and safety of the Queen, of themselves, and their Posterity, the sentence passed against *Mary Queen of Scots*, might according to law be presently promulged: They put the Queen in minde of the fearful examples of Gods Judgements extant in Scripture, upon King *Saul*, for sparing of *Agag*, and upon *Ahab*, for not putting *Benbadad* to death. But the Queen answereth them to this effect: First, acknowledging Gods miraculous preservation of her, and then their constant affections towards her, for whose sakes only she desires to live: Otherwise, when she calls to minde things past, beholds the present, and expects what may happen in time to come, that she accounts them most happy, who go soonest hence. That the Law lately made, by which the Queen of Scots is condemned, was not made (as some maliciously have imagined) to ensnare her, but contrariwise, to forewarn and deter her from attempting any thing against it, which though it had not been made, yet were there other ancient Laws enough to condemn her. Nothing could have been more grievous to me, then that a Prince, and one so neer allied unto me, should deserve the sentence pronounced against her; and seeing the matter is of rare example, and of a very weighty consequence, I hope you will not expect, that I should at this present determine any thing; yet that there may be no danger in delay, I will in due time signifie my minde unto you; and in the mean time, would have you expect from me, whatsoever good Subjects look for, from a Gracious Prince.

Twelve days after, having deeply weighed the matter in her minde, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the Peers, and *Puckering* to the Lower House, entreating them to advise more diligently concerning to we ghly a matter, and to be think themselves of some wholesome remedy, by which the life of the Queen of Scots might be spared, and their security also provided for. They, when they had a long time in most serious manner deliberated hereof, return at last this Verdict; That the Queens life could not be in safety, while the Queen of Scots lived, unlesse she F either repented and acknowledged her crimes, or were kept in straight custody, or bound by her oath and obligations, or gave Hostages, or lastly, departed the Kingdom. And seeing none of these were likely to be remedies; it remained, that only her death would be a remedy. Repentance in her they could little hope for, who would not so much as acknowledge her self faulty: Close Imprisonment, Obligations, Oath, and Hostages they accounted as nothing, which all vanished, if the Queens life were once taken away; and if she departed the Kingdom, they feared she would straightway go about to invade it again. These things the Lord Chancellor, and *Puckering* the Speaker of the Lower House, declared to the Queen at large, and urged her in their names, to have the Sentence put in execution. Hereupon, the Queen after a short pause, spake at last to this effect: I protest, my chief desire hath been, that for your security, and my own safety, some other way might be devised, then that which is now propounded; but seeing it now evident and certain, that my safety without her destruction, is in a more deplorable estate, I am most grievously affected with inward sorrow; that I, who have pardoned so many Rebels, have neglected so many Treasons (either by connivence, or silence) should now at last exercise cruelty upon a Prince so nearly allied to me. As for your Petition, I beseech you to rest in an Answer, without an Answer: If I say I will not grant your Petition, I shall happily say what I mean not; If I should say, I will grant it, then cast I my self into destruction headlong, G whose

A' whose safety you so earnestly desire; And that I know, you in your wisdoms would not I should do.

After this, the Parliament was prorogued, and then were the Lords *Buckhurst* and *Beal* sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to let her understand that Sentence was pronounced against her, and confirmed by Parliament, and that the execution of it was earnestly desired by the Nobility and the Commons; and therefore perswaded her, that before her death, she would make acknowledgement of her offences, against God and the Queen; Intimating, that if she lived, the Religion received in *England*, could not subsist. Hereupon, she was taken with an unwonted alacrity, and seemed to triumph for joy, giving God thanks, and gratulating her own felicity, That she should be accounted an Instrument, for establishing Religion in this Island; and therewith requested, she might have some Catholick Priest to administer the Sacrament to her; but was denyed, which some deemed, not inhumane only, but tyrannical and heathenish. The Bishop and the Dean, whom for this cause they commended to her, she utterly rejected, and jeered at the *English* Nation, saying; The *English* were ever and anon wont to murder their own Kings, and therefore no marvel, they should now thirst after her destruction. In *December* following the Sentence against her was Proclaimed, in *London* first, and after over all the Kingdom, wherein Queen *Elizabeth* seriously protested, that this Promulgation of the Sentence was extorted from her, to her great grief, by the importunity of the whole body of the Kingdom. The Queen of *Scots* being told hereof, seemed not a whit dejected with it; but writing to the Queen, never maketh intercession for her self, nor expostulateth her death, but only makes three small requests; one, That she might be buried in *France*, by her Mother; another, That she might be put to death privately, but her servants to be present; the third, That her servants might not freely depart, and enjoy such Legacies as she had given them. Of which Requests, she desireth the Queen to vouchsafe her an answer; but whether this Letter ever came to Queen *Elizabeth*, is uncertain.

Upon this, the Queen of *Scots* is made acquainted with the Lords Petition to have the Sentence executed, at which she seemed to rejoice.

This condemnation of the Queen of *Scots*, as a thing strange, and scarce credible, was soon spread far and near; so as intercessions came thick in her behalf to Queen *Elizabeth*, but specially from the King of *Scots*, and the King of *France*, who sent their several Ambassadors, using all the reasons that natural affection in the one, and likeness of condition in the other, could urge, for sparing of her life; but when the necessity of the State, seemed to obstruct all ways of clemency, the French Ambassador *L' Aubespine*, falleth from reasons to action, and thinketh no way so effectual for saving of the Queen of *Scots* life, as to take away Queen *Elizabeth's* life; and thereupon, first, he dealeth covertly with *William Stafford*, a young Gentleman, and prone to embrace hopes (whose Mother was of the Bed-chamber to Queen *Elizabeth*, and his Brother at that time, Ambassador Lieger in *France*) and afterward, more openly by *Trappe* his Secretary, to murder the Queen. *Stafford*, though not daring to act such a villany himself, yet commended one *Moody* to him, a resolute fellow, and one that for money would be sure to do it. Upon this, *Stafford* brings *Trappe* to *Moody*, being then in the common Gaol, who upon *Trappe's* offer, undertakes it: But then the consultation was, by what way it should be done? *Moody* propounded poyson, or else to lay a bag of Gunpowder under the Queens Bed, and suddenly fire it. But *Trappe* liked of neither of these ways, but would rather have it done, as was done to the Prince of *Orange*. But while they are thus consulting about the way of doing it, *Stafford* discovers all to the Lords of the Council. Whereupon *Trappe* who was now bound for *France*, was apprehended, and being examined, confessed the whole matter. Upon this, the Ambassador himself was sent for to *Cecil's* house, the twelfth of *January*; where met him by the Queens appointment, *Cecil* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, and *Davison* one of her Secretaries; who declare to the Ambassador every particular which *Stafford*, *Moody*, and *Trappe* his Secretary had confessed. As soon as *Stafford* was brought forth, and began to speak, the Ambassador interrupted him, and reviling him, made asseveration, that *Stafford* first propounded it; when *Stafford* falling on his knees, made fearful imprecations, that the Ambassador first propounded it himself. But whosoever propounded it (saith *Burleigh*) it appears, that you were made acquainted with the matter. To which he presently replied; That if he had known of any such thing, yet, being he was an Ambassador, he ought not to give notice of it, but to his own King. After much reasoning in this manner, the Lord *Burleigh* admonished him, to beware how he offended hereafter in this kinde; and let him know, That he is not quitted from the offence, though for this time the Queen be pleased to forbear him.

The King of *Scots* and the King of *France* solicit for her life.

L' Aubespine the French Ambassador, sets agents a work to kill *Q. Elizabeth*.

But upon this Treason, the Queen of *Scots* Adversaries put many terrors into Queen *Elizabeth's* minde, giving out, That the Spanish Navy was come to *Milford Haven*; That the *Scots* were broken into *England*; That the Duke of *Guyse* with a great Army was landed in *Sussex*; That the Queen of *Scots* was escaped out of Prison, and had gotten a Company up in Arms, and many other such feigned suggestions; Through which, at length they drew the Queen to this: That she sealed Letters, for executing the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots*; and one of her greatest perswaders to it (as the *Scots* reported it) was one whom the King of *Scots* had sent to dissuade her from it; namely, *Patrick Grey*, who sounded often in her ears, *Mortua non mordet*; when she is dead, she cannot bite.

Q. Elizabeth terrified with many rumors, seals a Warrant for executing her.

The Queen notwithstanding, began to weigh with her self, whether it were better to rid her out of the way, or else to spare her; and many great reasons offered themselves on both sides, But

But being long in suspense about it, at last the commanded Secretary *Davyson* to get the Commission made: but not disclose the matter to any.

Yet *Davyson* acquainted divers of the Privy Council with it.

Hereupon *Beale* is sent down to give authority to the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and others to see her executed.

The Commissioners acquainted her with it, with which she was not a whit daunted.

She makes her Will.

Her devout carriage at her death.

She is beheaded.

Her age when she dyed.

Q. Elizabeth hearing of her death, is infinitely dejected.

but where only speculative reasons presented themselves for sparing her; many practical reasons, A and those pressed both by Courtiers and Preachers, were presented to her; so as long holden in suspense, she would oftentimes sit speechlesse, and her countenance cast down: At last, her fear prevailing, she delivered to Secretary *Davyson*, Letters under her hand and Seal, to get the Commission made under the Great Seal of England, for the Execution of the Queen of Scots, which might be in a readinesse upon any fear of danger; charging him not to disclose the matter to any whomsoever. But the next day her minde was altered, and sent Sir *William Killebrew* to *Davyson*, to countermand the making of the Commission. Whereupon *Davyson* goes to her, and lets her know, That the Commission was already made, and the Seal put to it; Whereat, the Queen extremely angry, rebuketh him sharply for his baseness; yet *Davyson* imparteth the matter to Privy Counsellors; and perswades them, That the Queen commanded the Commission should be B put in execution. Hereupon, *Beale* Clerk of the Council, is sent down with Letters, wherein authority is deputed to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others, that she should be put to death according to the Law; with which proceeding, the Queen was not once made acquainted; and more then this, although she had intimated to *Davyson*, That she would take some other order concerning the Queen of Scots, yet did not he stay *Beale* from going.

And now comes in the last Act of the Queen of Scots Tragedy; for as soon as the Earls were come to *Fotheringay*; they, together with Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drue Drurie*, with whom she was then in custody; go unto her, and reading the Commission, signifie the cause of their coming; and in a few words, admonish her to prepare her self for death, for that she must die the next day. C Whereunto, without any change of countenance or passion of minde, she made answer; I had not thought that my Sister the Queen would have consented to my death, who am not subject to your Laws; but since it is her pleasure, death shall be to me most welcome. Then she requesteth that she might confer with her Confessor, and *Melvyn* her Steward, which would not be granted: The Bishop or Dean of *Peterborough* they offered her, but them she refused. The Earls being departed, she gave order that Supper should be hastened, where she eat (as she used to do) soberly; and sparingly; and perceiving her men and women servants to lament and weep, she comforteth them, and bid them rejoyce rather, that she was now to depart out of a world of misery. After supper, she looketh over her Will, read the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and writ their names severally by them, to whom she gave any of them; at her wonted hour she went D to bed, and after a few hours sleep, awaking; spent the rest of the night in her devotion. And now the fatall day being come, which was the eight of February; she getteth up, and makes her ready in her best Apparel, and then betook her self in her Closet to Almighty God, imploring his assistance with deep sighes and groans; untill *Thomas Andrews* Sheriff of the County gave notice, that it was time to come forth, and then with a Princely Majesty, and cheerful countenance she came out, her head covered with a linnen Vail, and carrying an Ivory Crucifix in her hand; In the Gallery the Earls met her, and the other Gentlemen, where *Melvyn* her Servant upon his bended knees, deplored his own fortune, that he should be the messenger to carry this sad news into Scotland; whom she comforted, saying, Do not lament *Melvyn*, Thou shalt by and by see E *Mary Steward* freed from all cares. Then turning her self to the Earls, she requested that her Servants might stand by her at her death, which the Earl of *Kent* was very loath to grant, for fear of superstition: To whom she said, Fear nothing, these poor wretches desire only to give me my last farewell. I know the Queen my Sister, would not deny me so small a request. After this, the two Earls, and the Sheriff of the County leading the way, she came to the Scaffold, which was set up at the upper end of the Hall, where was a Chair, a Cushion, and a Block, all covered with Mourning. Then the Dean of *Peterborough* going to Prayers, she falling upon her knees, and holding up the Crucifix in both her hands, prayed with her Servants in Latine, out of the Office of the blessed Virgin. Prayers being ended she kissed the Crucifix, and signing her self with the sign of the Crosse, said, As thy arms, O Christ, were spread forth upon the Crosse, so embrace me with the open arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my sins. Then the Executioner asking her pardon, she F forgave him. And now her women helping off her outer Garments, and breaking forth into shrieks, and cries, she kissed them, signed them with the Crosse, and willed them to leave lamenting, for now an end of her sorrows was at hand; and then shadowing her face with a linnen cloth, and lying down on the Block, she repeated the Psalm, *In te Domine speravi, ne confundar in eternum*; at which words she stretching forth her Body, her head at two blows was taken off. Her body was afterward Royally buried in the Cathedral Church at *Peterborough*; but since that, her Noble Son *James*, King of great Britain, erected a Royal Monument for her, in King *Henry* the seventh's Chappel at *Westminster*. This end had *Mary Queen of Scots*, in the six and fortieth year of her age, and of her Imprisonment in England the eighteenth; a G Lady so compleat in all excellent parts of body and minde, that must needs have made her a happy woman, if she had not been a Queen: and perhaps a happy Queen too, if she had not been Heir to the Crown of England: For why did all her endeavours want successe, but only from the fear of that Succession? and no Innocency of hers could be a Defence, where the fury of Jealousie made the Assault.

As soon as it came to the Queens knowledge, that the Queen of Scots was put to death, her countenance grew dejected, and her speech failed her; intomuch that all in mourning weeds, she gave her self over to sorrow, commanded her Counsellors from her Presence, and caused

Davyson

A *Davyson* to be cited to the Star-chamber. And as soon as grief would suffer her, she wrote a Letter with her own hand to the King of Scots, and sent it by Sir Robert Cary, to this effect; That her minde was infinitely disquieted, in regard of this lamentable event, against her meaning and intent; entreating him to believe, that if she had commanded it, she would never have denied it, and withal protesting her true affection towards him, and her assiduous watchfulness for the prospering of his affairs.

And soon after writes to the King of Scots to satisfy him in it, that it was done against her meaning.

While Cary was on his journey, *Davyson* is cited to the Star-chamber before these Delegates, Sir Christopher Wray Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, for that time made Lord Privy Seal, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Earls of Worcester, Cumberland, and Lincoln, the Lords Gray, and Lumley, Sir James Croft, Comptroller of the Queens House, Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Baron (where note, That Bromley Lord Chancellor, Burleigh Lord Treasurer, Leicester, and Hatton, who were indeed more guilty of the fact than *Davyson*, were none of the number) Before these Delegates, Popham the Queens Attorney layeth to *Davysons* charge, Contempt of the Queens Majesty, violating of his trust, and neglect of his duty, laying open all particulars of his fact; which after Egerth the Queens Solicitor, Gawdy, and Tuckering Serjeants at Law, urged also against him with great aggravation: To which *Davyson* mildly answered, That he would not contest with the Queen; only protests, That if he had done any thing otherwise then he ought, it was out of ignorance and mistaking, and not out of any purpose to disobey her Majesty. It seems the Queen had carried her self, as one that would have it done, and yet was loath to do it, scarce knowing her own minde, and yet would have another know it; meaning to make it the work of mistaking, rather then of purpose, that so at least she might leave some place of satisfaction to her self, that it was not absolutely of her doing.

Davyson is cited in the Star-chamber, and charged with violating her Majesties trust.

The Pleadings ended, the Commissioners went to censure; *Manwood* began, and gave his opinion, that *Davyson* for the inconsideratenesse of his fact, should be fined ten thousand pounds, and Imprisonment during the Queens pleasure; the rest went on in that sentence, only the Lord Gray excused *Davyson* so far, That he thought him worthy of reward, rather then of punishment: The conclusion was, the first Sentence for his Fine and Imprisonment, was by Wray Keeper of the Privy Seal confirmed; and *Davyson* never after recovered the Queens favour, though she relieved him sometimes in his necessity. A man ingenious indeed, but not thoroughly acquainted with the ways of the Court; and thought to have been raised to this place, of purpose to act this part, and for nothing else.

And his answer.

His censure in the Star chamber.

By this time Sir Robert Cary, Son to the Lord Hunsdon, who was sent to excuse the Queen, was come to the Borders; but being come thither, was not suffered to set foot in Scotland; The King would scarce hear him by another, and with much ado received his Letters. He called home his Ambassador out of England, and thought of nothing but revenge.

The King of Scots will not admit the Queens messenger and threatens revenge.

But the Queen still laying the fault upon *Davyson*, and the unadvised credulity of her Counsellors, by little and little allayeth his passion; and expecting, till time had somewhat asswaged his grief, that it would indure to be touched, at length, by her Agents in Scotland, and soon after by the Lord Hunsdon Governor of Berwick, she admonished him, How dangerous it would be for him, to break out into War against England, and what little help he could justly expect from either Spain or France; but if he persisted in the amity with England, he might be sure the Queen of England would most lovingly account him for her Son. And to the end, that he should assure himself, that the Queen his Mother was put to death without her privy, she sent him the sentence against *Davyson*, under the Seals of all the Delegates, and attested under the Great Seal of England; and another Instrument likewise signed with the hands of the Judges of England; in which they aver, That the Sentence against the Queen of Scots, could in no wise be prejudice to his right in the Succession.

Queen Elizabeth seeks to pacify him, and by what reasons.

Having now by these and the like courses, somewhat asswaged the King of Scots indignation; to prevent the War which they foresaw was imminent from the King of Spain, they send forth Drake with four of the Queens ships and others, unto the Coast of Spain, to set upon their ships in the Havens, and to intercept their Munition. Drake entring into the Port of Cales, sunk, took, and fired about an hundred ships, wherein was great store of Munition and victuals: Then returning to the Cape of St. Vincent, he set upon three Forts, and compelled them to yeeld. Thence setting sail to the Western Islands, called Azores, under the great Meridian; by great good fortune he happened upon an huge and wealthy Carack, called St. Philip, returning from the East-Indies, and easily vanquished it; Whereupon the Mariners on both sides, from the name of Philip, portended no good luck to Philip King of Spain.

Drake is sent to the Coast of Spain, and what mischiefs he did the King.

At the same time, Thomas Cavendish of Suffolk, in the other part of the World, who two years before had set sail from England with three ships, passing through the Straights of Magellan, in the Coast of Chily, Peru, and Nuova Hispania, fired a great number of Spanish Towns, took and pillaged nineteen great ships, and amongst them a wealthy ship of the Kings, nigh unto California, in North America; and so by the Philippine Isles, the Molucces, the Cape de Bone Esperance, and the Island of St. Helene, returned home the next year, being the third after Magellan, that sailed about the World.

And the like also did Tho. Cavendish of Suffolk.

As Drake and Cavendish at this time gained great fame and renown; so two other men in the Netherlands (Stanley and York) purchased as great infamy and disgrace: This York was a Londoner, a bold fellow, and of loose behaviour; famous for bringing first into England, the manner of turning the point upon the Adversary in single Combats, where as the English till this time, were wont to be armed with Bucklers and Swords, and to strike with edge, and it was held no manhood to turn the point, or strike below the girdle. He suffered some affront from the

York and Stanley in the Low-Countries, perditionally delivered up Towns to the Spaniards, and their ends.

Earl of *Leicester*, fled away, and for a time, served under the *Spaniards* in the *Netberlands*, till at length being reconciled to *Leicester*, he was set over the Fort near *Zutphen*; but being bribed, he not only yeelded up the place to the Enemy, but drew to the like villany one *Stanley*, who with great valour had served in an *Irish* expedition, to yeeld up *Darenty* to the *Spaniards*, a wealthy and well fortified Town. But what got they by their treachery? The *Spaniards* set *Tork* and *Stanley* at variance, they poyson *Tork* and seize upon his goods, his carcasse was three years after digged up by the States commandement, and hanged upon a Gibbet till it rotted away; *Stanley* went into *Spain*, where there was no credit given to him; for the *Spaniards* have a saying, It is lawful to give honour to a Traytor sometimes, but never to trust him.

Upon the complaint of the States, against the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord *Buckhurst* is sent to examine his doings.

These late treacheries, wrought the Earl of *Leicester* much envy with the Confederate *Netberlands*, because the Traytors were very intimate with him; whereupon the States in large letters B to the Queen, accuse *Leicester* for his ill managing of the Weal publick, in the matter of money, Merchandize, and Military affairs; and to his credulity, they impute the harm which accrewed by *Tork* and *Stanley*. The Queen, for the narrow sifting of the matter, and composing it; sent thither *Thomas Sackville*, Lord *Buckhurst* (lately taken into her Privy Council in *Leicester's* absence) *Norris*, and *Bartholomew Clerk*: But when the officious diligence of *Buckhurst*, seemed to trench upon *Leicester's* reputation; his grace with the Queen proved so forcible, that *Buckhurst* at his return, was for certain moneths confined to his house.

Leicester is called home, and gives up the Government to the States.

Afterward, *Since* being beleaguered by the Prince of *Parma*, *Leicester* was by the States sent for out of *England*, to succour it; the Town was furiously assaulted, with seventeen thousand great shot, and a mighty breach was made into it; which neverthelesse *Roger Williams*, *Francis Vere*, C *Nicholas Baskerville*, with the Garrison of the *English* and *Walloons*, was valiantly defended for a while, but at last were enforced to yeeld it up, *Leicester*, that came to relieve it, finding himself too weak for the Besiegers, being gone away. And indeed, the States would not commit any great Army to his Command; who (they knew) had a determination to seize *Leyden*, and some other Towns into his own hands, and had a purpose to surprize the absolute Government. Whereupon, the States used means, that *Leicester* was called home; gave up the Government to the States, and in his room succeeded *Maurice of Nassaw* Son to the Prince of *Orange*, being now but twenty years of age. *Peregrine Lord Willoughby*, was by the Queen made General of the *English* Forces in the *Low-Countries*, to whom she gave command to reduce the *English* Factions into the States obedience; the which, with the help of Prince *Maurice*, he easily D effected.

Being called to examination before the Lords of the Council, how he eludes it.

Leicester being now come home, and perceiving that an accusation was preparing against him by *Buckhurst* and others, for his unfaithful managing of affairs in *Holland*; privately with tears he cast himself down at the Queens feet, entreating her, that she would not receive him with disgrace, at his return, whom she had sent forth with honor; and so far prevailed with her, that the next day being called to examination before the Lords, he took his place amongst them, not kneeling down at the end of the Table, as the manner of Delinquents is; and when the Secretary began to read the heads of his Accusation, he interrupted him, saying, That the publick instructions which he had received, were limited with private restriction; and making his appeal to the Queen, eluded the whole crimination, with the secret indignation of his Adversaries. E

How the honor of *Aburgavenny* came to the Family of *Nevill*.

This year was famous for the death of many great Personages: In the moneth of *February*, dyed *Henry Nevill*, Lord of *Aburgavenny*, great Grandchilde to *Edward Nevill*, who in the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, got this Title in the right of his Wife, only Daughter and Heir to *Richard Beauchamp* Earl of *Worcester*, and Lord of *Aburgavenny*; In which right, when as the only Daughter of this *Henry*, Wife to Sir *Thomas Fane*, challenged the Title of Baronesse of *Aburgavenny*; a memorable contention arose concerning the Title between her, and the next Heir Male, to whom by Will (and the same confirmed by Authority of Parliament) the Castle of *Aburgavenny* was bequeathed. This question being a long time debated; at last in a Parliament, holden in the second year of King *James*, the matter was tryed by voyces; and the Heir male carried the Lordship of *Aburgavenny*, and the Barony *Le Despencer*, was ratified to the Female. F

Anne Stanhope Dutchesse of *Somerset* dies, of great age. Sir *Ralph Sadler* dies, the last Banneret of *England*. Sir *Christopher Hatton* is made L. Chancellor.

This year also, in the moneth of *April*, dyed *Anne Stanhope*, Dutchesse of *Somerset*, ninety years old, who being the Wife of *Edward Seymer* Duke of *Somerset*, and Protector of *England*, contended for precedency, with *Katherine Parre*, Queen Dowager to King *Henry* the Eighth. There dyed also Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, the last Banneret of *England*, with which dignity he was adorned at the Battel of *Musselborough* in *Scotland*. After him dyed *Thomas Bromly* Lord Chancellor of *England*; and six days after, he, whom the Queen meant should have succeeded him, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*; but he now sayling, Sir *Christopher Hatton* was made Lord Chancellor, who though he were a Courtier, yet the Queen knowing him to be an honest man, thought him not unfit for the place, where conscience hath, or should have more place than Law; although some were of opinion, That it was not so much the Queens own choice, as that she was perswaded to it by some that wisht him not well: both thereby to be a cause of absenting him from the Court, and thinking that such a sedentary place, to a corpulent man that had been used to exercise, would be a means to shorten his life: and indeed he lived not full out three years after. G

This year Sir *John Perot* was called home out of *Ireland*, and left all in great quiet to *Fitz Williams* his Successor. For hitherto the *English* found it no hard matter to vanquish the *Irish*, by reason of their unskilfulnesse in Arms; eight hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, was held an invincible

A invincible Army : but after that by *Perrots* command, they were exercised in Feats of Arms ; and taught to discharge Muskets at a Mark, and had in the *Low-Countries* learned the Art of Fortification, they held the *English* better to it, and were not so easily overcome.

And now we are come to the one and twentieth year of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, being the year 1588. long before spoken of by Astrologers, to be a wonderful year, and even the Climacterical year of the World. And yet the greatest Wonder that happened this year, was but the wonderful Fleet that *Spain* provided for invading of *England*, if the defeat of that wonderful Fleet were not a greater Wonder.

It is true, there was at this time a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Spain* ; and the Earl of Derby, the Lord Cobham, Sir James Crofts, Dale, and Rogers Doctors of Law, Commissioners for the Queen ; for the Prince of Parma, the Count Aurenberg, Champignie, Richardot, Mies, and Garwyer, Doctors, had many meetings about it neer to Ostend ; but it seemed on the part of *Spain*, rather to make the *English* secure, that they should not make provision for War, then that they had any purpose of real proceeding, seeing they accepted not of any reasonable Conditions that were offered, but trifled out the time, till the *Spanish* Navy was come upon the Coast, and the Ordinance heard from Sea, and then dismissed the *English* Delegates.

In the time of a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Spain*, the King of *Spain* sends his great Armado against *England*.

The *Spanish* Navy consisted of one hundred and thirty Ships ; whereof Galeasses and Gallies seventy two, goodly Ships, like to floating Towers ; in which were Souldiers, 19290 ; Mariners, 8350 ; Gallyslaves, 2080 ; Great Ordinance, 2630 : For the greater holiness of their Action, twelve of their Ships were called, The twelve Apostles. Chief Commander of the Fleet was Don Alphonso, Duke of Medina ; and next to him, John Martin Recalde, a great Sea-man. The twentieth of May they weighed Anchor from the River Tagus, but were by Tempest so miserably disperst, that it was long ere they met again : but then they sent before to the Prince of Parma, That he with his Forces, consisting of fifty thousand old Souldiers, should be ready to joyn with them, and with his Shipping conduct them into *England*, and to land his Army at the Thames Mouth.

Of what number of Ships the Armado consisted : and who was General.

The Queens Preparation in the mean time, was this ; The Lord Charles Howard, Lord Admiral, with all her Navy, and Sir Francis Drake, Vice-Admiral, to be ready at Plymouth ; and the Lord Henry Seymer, (second Son to the Duke of Somerset) with forty *English* and *Dutch* Ships, to keep the Coasts of the *Netherlands*, to hinder the Prince of Parma's coming forth. Then D for Land-Service, there were laid along the Southern Coast, twenty thousand Souldiers, and two Armies besides of Trained men were levied ; over one of which, consisting of a thousand Horse, and two and twenty thousand Foot, the Earl of Leicester commanded, and pitched his Tents at Tilbury, near the Thames mouth : Over the other, appointed to guard the Queens Person, and consisting of four and twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, the Lord Hunsdon was General. Arthur Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, and other Military men, were chosen to make a Council of War, and consult how the Land service should be ordered. These declared, amongst other things, That the places which lay fittest for the Enemies landing, as Milford Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the Downs, the Thames mouth, Harwich, Tarmouth, Hull, and such other, should be fortified with Works and Garrisons ; the Trained Souldiers of those Shires, which lay near the Sea Coast, should defend those places, and be ready at the Alarm to hinder the Enemy from Landing ; but if he did land, then to spoil the Countrey round about, that he might finde no food ; and by continual crying, Arm, Arm, give the Enemy no rest, but yet should not give Battel, till good store of Commanders were come together.

The Queens preparation both by Sea and land, to resist it.

At this time many fearing the Papists at home, no lesse then the Spaniards abroad, persuaded the Queen to take off the heads of some of the greatest of them ; but she detesting such cruelty, took order only, That some of them should be committed to custody in *Witch* Castle.

Many Papists are committed to custody in *Witch* Castle.

And now all things on both sides prepared, the *Spanish* Navy set forth out of the Groyn in F May, but was disperst and driven back by weather. The *English* Navy set forth somewhat later out of Plymouth, bearing up towards the Coast of *Spain* ; but partly by occasion of contrary windes, partly by advertisement that the Spaniards were gone back, and upon some doubt also that they might passe by towards the Coast of *England*, whilst they were seeking them afar off, they returned to Plymouth : At which time, a confident (though false) advertisement came to the Admiral, That the Spaniards could not possibly come forward that year : whereupon the *English* Navy was upon the point of disbanding, and many of the men were gone on shore ; when suddenly the invincible Armada (for so it was called in a *Spanish* ostentation) was discovered upon the Western Coast : whereof the Lord Admiral being informed, had much ado to get the Queens Navy out of the Haven (the winde being contrary) yet at length G he haled it forth. The next day, the *English* beheld the *Spanish* Ships, in height like to Castles, sayling slowly along, whom they suffered peaceably to passe by, that they might have the benefit of the winde to follow after. The one and twentieth day of July, the Admiral of *England* sent a Pinnace before, called The Defiance, which by a great shot, challenged the Spaniards to fight, and by and by they fell to it. Then Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher let fly against the outmost Squadron, which Recalde commanded, making him glad to fly to their main Navy for succour. The night following, a mighty Birkayner of Oquenda's (in which the King of Spains Treasure was) was by chance fired with Gun-powder, but was timely quenched by other

The two Fleets encounters ; and the passages and events of it.

Ships sent to her succour; one of which Ships, was the Galleon of *Don Pedro*, whom Sir Francis A Drake took prisoner, and sent him to *Dartmouth*. The *Biskayner* it self (the Treasure being taken out by the *Spaniards*) they left behinde them, which the *English* brought into the Haven at *Weymouth*.

The three and twentieth day of this Moneth, they had a second fight, in which most of the *Spanish* shot flew over the *English* Ships, and never hurt them; Only Cock an *English* man, being with his little Vessel in the midst of the Enemies, died valiantly. The four and twentieth day they rested on both sides; in which time the Lord Admiral ranked his whole Fleet into four Squadrons: The first he ruled himself, Drake the second, Hawkins the third, and Forbisher the fourth.

The five and twentieth day (which was Saint James's day) they fell to it the third time; B in which Fight, the *English* had again the better, so as after this time, the *Spaniards* would no more turn upon the *English*, but holding on their course, dispatched a Messenger to the Prince of Parma; requiring him forthwith to joyn himself to the Kings Fleet, and withall to send them Bullets.

The day following, the Lord Admiral knighted Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbisher; and holding a Councel of War, they decreed not to set again upon the Enemy, till they came to the straight of Calice, where the Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter waited for their coming. And now so far were the *English* from being terrified with this invincible Navy, that many of the Nobility and other of special note, hired Ships at their own charges, and came to the Admiral; as the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brook, Sir Charles Blunt, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Robert Cary, Sir Ambrose Willoughby, Sir Thomas Gerard, Sir Arthur Gorge and others.

The Prince of Parma is unprepared to put to Sea.

The seven and twentieth of July towards the Evening, the *Spaniards* cast Anchor near unto Calice, and not far from them rode the *English* Admiral, within shot of a great Ordinance, to whom Seymour and Winter joyned themselves: so as by this time there were in the *English* Navy a hundred and forty Ships, nimble and serviceable for fighting or Sayling, yet only Fifteen of them bore the stroke of the Battel. And now again the *Spaniards* sent Post after Post to the Prince of Parma to send them forty Fly-boats, without which they were not able to skirmish with the *English*, by reason of the greatnesse and unwieldinesse of their Ships, and importune him presently to D put to Sea with his Army; But he was unprepared, and his Flat-bottomed Boats were full of chinks and leaked, and besides, the *Hollanders* hovered before the Ports of Dunkerke and Newport, in such sort, that he durst not look forth.

A stratagem used by the *English* Admiral.

The eight and twentieth day, the Lord Admiral made ready eight of his worst Ships, on the out-side dawbed with Wilde-fire, Rozin and Brimstone, within full of combustible matter, and under the conduct of Young and Prowse, sent them down with the winde in the silent time of the night, towards the *Spanish* Fleet; the which when the *Spaniards* saw approach them, and the Sea as it were all on a light fire; imagining withall, that those Fire-ships might carry in them some murdering Engines, they made a hideous noise, took up Anchors, cut Cables, spread Sails, and betook themselves to their Oars, but more to flight: One of E the *Spanish* Galeasses having lost her Rudder, and floating up and down, was held in fight by Arminas Preston, Thomas Gerard, and Harvie, who slew Captain Hugh Moncada, cast the Souldiers overboard, and carryed away a great deal of Gold, but the Vessel and Ordinance was wreck to the Governour of Calice.

Drake and Fenner in the mean while perceiving the *Spanish* Fleet to gather together again before Graveling, set upon them with great violence, to whom straightways, Fenton, Southwell, Beeston, Crosse, and Riman joyn themselves, and soon after the Admiral himself, Sir Thomas Howard, and the Lord Sheffield; the Galleon called Saint Matthew, was sorely battered by Seymour and Winter, driven toward Ostend, and set upon again by the *Zealanders*, and at last was taken by the Flushingers.

The *Spanish* Navy returns home.

The Queen in person comes to Tilbury to view the Army.

And now the *Spanish* Navy having want of many necessaries, and no hope of the Prince of Parma's coming, they resolved to return Northward for Spain; in which passage they lost both many Ships and men, the *English* Navy still following them close, till they were faine to give them over for want of Powder. Whilst these things passed at Sea, the Queen in Person came to Tilbury to view the Army and Camp there, where she shewed such undaunted Courage and Resolution, that it wonderfully animated the spirits of them all.

And thus this Navy, which was three whole Years in preparing, in the space of a Moneth was often beaten, and at length put to flight, many of their men being slain, more then half of their Ships taken and sunk (of the *English* not above a hundred at the most missing, nor so much as a Ship, but Cock's little Vessel) and sayling about all Britain by Scotland, the Orkneys and Ireland, G they returned into Spain with as much dishonour as they came out with boasting, for indeed *Adoniza* in France by a Book in Print, triumphed before the Victory.

Queen Elizabeth comes to Pauls and gives public thanks to God for this Victory.

For the happy successe of this Action, Queen Elizabeth appointed prayers and thanksgiving over all the Churches in England, and she (as it were in Triumph) came in Person, attended with a great Troop of Nobility into the City, and went into the Cathedral Church of S. Paul (where the Banners taken from the Enemy were placed in view) and there in most humble manner gave thanks to Almighty God. And that which increased the publick joy, was the news which Sir Robert Sidney

A *Sidney* brought out of Scotland, That the King had over-past all injuries, was lovingly affected towards the *English*, and desired to imbrace sincere and perfect amity with the Queen. For as for the King of *Spain*, he wittily told the Embassadour, that he expected no other curtesie from him, but such as *Polyphemus* promised *Ulysses*, that he should be the last whom he would devour.

The King of Scots is reconciled to the Queen.

And now dyed the great Earl of *Leicester* the fourth day of September, at his Manor of *Killingworth* of a violent Feaver; I may well say the great Earl, considering the many great honors he enjoyed, which are extant in the Story; yet one honour greater then any he had before, he effected even then when he was ready to go out of the world, and that was, To be Vicegerent in the high Government of *England* and *Ireland*; for which the Patent was already drawn, B and had been sealed, but that *Burleigh* and *Hatton* shewed the Queen how dangerous a thing it might prove, for so great Authority to reside in one Subject. He was while he lived in so great favour with the Queen, that some thought (and himself not the least) that she meant to marry him; yet when he dyed, his goods were sold at an Outcry to make payment of the debts he owed her.

The Earl of Leicester dies.

About this time *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, who three years before had been cast in prison, was now cited in *Westminster* Hall, to the judgement of his Peers, and *Henry* Earl of *Derby* was made High Steward of *England* for the time. The matters laid to his charge were these: That he had contracted friendship with Cardinal *Allen*, *Parsons* the Jesuite, and other Traytours, exciting divers both abroad and at home to restore the *Romish* Religion, promising his assistance thereunto: C and for that reason had a purpose to depart the Kingdom. That he was privy to the Bull, in which Pope *Sixtus Quintus* had deposed the Queen, and given *England* to the *Spaniard*; That being imprisoned in the Tower, he caused Masse to be said for the prosperous successe of the *Spanish* Fleet, and for that purpose had framed peculiar prayers for his own private use. Being demanded whether he were guilty of these things; turning himself to the Judges, he asked them these questions: First, whether it were lawful to heap up so many crimes together in one Bill of Indictment? They answered that it was: Then whether Arguments taken from presumptions were of force? They answered, that it was lawful for him to interpose exceptions if he saw cause. Then again, if he might be Arraigned for those things which were Capital, by the Law made the thirteenth year of the Queen, after that the time expressed in the Act was expired? D They promised, they would proceed against him by no Law; but the old Statute of Treason, made in the Reign of King *Edward* the third. But now again asked if he were guilty or not? he pleaded not guilty; whereupon *Puckering* the Queens Serjeant at Law, *Popham* Atturney General, *Shuttleworth* Serjeant at Law, and *Egerton* the Queens Sollicitour, in their turns, urged and proved the crimes objected; some whereof he denyed, some he extenuated; but in conclusion was by his Peers found guilty and condemned; yet the Queen spared his life, and was content with thus much done in terror to the Papists.

Philip Earl of *Arundell*, is cited to be tried by his Peers, by whom he is condemned, but the Queen spares his life.

It was now the year 1589. and the two and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign; when to be in some sort revenged of the *Spaniards* for their Invasion, she gave leave to Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* to undertake an Expedition at their own private charges, requiring nothing E of her but a few Ships of War, who took along with them *Anthony* the bastard, laying claim to the Kingdom of *Portingall*, and of Souldiers to the number of eleven thousand, of Seamen about fifteen hundred: setting sayl from *Plimmouth* the fifth day of *April*, they arrived at the Groyne in *Galatia*; whereof with great valour they took first the Lower Town, and afterward the Higher, and from thence sayling towards *Portingall*, they met *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, who without the Queens leave had put to Sea: After two days they arrive at *Pennycha* a Town of *Portingall*, which they took; and left the Castle to *Don Antonio*, and from thence they march by land towards *Lisbon* threescore miles off: The Foot Companies led by *Norris*, whom *Drake* promised to follow with the Fleet, being come to the West Suburbs of *Lisbon*, they found no body there but a few poor disarmed *Portugals*, who cried F out, God save King *Antonio*. The day following the *Spaniards* made a sallie out, in which skirmish *Bret*, *Careilly*, and *Carre*, (stout Commanders) were slain; yet did the Earl of *Essex* drive the *Spaniards* to the very gates of the City. And now having tarried here two days, and seeing no sign of the *Portugals* revolting, which *Don Antonio* had assured them would be, finding fresh supplies come into the Town, their own Army sickly, Victuals and Powder failing; and which was most of all, Sir *Francis Drake* not bringing the great Ordinance as he promised, they departed from the Suburbs of *Lisbon* towards *Cascais*, a little Town at the mouth of the River *Tagus*, which Town *Drake* had taken this mean while, who excused his not coming to *Lisbon*, by reason of the Flats he must have passed, and the Castle of Saint *Julian* Fortified with fifty pieces of great Ordinance. Neer this place they found threescore Hulks of the G Hanse towns of *Germany*, laden with Corn and all manner of Munition, which they took as good prize towards their charges, in regard the Queen had forbidden them to carry Victuals or Munition to the *Spaniard*. From hence they set sayl to *Virgo*, a forlorn Town by the Sea-side, and pillaging all along that Quarter, returned for *England*, having lost in the Voyage of Souldiers and Mariners about six thousand; yet not so much by the Enemy, as by eating of strange fruits and distemper of the Climate.

Norris and *Drake* undertake an expedition into *Spain*, to see *D^r Antonio* in his Kingdom of *Portingall*, but prevailed not, and why.

It concerns the state of *England*, to look at this time into the state of *France*, for while those things were in doing between *Spain* and *England*, the Popish Princes of *France*, under pretext

A combination called the Holy League, is made in *France*.

The head of this League was the Duke of Guise.

Whom the King for his insolent carriage, caused to be murdered in the very Court.

The Confederates make a New Seal and usurp the Royal Authority. The King is murdered by a Monk.

Being ready to dye he declarerth the King of Navarre to be his lawful successor.

The Cardinal of Bourbon is proclaimed King of France, and at the same time also, the King of Navarre.

The King of Navarre is aided by Queen Elizabeth, both with money and men.

Sir William Drury is slain by Mr. Boroughs in a single Combat upon a quarrel of taking place, the one being a Knight, the other a Barons younger Son.

James King of Scots marries Anne the King of Denmark's Daughter.

Many great personages die. William Somerset Earl of Worcester, his numerous issue, Customer Smith is raised in his Farm of the Customs, and how much,

pretext of defending the Catholick Religion, entred into a combination, which they called *The Holy League*: The purpose whereof was, to root out the Protestants, and to divert the Right of Succession to the Crown of France; For they bound themselves to each other by oath, to suffer no person but a Catholick to be King of France; which was directly to exclude the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, if the present King without issue male should fail. The head of this League, was the Duke of Guise, who having given some overthrows to the German Forces, that came into France in aid of the Protestants, was immeasurably extolled by the Clergy and others; and grew to such a height of reputation, that entering into Paris, he made the King glad to leave the City, and in an Assembly at Blois, to make him great Master of the French Cavallery, and to consent by Edict, to the cutting off the Protestants. So as the King standing now in fear of him, used means at last, even in the very Court, to have him murdered; and soon after, the Cardinal his Brother to be strangled. Hereupon so great a confusion followed, that the people every where disobeyed the Magistrates, and spoyled the Kings very Palace at Paris. Some Cities affected a Democracie, others an Aristocracie, but few liked of a Monarchy. The Confederates in the mean while made a new Seal, usurped the Royal Authority, seized into their hands the best fortified places, intercept the Kings Revenues, call in Spanish Souldiers, and in all places denounce war and violence against the King. And the King in this case being forced to flee to the Protestants for succour, they then most wickedly, by one James Clement a Monk, made him away. The King being ready to die, Declarerth the King of Navarre to be his lawful Successor, but the Confederates would exclude him as an open Heretick; and yet whom to make choice of they cannot well agree, some would have the Duke of Lorraine, as being descended from the ancient Kings of France, some the Duke of Savoy, as born of the French Kings Daughter, a Prince Potent and Couragious; others would have the Duke of Guise's Brother that was murdered; others the King of Spain; but the greatest part gave their voices for the Cardinal of Bourbon, who was one degree nearer allyed to the slain King, then the King of Navarre his Nephew. He therefore was proclaimed King of France, with the Title of Charles the Tenth; but he being a Priest, the King of Navarre also was at the same time proclaimed King of France, who abode at Diepe a Sea Town in Normandy, and doubted not to drive the Cardinal easily out of France.

The King of Navarre being thus raised in Dignity, but weak in means, implored Aid of the Queen of England, offering to make a League Offensive and Defensive; the Queen out of a pious respect to a King of her own Religion, sent him presently two and twenty thousand pound sterling in Gold (such a sum of Gold, as he professed he had never seen at one time before) and withall supplied him with four thousand Souldiers, under the command of Peregrine Lord Willoughby; for Colonels, she appointed Sir Thomas Wilsford, who was made Marshal of the Field, John Boroughs, Sir William Drury, and Sir Thomas Baskerville, and gave them a months pay in hand. Hereupon the Confederates (whom the King had vanquished a little before at Arques beyond all expectation) began to quail, and the day before the arrival of the English they vanished away: with this addition of Forces the King marcheth to Paris, and being ready to enter the City, causeth a retreat to be founded, as loath to have spoil made of a City, which he hoped shortly should be his own. Afterwards by the assistance of the English he won many Towns, and then having marched at least five hundred miles on foot, he gave them leave after a long Winters service, to return into England. In which Voyage of men of note, died Captain Hunnings, but of a natural death, also Stubbs (he whose right hand was cut off for writing the Book against the Queens marriage) and Sir William Drury slain by Master Boroughs in a single Combat, where the quarrel was, that he being but a Knight, would take place of Boroughs that was the younger Son of a Baron, contrary to the Laws of the English Gentry.

About this time, James King of Scots (with Queen Elizabeths good liking) espoused Anne the Daughter of Frederick the second King of Denmark by his Deputy; but she afterward saying for Scotland, was by tempest cast upon Norway, and there, through continual storms forced to stay, so as the King in the Winter season set sayl thither, that the marriage according to his vow might be accomplished within the year: some were of opinion that those storms were caused by witch-craft, and was confirmed indeed by some witches taken in Scotland; who confessed they had raised those storms to keep the Queen from landing in Scotland, and that the Earl Bothwell had asked Counsel of them concerning the Kings end; who was thereupon cast into prison, but in a short time breaking loose, occasioned new stirrs in Scotland.

This year many Noble personages dyed; Frances Countesse of Suffex, Sister to Sir Henry Sidney, Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor and Vice-Treasurer of the Exchequer, William Somerset Earl of Worcester, so numerous in his off-spring, that he could reckon more children of both Sexes, then all the Earls of England. Also John Lord Sturton, Henry Lord Compton, and at Brussels the Lord Paget.

At this time, the Queen who was always frugal, strained one point of Frugality more then ever she had done before; for upon the information of one Caermarden, (though Leicester, Burleigh, and Walsingham were offended, that credit should be given to such a one, and themselves neglected) she raised Thymas Smith the Customer from thirteen thousand pounds yearly, to two and forty thousand pounds, and at last to fifty thousand.

It was now the year 1590. and the three and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeths Reign, in which the Earl of Cumberland made a Voyage to the Indies, where he laid level to the ground the Fort. of the Isle of Fiata, and brought away eight and fifty Pieces of great Ordinance.

This

A This year was fatal to many Noble personages; first dyed *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, (Son to *John Duke of Northumberland*) without issue. After him *Sir Francis Walsingham*, Secretary, a man more skilful in the Politicks, then in the Oeconomicks; more cunning in managing matters of the publick State, then of his own private estate, which he left so mean, and dyed so much indebted, that he was fain to be buried by night, without any Funeral pomp, in the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul*; leaving behinde him one only Daughter, famous for her three husbands, all of them the goodliest men of their time; the first *Sir Philip Sidney*; the second, *Robert Earl of Essex*; the third *Richard Burgh* Earl of *Clanriccard*, by King *Charles* made Earl of *Saint Albans*. Within two Moneths after *Walsingham* dyed *Sir Thomas Randall*, who had been fourteen times sent in Embassage to several Princes, yet was never rewarded with any greater dignities, then the Chamberlainship of the Exchequer, and the Postmastership of *England*. Soon after him dyed *Sir John Crofts*, who had done good service in *Scotland*, in *Edward the Sixths* time; in *Queen Mary's* time was condemned of high Treason; in *Queen Elizabeths* time set at liberty, and made Comptroller of her house. After him dyed *George Talbot*, the seventh Earl of *Shrewsbury* of this house; he was made Earl Marshal of *England*, and left behinde him a memorial of Wisdom and Integrity. Lastly dyed *Thomas Lord Wentworth*, the last of the *English* that had been Governour of *Calice*.

Many Noble personages die.
Sir Francis Walsingham dies.

In *Ireland* at this time *Hugh Gaveloc* (so called, because he had been long kept in Fetters) the natural Son of *Shain O Neale*, accused *Hugh Earl of Tir-Oen*, for holding private consultations with certain *Spaniards*, who in 88 were by Ship-wrack cast upon the coast of *Ireland*: *Tir-Oen* to prevent the Accusation, took the said *Hugh*, and when others refused to do it, took a cord and with his own hands strangled him. Hereupon he was sent for into *England*, and came, and upon pardon obtained, solemnly undertook in presence of the Queen at *Greenwich*, to maintain the peace with *Turlough Leynigh*; Not to usurp the Title of *O-Neale*, nor any authority over the Gentry about him; to reduce the Territory of *Tir-Oen* to the form of a County, and civil behaviour, and many such matters; giving hostages for his true performance; and indeed for a time he observed all things very duly. This trouble allayed, another arose; for soon after this, *Hugh Roe Mac-Mabon*, a Potentate in the Territory of *Monaghan*, compelled those under his jurisdiction to pay him tribute; whereupon the Deputy caused him to be taken, and tryed by a Jury of common Souldiers, and then to be hanged up, dividing his lands amongst certain *English*, and some of the *Mac-Mabons*, reserving a certain yearly Rent to the Crown of *England*, by this means thinking to extinguish the Power and Title of *Mac-Mabon*. But hereupon, *O Rork*, fearing that he should be served in like manner, took up Arms against the Queen; whom *Bingham* President of *Connaght* soon distressed, and drave into *Scotland*, and at the Queens request, was by the King delivered up into his hands.

Some disturbances in *Ireland*, but soon composed.

It was now the year 1591. and the four and thirtieth of *Queen Elizabeths* Reign, when she, careful lest *Britain* should come into the *Spaniards* hands, sent *Edmund York* into *France*, to advertise the King to take care thereof; and promising to send him Forces to that end, if he would name some Towns, where they might be in safety. Hereupon he named *Cherburg*, *Granville*, or *Brest*, as the fittest; and it was agreed, that three thousand *English* should be sent into *Britany* and *Picardy*; but in the meantime, *Henry Palmer* was sent to Sea, with certain Ships, who seized upon thirteen *Spanish* Ships, as they were returning from *Nova Francia*. And now *Roger Williams*, with a Company of six hundred Souldiers, passeth over to *Diepe* in *Normandy*; and *Sir John Norris* with the rest of the Forces, hasted into *Britain* soon after. *Roger Williams*, with his own six hundred, and the help of *Charter* Governour of *Diepe*, put to rout the Confederates, that had blocked up the passages; whose valour, the *French* King in his Letters to the Queen, highly extolled. Whereupon growing more couragious, and not minding his charge, which was to stay at *Diepe*, he accompanied the King to the very Suburbs of *Paris*, where in honour of his Nation, he sent a Challenge to the *Spaniards*, to encounter two hundred Pikemen of the *English*, and a hundred Musqueteers, with as many *Spaniards*, in open Field.

Sir Roger Williams extolled by the King of *France*.

F After this, the King of *France* acquainted the Queen, that he had a purpose to set upon *Roan*, or *New-baven*, before the Prince of *Parma* should come into *France*, and thereupon requested her, to send four thousand *English* into *Normandy*, which upon certain conditions she willingly did, and sent them under the command of *Robert Earl of Essex*, accompanied with *Sir Thomas Leighton*, and *Sir William Killigrew*, as his Counsellours. When the Earl came into *France*, he found that the King was at *Noyon*, and in *Normandy* no preparation for the War at all, which seemed strange, and much troubled him; but by and by *Sir Roger Williams* comes to him from the King, requesting him to come to *Noyon*, that they might confer concerning a course of War. Thither the Earl made a tedious journey, and being come thither, the King told him he was now of necessity to go himself into *Champaigne*; but promiseth to send Marshal *Biron*, and the Duke of *Montpensier* forthwith to him, to lay siege to *Roan*. Hereupon the Earl returned to his Tents, expecting their coming, but neither of them came, which troubled the Earl more then before; so as being weary now of doing nothing, he made himself one approach to *Roan*, where his Brother *Walter Devereux* was unfortunately slain. Indeed the affairs of the King of *France* were at this time upon so uncertain terms, that before he could act what he had resolved, something still intervened, that diverted him; for which, by his Letters he excused himself to the Queen of *England*, and by the mediation of the Earl, and *Mornay Lord du Plessis*, whom to that end he sent into *England*, obtained new supplies, and then besieged *Roan*.

Robert Earl of Essex is sent with an Army to aid the King of *France*.

Hacket's prodigious carriage.

He takes upon him to be Christ.

The calling of Bishops at this time cryed down by some; but maintained by the Queen.

The great ship called the *Revenge* is taken by the Spaniards.
Sir Richard Greenville's valour.

Cavendish cast away in the Straits.

A Seminary for the English founded at Valedolid by the King of Spain.

Sir Christopher Hatton Lord Chancellor dies.

Puckering the Queens Serjeant at Law is made Lord Keeper.

Brian O-Rork an Irish Potentate, condemned and hanged; and why.

The Colledge in Dublin made an University.

At this time was memorable the prodigious carriage of one *Hacket*, born at *Oundale* in *Northamptonshire*, a mean fellow of no learning, whose first prank was this; That when, in shew of Reconciliation to one with whom he had been at variance, he embraced him, he bit off his Nose, and the man desiring to have his Nose again, that it might be sowed on, while the wound was green, he most villanously eat it up, and swallowed it down before his face. After this, all on a sudden, he took upon him a shew of wonderful holiness, did nothing but hear Sermons, and getting Scriptures by heart, and counterfeiting Revelations from God, and an extraordinary calling, grew to be magnified by certain zealous Ministers, and specially of one *Edward Copping*, (a Gentleman of a good house) and one *Arthington*, a great admirer of the *Geneva Discipline*; that they accounted him as sent from Heaven, and a greater Prophet then *Moses* or *John Baptist*, and finally, that he was Christ himself, come with a fan in his hand, to judge the world. And this they proclaimed in *Cheapside*; giving out that *Hacket* participated of Christs glorified body, by his especial Spirit, and was now come to propagate the Gospel over *Europe*, and to settle a true Discipline in the Church of *England*; and that they themselves were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, and the other of Judgement; with many other such incredible blasphemies; whereupon *Hacket* was apprehended and arraigned; and at last, hanged, drawn and quartered, continuing all the time, and at his death, his blasphemous Assertions. *Copping* a while after starved himself to death in Prison, *Arthington* repented, and made his Recantation in a publick writing.

Besides these, other also at this time opposed the established Government of the Church of *England*, crying down the calling of Bishops, with whom sided some Common Lawyers also, affirming, that the Queen could not depute, nor these men exercise any such Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and that the Oath *Ex Officio* was unchristian. But the Queen conceiving, that through the sides of the Prelates, she her self was shot at, suppressed them what she could, and maintained the Government formerly established.

About this time, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, with six of the Queens ships, having waited at the *Azores* six whole Moneths, for the coming of the Spanish Fleet from *America*, was at last set upon by *Alphonso Bassano*, with three and fifty ships, sent out for the Convoy of the *American Fleet*, where *Richard Greenville* Vice-Admiral, being in the *Revenge*, and separated from his company, was so hemmed in by the Spanish ships, and so battered with great shot, that most of his men being slain, his Main-mast cut off, himself sore wounded in the head, he commanded to sink the Ship, that it might not come into the Spaniards hands; but this being countermanded by most voices, it was agreed, to yeeld it to the Spaniards, upon condition that the men should be set at liberty. *Greenville* himself was carryed into the Spanish Admiral, where within two dayes he died, not without praise of his very enemies; Thus the great Ship called the *Revenge*, was yeilded, but had so many leaks in the Keel, that soon after it was cast away in a storm; and the losse of this one Ship the English soon made good upon the Spaniards, by taking many of theirs.

About this time also, *Cavendish*, who in the year 1578. had sailed round about the world, now with five Ships bent his course towards the *Magellan Straits*, but by reason of foul weather, was not able to passe them, and being driven to the coast of *Brasile*, was there cast away.

And now, enmity increasing daily between *Spain* and *England*, two Proclamations were set forth; one, prohibiting upon pain of High Treason, to carry Victuals or Munition into any of the King of *Spains* Dominions: Another, forbidding all persons to entertain any in their houses, till inquiry made, what they were, lest they might entertain Popish Priests, who at this time came swarming into *England*, by reason the King of *Spain* had lately founded a Seminary at *Valedolid* for the English.

At this time died Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Lord Chancellor, whom of a mean Gentlemans house, the Queens favour had raised to this height of Dignity; a goodly personage of body, of Noble, but no aspiring spirit; the only of all the Queens special Favourites, that died a Batchelour; and therefore left *William Newport* his Sisters son his Heir, who erected for him in *Saint Pauls Church*, a sumptuous Monument. After his death, the keeping of the great Seal was for certain Moneths committed to the Lord *Burleigh* Treasurer, *Hunsdon*, *Cobham* and *Buckhurst*: Afterward, *Puckering* the Queens Serjeant at Law was elected, not Chancellor, but Keeper of the great Seal.

At this time also, *Erian O-Rork*, the Irish Potentate, was arraigned at *Westminster*; his Indictments were, for raising Rebellion against the Queen, for dragging her Picture at a Horse tail, for giving the Spaniards entertainment; which things being told him by an Interpreter, (for he understood no English) he said, He would not be tryed, unlesse the Queen her self in person sate to judge him. Yet being told, that it was the Law, he only said, If it must be so, let it be so; and so condemned, was executed at *Tyburn* as a Traytor, whereof he seemed to make as little reckoning, as if it had but been in jest. And now this year, the Queen made the Colledge of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, an University, which was formerly the Monastery of *All Saints*, endowing it with power to confer Scholastical Dignities.

At this time, Sir *John Perot*, who had been Deputy of *Ireland*, and done good service there, was yet by the malice of Adversaries, of whom *Hatton* was one, called in question, before the Baron *Hunsdon*, the Lord *Buckhurst*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, (lately made a Counsellour) Sir *John Fortescue*,
Sir

A Sir John Wolley, and some of the Judges: His Accusations were; First, that he had spoken opprobrious words against the Queen, saying, She was illegitimate and cowardly; Secondly, that he had tolerated notorious Traytors, and Popish Priests; Thirdly, that he held correspondence with the Prince of Parma, and the Queens enemies. To the first of which he confessed, that in his passion he had spoken of the Queen unadvisedly, for which he was infinitely grieved; the rest he denied: And all men knew, he was never Popishly affected. His Accusers were one Philip Williams, sometime his Secretary; Denys O-Kophan an Irish married Priest, whose life he had saved; and one ~~John~~ ~~son~~, a fellow of no worth or reputation. Yet the crimes being urged against him by Popish and Lawyers, till eleven a clock at night, he was at last condemned of high Treason, but Sentence was not pronounced till twenty days after; and yet was not put to death, but dyed a natural death in the Tower; he was a man of a goodly personage, stout and cholerick, and one whom (many thought) the Queen had the more reason to respect, for her Father King Henry the Eighth's sake.

Sir John Perot, arraigned, and condemned: and why. Yet his life was spared, and he died in the Tower.

The Earl of Essex, after a tedious Winters Siege in Normandy, challenged Monsieur Villerse Governor of Roan to a single combat; who refusing to meet him, he then returned into England, being called home by the Queen, whose favour, by his long absence, might else have suffered prejudice.

The Earl of Essex challengeth Monsieur Villerse to a single combat, but is refused.

And now the King of France, hearing that the Prince of Parma was coming into France, once again was fain to flie to the Queen for succour, to whom, upon certain conditions, she granted an Army of four thousand men, and some great Ordinance, with which Sir John Norris was sent into France; whom yet the French King employed not, as was agreed, to the great displeasure of the Queen. But as for the Prince of Parma's coming into France, he was prevented by death, when he had governed the Netherlands under the Spaniards fourteen years; a Prince of many excellent parts, and whom Queen Elizabeth never mentioned but with honour.

The Prince of Parma dies.

And now Queen Elizabeth considering that the King of Spains chief strength was in his Gold of America, sends forth Sir Walter Raleigh with a Fleet of fifteen Ships to meet with the Spanish Fleet; who passing by a Promontory of Spain, received certain intelligence, that the Spanish Fleet was not to come forth that year: Whereupon dividing his Navy into two parts; whereof the one he committed to Sir John Boroughs, the other to Sir Martin Forbysher; he waited other opportunities, when soon after, a mighty Caraque came in view, called The Mother of God, which from the Beak to the Stern, was a hundred threescore and five foot long, built with seven Decks, and carrying six hundred men, besides rich Merchandize. This great vessel they took, and in it, to the value of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, over and above what the Commanders and Sea-men pilfered.

Sir Walter Raleigh sent with 15 Ships against the Spaniards; and what he did.

This year, the Queen going in Progresse, passed through Oxford, where she was entertained by the Scholars with Orations, Stage Playes, and Disputations; and by the Lord Buckhurst Chancellor of the University, with a sumptuous Feast. At her departure, she made a Latine Oration, wherein she vowed a vow, and gave them counsel; Her vow was, That as she desired nothing so much, as the prosperity and flourishing estate of her Kingdom, so she as much wished to see the Universities and Schools of learning to flourish likewise. Her Counsel was, That they would serve God above all, not following the curiosity of some wits, but the Laws of God, and the Kingdom; That they would not prevent the Laws, but follow them, nor dispute whether better Laws might be made, but observe those which were already Enacted.

The Queen in her Progresse goes to Oxford; her entertainment there, and her Counsel to the University.

This year, dyed Anthony Brown Viscount Montacute, whom Queen Mary honoured with this Title; because his Grandmother was Daughter, and one of the Heirs of John Nevill Marques Montacute; who, though he were a great Roman Catholick, yet the Queen finding him faithful always, loved him, and in his sickness went to visit him. There dyed at this time also, Henry Lord Scroop of Bolton, Knight of the Garter, and long time Governour of the Western Border toward Scotland.

Anthony Brown Viscount Montacute dies, and how this honour came to his family.

At this time Henry Barrow, and his Sectaries, condemning the Church of England to be no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queens Authority in matters Ecclesiastical; he the said Barrow, as Ring-leader of the rest, was put to death, in terror to all such disturbers of the peace of the Church.

Henry Barrow a seditious Sectary is put to death.

About this time, by reason of the Queens correspondence with the Turk, to the end her Subjects might have free Trading in the Territories; it was maliciously given out by some, that she had excited the Turk to a War against the Christians; which caused the Queen to write to the Emperor, shewing him the falseness of this report, wherein she gave him full satisfaction.

And now a constant report came into England, That the King of France had already embraced, or was ready to embrace the Romish Religion: which so much troubled the Queen, that she presently sent Thomas Wilks into France; with reasons (if it were not too late) to divert him from it. But before Wilks came, the King indeed had openly professed the Romish Religion, at the Church of Saint Denis in Paris; of which his Conversion, he declared the causes to Wilks at large, shewing the necessity of it, unlesse he would suffer himself to be utterly thrust out of the Kingdom. And the French Ambassadour signifying as much to the Queen, in great perplexity, she writ to him to this effect:

The King of France embraceth the Romish Religion: and acquaints the Queen with the necessity of his doing it.

Alas, what grief? what anxiety of minde hath befallen me, since I heard this news? was it possible that worldly respects should make you lay aside Gods fear? could you think, That he, who had hitherto upheld and kept you, would now at the last, leave you? It is a dangerous thing to do evil, that good may come thereof.

The Queens Letter to him, out of her sorrow for it.

But

But I hope your minde may alter; In the mean while, I will pray for you, and beg of God, That the hands of A Esau, may not hinder the blessing of Jacob.

And the Kings
Answer.

To this the King answered, That though he had done this in his own person out of necessity; yet he would never be wanting to those of the Reformed Religion, but would take them into his special care and Protection.

Richard Hawk-
condemned
and executed:
and why.

And now was Richard Hasket, condemned and executed for Treason, being sent from the English Fugitives beyond Sea, to perswade Ferdinand Earl of Derby, Son to Henry newly deceased, to assume the Title of the Kingdom, by right of Descent from Mary, Daughter to Henry the Seventh; and threatening him, that unlesse he undertook this enterprize, and withall, concealed him the Abettor, he should shortly die in most wretched manner. But the Earl fearing a trap was laid for him, revealed the matter; yet the fellows threatening proved not altogether vain, for the Earl within four Moneths, dyed a most horrible death. This year, Death had his tribute paid him from the Nobility; for there dyed Henry Ratcliffe Earl of Suffex, and three renowned Barons, Arthur Grey of Wilton, Henry Lord Cromwell, and Henry Lord Wentworth; besides Sir Christopher Carlile, whose Warlike Prowesse at Sea and Land, deserves to be remembered.

Tir-Oen in Ire-
land assumes to
himself the title
of O'Neal, more
esteemed, then
to be called
Emperour.

In Ireland, at this time, divers great men in Connaght Rebelled; and Turloagh Leynigh being dead, Tir-Oen assumed to himself the Title of O'Neal, (which in Ireland is more esteemed, then to be called Emperour;) But upon a sudden, dissembling his discontent, he submitted himself to the Deputy and promised all obedience.

The Papists
think upon a
Successor to
the Queen.
Some would
have the Earl
of Essex; and
frame a Right
to him by De-
scent.

It was now the year 1594. and the seven and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when the good correspondence between the King of Scots and Queen Elizabeth, gave the Papists small hope that ever he would prove an Instrument to restore the Catholick Religion. Whereupon, they began to bethink themselves of some English Papist, that might succeed the Queen; but finding none of their own Sect, a fit person, they fixed their thoughts upon the Earl of Essex, who always seemed a very moderate man: and him they devised to have some right to the Crown, by Descent from Thomas of Woodstock, King Edward the Thirds Son. But the English Fugitives were for the Infanta of Spain; and desiring to set the King of Scots and the Earl of Essex at odds, they set forth a Book, which they Dedicated to Essex, under the name of Doleman, but was written indeed by Parsons, (Dolemans bitter Adversary) Cardinal Allen, and Francis Englishfield. The scope of which Book was, to exclude from Succession, all persons whatsoever, and how near soever allied to the Crown, unlesse they were Roman Catholicks; Contending further, for the right of Isabella, Infanta of Spain, as being descended from Constance, Daughter of William the Conqueror; from Eleanor eldest Daughter to Henry the Second, married to Aphonso the ninth King of Castile; from Beatrix, Daughter to King Henry the third: Titles obsolete, and which exceed the bounds of Heraldry to dispute. This year, the nineteenth of February, was Henry Prince of Scotland born, to whom the Queen was Godmother, and sent Robert Earl of Suffex for her Deputy.

Prince Henry
of Scotland is
born.

The Spaniards
sets Lopes a Jew
and Poysonian
to the Queen
to kill her, and
how the matter
was carried.
He is executed
at Tyburn.

But now greater matters were in hand, Plots were laid against the Queens life; some Spaniards thinking to make her away by Poyson, and not daring to trust any English man in such a business, they treat to that purpose, with Roderick Lopes a Jew, and Physician to the Queen, with Stephen Ferreira, Emmanuel Loyse, and other Portugals; for divers of that Nation came into England at this time, in relation to Don Antonio; who being discovered by letters of theirs, that were intercepted, were Arraigned at Guild hall, and by their own confessions convinced, to have conspired against the life of the Queen: they were all condemned, and Executed at Tyburn; Lopes professing that he loved the Queen, as well as Jesus Christ: which was the cause of laughter to them that knew him to be a Jew. The next day after them, was condemned Patrick Cullen an Irish Fencer, sent hither by the English Fugitives, to kill the Queen, who was straightway executed, though he were at that very time sick and ready to die.

Richard Hawk-
ins taken pri-
soner by the
Spaniards.

About this time, Sir John Norris having been in a hot conflict at Sea against the Spaniard, where Sir Martin Forbysher received his deaths wound, was now called home, with a purpose to sent him into Ireland. In which mean while, Rich. Hawkins son of Sir Job. Hawkins the famous Sea Captain, had been set forth a year since, with three of the Queens ships, and two hundred men in them; whereof one of them at the Isle of St. Anne, was by chance fired, another of them separated by tempest, returned into England, himself in the third, passed the Straights of Magellan, being the sixth man in the Spanish accompt, that had ever done it; and being now come into the wide Southern Sea, he took five ships laden with Merchandize; one whereof he took away, the rest he suffered to redeem themselves for two thousand Duckats: But at last being set upon by Bertrandus a Castro, who was sent out by the Vice-Roy of those parts, with eight ships against him, after three days battery, he yielded, and though upon composition, yet was nevertheless sent into Spain, and there for divers years kept prisoner.

James Lanca-
ster, takes nine
and thirty Spa-
nish Ships, and
much rich
Merchandize.

But James Lancaster in another part of America, had better success; for being set forth by some London Merchants (whose goods the Spaniards had seized) with three Ships and a long Boat, he took nine and thirty Spanish Ships, and at Fernambucke in Brasile, where the wealth of an East-Indian Caraque was lately unloaden; he desperately venturing upon the shoar, loaded fifteen ships with the wealth of the Indian Caraque; Sugar, Reed, Redwood called Brasil, and other Merchandize, and then safely and victoriously returned home.

A At Rome, about this time dyed Cardinal Allen, born in Lancashire, of an honest Family, brought up in Oxford, in Oriol Colledge. In Queen Maries days he was Proctor of the University, and after Canon of the Cathedral Church at York. Upon the change of Religion in England, he left the Kingdom, and was Divinity Professor at Doway in Flanders, and made Canon of the Church at Cambray. He procured a Seminary to be set up in Doway, for the English, another at Rheims, and a third at Rome; and through zeal of the Romish Religion, forgot whose subject he was born.

Cardinal Allen dies, and of his Education.

At home, at this time, dyed John Peers Archbishop of York, in whose place, succeeded Matthew Hutton, translated from the See of Durham. There dyed also Ferdinand Stanley Earl of Derby, being in the flour of his age, miserably tormented, and vomiting stufte of a dark rusty colour, being thought to have been poysoned or bewitched. There was found in his chamber a little Image of wax, with hairs of the colour of his hairs, thrust into the belly: which some thought was done of purpose, that men should not suspect him to be poysoned; his vomit so stained the silver Andirons, that it could never be gotten out, and his body though put in searclothes, and wrapped in lead, did so stink and putrefie, that for a long time none could endure to come neer where he was buried. The Master of his Horse was much suspected, who the same day the Earl took his bed, took one of his best Horses, and fled away. About this time also dyed Gregory Finet Lord Dacres, a man somewhat crazed, the Son of Thomas Lord Dacres, hanged in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

The strange death of Ferdinand Earl of Derby.

And now Sir William Fitz-Williams Lord Deputy of Ireland was called home, and William Russell youngest Son of Francis Earl of Bedford, was sent in his room; to whom presently came the Earl of Tir-Oen, and in humble manner craved pardon of his fault, that he had not presented himself at the call of the late Lord Deputy. Bagnal Marshal of the Irish Forces, exhibited many Articles against him, but he so pleaded for himself with promise of loyalty hereafter, that he was dismissed. But see the subdoloufnesse of this man, for he would never after be gotten to come again, though the Deputy sent for him with many kinde messages.

William Russell is sent Deputy into Ireland, to whom Tir-Oen submits himself but dissemblingly.

It was now the year 1595. and the eight and thirtieth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign; when Edmund York, and Richard Williams who were formerly apprehended, came to their trial, and were executed at Tyburn, for being bribed to kill the Queen.

Edmund York and Richard Williams executed for being bribed to kill the Queen.

D At this time a constant rumor was blown abroad from all parts of Europe, that the Spaniards were coming again against England, with a far greater Fleet then that in Eighty eight, and that it was already under sayl; whereupon, Souldiers were levyed, and placed on the Sea-coast. Two Navies were made ready, one to expect them at home in the Channel; the other to go for America, under Hawkins and Drake; but when all came to all, it was but certain Spaniards, who loosed from the Sea-coast of France, with four Gallies, which betimes in the morning landing in Cornwall, fired a Church standing alone in the fields, and three Villages of Fishermen, Newlyn, Mowbole, and Pensaw, and then presently retired, not taking or killing any one person; And these were the first and last Spaniards that in hostile manner ever set Foot upon English ground.

A new rumor spread of a new Fleet of Spaniards to invade England, but false.

E And now mischiefs growing dayly in France, a great number perswaded the King, to conclude a peace with Spain, and the Queen her self began to mistrust him; especially, having lately received intelligence out of the Popes Conclave; that he was received into the bosome of the Church of Rome, with the Popes Benediction, and that upon conditions prejudicial to the Protestants.

And therefore at this time, were divers undertakings of the English against Spain; Sir Walter Rawleigh Captain of the Guard, having deflowered a Maid of Honour (whom afterward he married) had lost the Queens favour, and was held in prison for certain moneths; but afterward being set at liberty, though banished the Court, he undertook a Voyage to Guyana; setting sayl from Plymouth in February, he arrived at Trinidada, where he took St. Josephs Town, but found not a jot of Money there: From hence, with Boats, and a hundred souldiers, he entred the vast River Orenoque, ranging up in Guyana four hundred miles, but getting little but his labour for his travel. In like manner, Amyas Preston and Sommers, pillaged sundry Towns of the King of Spains in the Western parts; and three ships of the Earl of Cumberland, set upon a huge Caraque which by casualty was fired when they were in fight, and these were the enterprises of private persons: but the Queen being informed, that great store of wealth for the King of Spains use, was conveyed to Port Rico, in St. Johns Island, sent thither Hawkins, Drake, and Barkerville with land Forces, furnishing them with six ships out of her own Navy, and twenty other menmen of War. They set sail from Plimmouth the last of August, and seven and twenty days after, came upon the Coast of the great Canarie, which being strongly fortified, they forbore to assault. A moneth after, they came to the Ile of St. Dominick, where five Spanish ships being sent forth to watch the English, G lighted upon one of the small English ships which was strayed from the Company, and parting the Master and Mariners upon the Rack, understood by them, that the English Navy was bent to Port Rico; whereupon they make all possible speed to give notice thereof, that being forewarned, they might accordingly be armed. And thereupon as soon as the English had cast Anchors in the Road of Port Rico the Spaniards thundered against them from the shore; Sir Nicholas Clifford, and Brute Brown were wounded as they sat at supper, and two days after dyed: Hawkins also, and Drake, partly of disease, & partly of grief for their ill successe, dyed soon after. At the end of eight months, the

Sir Walter Rawleighs Voyage to Guyana, and what he did.

Hawkins, Drake, and Barkerville are sent to Port Rico.

Their ill successe, through grief whereof Hawkins and Drake dyed.

the Fleet came home, having done the Enemy little hurt, fired only some few Towns and ships, A but received infinite damage themselves; lost two such Sea-men, as the Kingdom, I may say, all Europe had not their like left. For the Spaniards having of late years received great harms by French and English, had now provided for themselves with Fortifications which were not easie to be won.

At this time the Queen made known to the States in the Low-Countries, the great charges she had been at in relieving them ten years together; for which she requireth some considerable recompence: The States again alleadge the great charges they were at in Eighty eight, in repelling the Spaniards in her cause; yet (not to fall out about the matter) they were content to allow some reasonable retribution; but yet for the present, nothing was concluded. Likewise at this time, the Hanse Towns in Germany make a complaint to the Emperour, and the Princes B of the Empire, That the Immunities from customs anciently granted them by the Kings of England, began to be antiquated, and that a Monopoly of English Merchants was set up in Germany; To which the Queen by Sir Christopher Perkins, first shewing the cause of the first Grant, and then the reason of Queen Maries prohibiting it afterward, makes them so satisfactory an answer, that those very Hanse-Towns which complained, brought into England at this time, such store of Corn, that it prevented a mutiny, which through dearth of Corn, was like to have hapned in London.

This year many great personages dyed.

This year was famous for the death of many great Personages, Philip Earl of Arundel, condemned in the year 1589. The Queen had all this while spared, but now death would spare him no longer, having since that time been wholly given to contemplation, and macerated himself in a strict course of Religion, leaving one only Son, Thomas by his Wife Anne Dacres of Gillingham. He had two Brothers, Thomas Lord Howard, whom Queen Elizabeth made Baron of Walden, and King James afterward Earl of Suffolk; and William Lord Howard of the North, who yet liveth; and one sister, the Lady Margaret; marryed to Robert Sackville, afterward Earl of Dorset, and father of Edward Earl of Dorset now living; a Lady so milde, so vertuous, and so devout in her Religion, that if her Brother macerated himself being in prison, she certainly did no lesse, being at liberty; whom I the rather mention, because I had the happinesse to know her living, and the unhappinesse to be a Mourner at her Funeral. There dyed this year also, William Lord Vaux, a zealous Papist, and Sir Thomas Hineage, Vice-Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, whose only Daughter marryed to Sir Moyle Finch of Kent, was no small advancer of that House. There dyed also William Whitaker, Master of S. Johns College in Cambridge, and Divinity Professor: As likewise Sir Roger Williams, and Sir Thomas Morgan; so as this year was honoured with the deaths of two great Lords, one exquisite Courtier, one great Scholar, and two famous Souldiers.

Sir John Norris is sent into Ireland with an Army to aid the Deputy.

The Earl of Tyrone approaches aimed Traytor.

Norris out of emulation to the Deputy, takes Tyrone.

Tyrone with him, d. M. bies.

Albertus Duke of Austria takes Calice by a sudden assault.

In Ireland at this time, Russell the Deputy doubting a storm of War from Tyrone, sent into England, requiring to have some experienced souldiers sent to him with Forces, who though he desired Baskerville to be the man, yet Sir John Norris was sent, with thirteen hundred old souldiers, besides a further supply; whom Tyrone hearing to be coming, set presently upon the Fort of Blackwater, and in the absence of Edward Cornwall the Governour, took it. But now being doubtful of his case, in a subdalous manner (as he was a double dealing man) he both offereth his help to the Earl of Kildare, against the Deputies servants; and at the same time, maketh promise to the Earl of Ormond, and Sir Henry Walpole, of loyalty and obedience; but notwithstanding he was forthwith proclaimed Traytor, under the name of Hugh O-Neal, bastard Son to Con O-Neal: There was at this time with the Rebels in Ulster, a thousand Horse, and 6280 Foot: and in Connaught, two thousand three hundred, all at Tyrone's command: and the Forces of the English under Norris, not much fewer, with whom the Deputy himself joyned, and marched together to Armeagh; which so terrified the Rebels, that Tyrone forsaking the Fort of Blackwater, began to hide himself. Whereupon the Deputy returned, leaving Norris to follow the War, with the Title of General of the Army. But this satisfied not Norris, and therefore out of emulation betwixt himself and the Deputy, he performed nothing worth the speaking of, and seemed to favour Tyrone, as much as the Deputy hated him; insomuch, as he had private conference with him (a thing not lawfull with proclaimed Traytors) and upon his submission, and hostages given, a Truce was granted both to him and Odonell, till the first of January. When the Truce was expired, Tyrone exhibited certain Petitions, protesting; if they were granted, he would then perform all duties of a loyal subject. In consulting about which Petitions, another Truce was concluded, till the first of April: during which Truce, Tyrone dealt secretly with the King of Spain for Aid to be sent him, making nevertheless a fair shew of willingness to obedience; so far, that by the procurement of Norris and Fenton, a pardon was granted him; the which he pretended to receive more joyfully, then the Instrument which conferred the Earldome upon him; yet all this was but dissimulation, to win time for his own ends.

In the midst of these Irish Affairs, Albertus Arch-Duke of Austria, and Cardinal, whom the King of Spain had newly set over the Netherlands, mustered together the Spanish Forces, upon pretence of raising the Siege of La Fere in Picardy; but upon a sudden turneth aside, and besiegeth Calice; and taking Newham Fort, the very first day became Master of the Haven. The Queen informed hereof, forthwith upon the very Sunday, in time of Divine Service, commandeth to levy Souldiers, whom she committeth to the Earl of Essex; but before they could be shipped, certain

A certain News came, That the Town and Fort were taken by the *Spaniard*: Whereupon, the *Queens*, Army was dismissed, and only some money lent to the *French King*.

But a few days after, a far greater, and more select Army is raised in *England*, wherein many of Noble Houses served as *Voluntaries*: For the *Queen*, to divert the *King of Spain* from invading her Borders, thought it the best way to invade his: Whereupon a Navy of a hundred and fifty Ships was made ready; where were Souldiers under pay, 6360; *Voluntaries* of the Nobility and Gentry, 1000; Mariners, 6772, besides the *Dutch men*, who brought two and twenty Ships. Robert Earl of *Essex*, and Charles Howard Lord Admiral of *England*, were made Generals with equal Authority; but the Admiral to hold Prerogative at Sea, *Essex* at Land. To these, for a Council of War, were joyned, the Lord Thomas Howard, Walter Rawleigh, Francis Vere, George Carew, and Conyers Clifford. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; The Admiral commanded the first; *Essex* the second, the Lord Thomas Howard the third, and Rawleigh the fourth. The Officers of the Army were Francis Vere, Serjeant Major General, or Marshal; John Winkfield, Quarter-Master General; George Carew Master of the Ordinance; Conyers Clifford, Serjeant Major. Colonels were, Robert Earl of *Suffex*, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Richard Winkfield; William Winkfield was Commander of the *Voluntaries*, and Anthony Aspley Secretary to the Council of War, was to Register their Acts and Consultations. The Commission being drawn the *Queen* gave them private Instructions, and withall, a Prayer of her own making, to be daily used in every Ship.

Robert Earl of Essex, and Charles Howard L. Admiral are sent with forces against Spain: who take Cales; and the passages of it.

This Fleet set forth from *Plimmouth* at the beginning of *June*. Nigh unto *Cabo S. Vincent* they lighted upon an *Irish Barque*, which told them, That at *Cales* they were secure, and that in the Haven there were at Anchor Gallies, ships of War, and a great many Merchants Vessels. The twentieth of *June*, they cast Anchor on the West side of the Island; within two days they were agreed to set upon the *Spanish ships*, whereat the Earl of *Essex* cast up his cap for joy. This businessse was allotted to the lesser ships, because the Road was too shallow for the great. The Gallies quickly fled, and creeping along the shore, shifted away, but the *Spanish ships* that lay at Anchor at *Punta*, turned their broad sides; so as the *English* fight with them, lasted from break of day till noon; at which time the *Spaniards* having their Galleons miserably torn, and many of their men slain, resolved to fire the ships, or run them ashore. The *Spanish* Admiral being fifteen hundred Tun of burthen, was fired by a *Moor*, and two other ships which lay next her took the fire, and were lost likewise. When this Sea-fight was ended, *Essex* landed eight hundred souldiers at *Punta*, a league from the Town of *Cales*, when half a mile from the Town, the *Spanish* Horse and Foot shewed themselves, and presently gave back again; but straight way cometh forth a greater number: Then *Essex* commanded his Forces to make a fair retreat; and having inticed forth their enemies, they turned upon them with such violence, that they forced them back into the Town. Then the Earl got up to a Bulwark newly raised, neer the Gate, where he spied a passage into the Town, but so high from ground, that they must leap a Spears length to get down. Yet Evans the Earl of *Suffex* his Lieutenant, Arthur Savage, and other, leaped down; and the mean while Sir Francis Vere broke the Gate, and rushed in, and the rest with him. In the Market place John Winkfield was shot in the head, & with stones from the tops of houses divers were wounded; amongst whom, Samuel Bagnall received eight wounds, and Arthur Savage was bloody all over; which two were Knighted in the place. The next day the Castle was yeilded, upon condition, That the Inhabitants might depart with the cloathes on their backs, the rest to be left for spoyle. For five hundred and fourscore thousand Duckets the Castle was to be redeemed; and for the payment, forty of the chief Citizens to be sent Hostages into *England*. Now Rawleigh was commanded to fire the Merchants ships lying at *Port Real* when they promised two Millions of Duckets to redeem them: but this the Admiral would not hear of, saying, He was sent to destroy Ships, not to dismisse them upon Composition. A world of Munition was found in the City, and great store of money privately carried away, every one shifting for himself. It was thought by the wiser sort, That the *Spaniard* could not be damnified lesse by this Expedition, then twenty Millions of Duckets. None of note was slain, amongst the *English*, but only Winkfield, who also slew a *Spanish* Captain; and now at last, three-score Military men were honored with Knight-hood. After this, having spoyle the whole Island, and demolished the Forts, they returned into *England*, much against the will of *Essex*, who would fain have been attempting some other enterprise.

The *Queen* received them home with much affability, giving many thanks to those of principal note, but extolling the Earl of *Essex* and the Admiral, above the rest. And now bethinking her self of a fit man to be Governour of the *Bryll*, which was given by the States as a Caution Town for money due, she made choice of Sir Francis Vere, although *Essex* commended other to her for the place: but another thing he took with great indignation, That in his absence she had made Sir Robert Cecil Secretary, whereas he had formerly with great instance commended Sir Thomas Bodley to her.

Sir Robert Cecil is made Secretary of State.

And now the *King of Spain*, to recover his honour lost at *Cales*, setteth forth a Navy for *England* and *Ireland*, with a great number of *Irish* Fugitives; but being at Sea, most of his ships were either run upon Rocks, or cast away in storms; so as this Expedition came to nothing.

Q. Elizabeth enters a League Offensive and Defensive with the K. of France.

But the *Queen*, at this time, for her better security, entred a League of Defence and Offence with the *French King*, against the *Spaniard*, upon certain Conditions; which League she confirmed by Oath, in the Chappel at *Greenwich*, the nine and twentieth of *August*, laying her hand upon

the hand of *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bulloign*, and Marshal of *France*; the Bishop of *Chichester* A holding forth the Evangelists, and a great company of the Nobility standing round about. In September following, *Gilbert Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was sent on Ambassage into *France*, to take the *French Kings Oath*, and to present *Sir Anthony Mildmay* for the *Queens Ambassadour* in Ordinary in the room of *Sir Henry Unton* lately there deceased, and to invest the King with the Order of the Garter. Soon after, *Baskerville* wasted into *Picardy* with two thousand souldiers; for no more were by agreement to be sent this year.

An. Reg. 39.
Thomas Arundell del ot Warder, is by the Emperour made Earl of the Empire; and what the priviledges of that honour are, Whether honours given to the Queens Subjects without her privy, are to be admitted.

It was now the year, 1596. and the nine and thirtieth of *Queen Elizabeths* reign, when *Thomas Arundell* of *Warder* returned into *England*, from the Wars in *Hungary* against the *Turk*; whom, for his good service done there, the Emperour by his Letters Patents, had created Earl of the sacred Empire, and all and singular his Heirs and their Posterity, Males or Females, lawfully descended from him, to be Earls and Countesses of the holy Empire for ever. Those who are graced with this Title, have a Place and Voice in the Imperial Diets, may purchase Lands in the Emperours Dominions, may take up voluntary souldiers, and are not bound to answer any matter before any Judge, but only in the Chamber of the Empire. At his returns, a great Question came in agitation, Whether Titles of Honour given to the *Queens* subjects without her privy, ought to be accepted by them, or admitted by her. For this new Earl stuck in the stomachs of the *English* Barons, who inwardly grudged to give him place. The matter was long disputed on both sides, but what issue it had, or whether he were permitted this Honour here at home, I finde not: Certain it is, That *Sir Nicholas Clifford*, and *Sir Anthony Sherley*, whom the *French King* two years since received into the Order of *S. Michael*, were laid in Prison at their coming home, and charged to resign their Robes of the Order. C

Many great persons die.

This year many great Persons dyed; *John Puckering*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, whom *Thomas Egerton* succeeded; *Richard Fletcher*, Bishop of *London*; who for marrying the Lady *Baker* (as goodly a Lady as he was a Prelate) incurred the *Queens* displeasure; and to cure his cares, fell immoderately to drinking of Tobacco, and so expired. *Henry Cary*, Baron of *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesties House, and her Cousin german. *Sir Francis Knolls*, who married *Hunsdons* sister, in *Queen Marias* days an Exile in *Germany* for the Gospel, by *Queen Elizabeth* made first Vice-Chamberlain, then Captain of the Guard, afterward Treasurer of the Household, and Knight of the Garter. *Henry Hastings*, Earl of *Huntington*, and President of the Council in the North, who spent his estate upon Puritan Ministers: *Francis* Lord *Hastings*, Nephew to him by his brother *George*, who succeeded him in the Earldom, and *Margaret Clifford* Countesse of *Derby*, (who defended of the bloud Royal, from *Charles Brandon*) consulted with sorcerers and cunning men, and thereupon a little before her end, was in a manner excluded from the *Queens* favour.

The Earl of Essex, Sir Walter Rawleigh and others are sent to seize upon the Spanish Fleet, but are distressed by tempests.

The Queen at this time was told, that the King of *Spain* was preparing a new Fleet against *Ireland*; whereupon to encounter him, she also prepared a Navy of a hundred and twenty Ships, seventeen of the *Queens*, three and forty lesser Ships of War, the rest for the carriage of provision. They were parted into three Squadrons: *Essex* commanded the first, who was also chief Commander in the expedition; The Lord *Thomas Howard* the second, and *Rawleigh* the third. In this Fleet were sundry of the Nobility and Gentry, *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Munsey*, *Vere*, *Carew*, *Sir Christopher Elum*, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*; the Lords, *Grey*, *Cromwell*, *Rich*, and many other. The ninth of *July* they weighed Anchour from *Plimmouth*, and were to direct their course to *Ferall* and the *Gr-yu*, to seize upon the *Spanish* Fleet in the Harbour, and towards the Isles called *Azores*, to intercept the *Indian* Fleet at their return into *Spain*; but this expedition was crossed and overthrown by Tempests, for they had not sailed forty Leagues from *Plimmouth*, when they were shaken with such a terrible Tempest for four days together, that the Mariners themselves were at their wits end, and the Fleet had much ado to recover *Plimmouth*; The Navy being mended, they hoise up sail the second time, but the winde fell presently again so crosse, that for a whole Moneths time they could not get out of the Haven, returning to *Plimmouth* the seventeenth of *August* they got out of the Haven; and now the third time, with a side winde hoise up sail, but before they came in view of *Spain*, they were dispersed by another horrible tempest, wherein of the two great Ships which were taken at *Callice*, one was dashed in pieces, the other wandred no man knew whither. At the Island *Flores* the Fleet met again; where *Rawleigh* being distressed for water went on shore without leave; and ere he had watered, had charge to follow *Essex* to *Foyall*: but not finding him there, he observed the Port, and calling a Council, the Commanders wished him to set upon the place, and not let slip so fair a booty. Upon this, *Rawleigh* with some of the prime Voluntaries, got to shore, and won the Town, but found no booty in it. The next day *Essex* came thither, whom *Merrick* informeth what *Rawleigh* had done, affirming spitefully, that he had done it only to prevent his Lordship in the honour of the exploit: whereupon some perswaded the Earl to call a Council of War and then displace him; others again, to take off his head for going to Land, without the chief Commanders leave; saying, he was never like for to have such another opportunity to be rid of his Adversary; upon this, *Sidney*, *Brett*, *Berry*, and other of *Rawleighs* company were displaced, and laid by the heels; *Rawleigh* himself was sent for, and entertained with a grim look by *Essex* and all his Party; *Essex* rebuketh him angrily, for landing his Forces, which none upon pain of death might doe, without the

Rawleigh, without leave, goes ashore, and takes Foyall.

For this he is questioned by the Earl: but his Answer, and the Lord Tho. Howards mediation, reconciles all.

A the Generals command; *Rawleigh* made answer, that the Captains indeed, Shipmasters, and the rest were within the compasse of that Law; but not the Three prime Commanders, of whom himself was One: That he had a long time waited his coming, and longer would have waited, but that the Islanders provoked him to fight. And now the Lord *Thomas Howard* mediated, that no severity might be used against *Rawleigh*, and perswaded him to acknowledge his fault; which being done, all were friends, and the displaced Captains were restored to their places, for the Earl was of a placable disposition; easily apt to take offence, and as easily to remit it.

From hence they sail to *Gratiola*, where the Inhabitants craved mercy and obtained it; and here *Essex* would have tarried, in expectation of the *Indian Fleet*; but that *Graves* the Pilot dissuaded, because the Harbour was not good: and now see the unluckinesse of ill counsel, for B the *English* were not gone above an hour, or two, from this place; when loe, the *American Fleet* (wherein were forty Ships, and seven of them loaden with treasure) cometh thither; which, hearing that the *English* were thereabouts, directed their course to *Tercera*, where they gained the Haven, all but three Ships, indifferent wealthy; which the *English* took: and then were minded to set upon the rest, in the Port; but finding the attempt not feasible, they passed from hence to *S. Michaels*; where *Southampton*, *Rutland*, *Evers*, *Bredon* and *Dockwray* were Knighted. And then *Essex* landed within six miles of the Town, nigh unto *Villa Franca*, a fair Town, and well furnished with Merchandize; Wine, Wood, and Corn; where they tarried six days: and the common Souldiers found good booty. And now a Caraque was espied, coming out of the *East-Indies*; which by a warning peece shot off in a *Dutch Ship*, C perceiving that the *English* were there; run her self ashore, unloaded her Merchandize, and then fired her self. Thus the *English* had ill luck every where in this expedition: And the ninth of *October* they hoisted sail for *England*; but within two days, a terrible tempest, from the Northward dispersed them; and the *Spanish Fleet* also at the same time, so as they never came in view of one another: one *Spanish Ship* was cast upon *Dartmouth*, the Mariners and Souldiers half starved in her; who intimated, that the *Spanish Fleet* intended to seize upon some Haven in *Cornwall*, which being nigh the mouth of the Channell, might be convenient to receive Forces from *Spain*: but the divine Providence frustrated the designs both of the *Spaniard* and the *English*.

The *English* misse the *Spanish Fleet*, through ill coun. el.

But now at his return, the Earl of *Essex* found that done in *England*. in his absence, which D infinitely discontented him: Sir *Robert Cecil* made Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*; and which was more, *Charles Lord Howdrd*, created Earl of *Nottingham*, with relation in his patent to the Victory in eighty eight; and his good service at *Cales*: This glory he envied him, and besides stomached it; that he must now take place of him: It being enacted in the Reign of *Henry* the eighth, that the chief Officers of the Kingdom, should have Precedence of all men of their degree. Whereupon the Queen, to give him content, was fain to create him Earl Marshal of *England*; by which he recovered his place again.

Charles Howard Lord Admiral is created Earl of *Nottingham* to the discontentment of the Earl of *Essex*.

About this time, an Embassadour came into *England*, from the King of *Polland*; who, when the Queen expected he should give her thanks for having procured a Peace between the King his Master, and the *Turk*, he clean contrary expostulated unkindenesse, for breach of Priviledges, in E trading with *Spain*, requiring a present remedy, or else the King would otherways right himself. The Queen not a little offended, suddenly replied, How was I deceived? I expected an Embassadour, and behold a Herald; such a speech I never heard in all my life time. And after some further checking of him for his boldnesse, she referred him to her Councel; and then retired into her Closet. The Embassadour afterward, in private conference with some of the Councel, excused himself, saying, that his speech was penned by others, and then given him in writing. To his Message, the Councel gave the like answer, as they had given before the *Hanse-Towns*, upon the like occasion: though now again, the *Hanse-Towns* obtain of the Emperour, to prohibit the *English* from trading in *Germany*, which made the Queen to prohibit the *Hanse-towns* from trading in *England*, and put them out of the Steelyard till this difference was F corded.

The Earl of *Essex* is made Earl Marshal, of purpose to take place of the Admiral.

The sawcie speech of a *Pollish* Embassadour to the Queen, and her Answer.

This year the Chancellour of *Denmark* came into *England* to restore the Garter, which she had bestowed upon the Kings Father, and withal offering the Kings help, to make a peace for the Queen with the *Spaniard*. The Queen thanked him; but meant not to use his help for that which she did not desire, and especially not now, when he had newly molested the King of *France* her Allye, and had taken *Amyens* the strongest Town of *Picardy*: Though why should the Queen be so tender of the *French King*, when now to get an aid of four thousand Souldiers from her, he fell to devices; intimating unto her, that he was now offered by the Popes Nuntio a very commodious peace, if he would but forsake her. But while these things were in Treaty, *Amyens* was recovered again by the valour of *Baskerville* (who dyed at the siege) and of Sir *Arthur Savage*, as the King in his Letters G to the Queen thankfully acknowledged.

Baskervilles and Sir *Arthur Savage* service in recovering of *Amyens*.

About this time a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, where Subsidies were willingly granted; and to this Parliament was called the Lord *La Ware*, and restored to his blood, which by Act of Parliament in the reign of King *Edward* the sixth was tainted; Also to this Parliament was called *Thomas Lord Howard*, by the Title of Baron *Howard of Walden*.

The Lord *Thomas Howard* is made Baron of *Walden*.

In *Ireland* at this time, a great part of *Ulster*, and almost all *Connaght* was in Rebellion; Whereupon *Russel* the Deputy was called home; and *Thomas Lord Burrough* sent in his place, a man very stout and courageous, but no souldier: This infinitely discontented *Norris*, who thought

The Lord *Burroughs* is sent Deputy in *Ireland*.

Norris that expected the place, discoloured, falls sick and dies.

The Fort of Blackwater gained by the Deputy.

The L. Burroughs dies.

Tir-Oen complains to the new Lieutenant of his grievances; and at the same time stirreth up Mac-Hugh to a new Rebellion.

The King of France concludes a Peace with Spain, against Q. Elizabeths liking.

A Consultation, whether a Peace with Spain were convenient for England or no. Burleigh is for it, Essex against it.

The Queen gives the Earl of Essex a box on the ear, and why: and how he took it.

The Lord Burleigh Lord Treasurer dies.

The Earl of Cumberland takes Port-Rico.

thought himself sure of the place himself, and now to see his Rival preferred before him, and himself to be under him, President of *Munster*, drave him into such a melancholy, that in a very short time (and as he thought to himself with much disgrace) he ended his life.

And now the Earl of *Tir-Oen* craveth, and obtaineth a moneths Truce of the new Deputy, at the moneths end, the Deputy marcheth against the Rebels, and gaineth the Fort at *Blackwater*, when suddenly the Rebels shew themselves upon a hill hard by, against whom the Earl of *Kildare* marcheth and puts them to flight; but yet with some losse of his own side, as *Francis Vaughan* the Deputies Brother in Law, *Turner* a Serjeant Major, and two *Fosters*, Brothers of the Earl of *Kildare*, whose death he took so heavily, that within a few days he dyed himself.

As soon as the Deputy had fortified the Castle at *Blackwater* and withdrawn his Army, the Rebels began to besiege it again; (for this was the main place of their strength) which caused the Deputy with all possible speed to make thither, but unhappily dyed by the way. Whereupon the Rebels set upon the Fort more fiercely then before; but being still repelled, they comforted themselves with this, that there was not many days provision left in the Fort; yet the admirable fortitude of *Thomas Williams* the Captain, and the Garrison Souldiers saved the place, who, when their Horse-flesh was all spent, fed upon weeds growing within the Trenches, and endured all kinde of misery. And now the Lord *Burroughs* the Deputy being dead, the Army by direction from *England*, was committed to the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Government to two Lords Justices, *Adam Lofthouse* Archbishop of *Dublin* and Chancellor, and *Robert Gardiner*: To this new Lieutenant, *Tir-Oen* exhibiteth a Bill of his oppressions and grievances with request of pardon, and at the same time stirreth up *Mac-Hugh* to a new Rebellion in *Leinster*.

In *France* at this time, the *French King* being importuned by the Pope, and by his own subjects, began to incline to a Peace with *Spain*; which the Queen understanding, she sent into *France* Sir *Robert Cecil*, *Herbert* and *Wilks*, (who died at his landing in *France*;) The States likewise sent thither, *Justine of Nassaw*, and *Barneval*, and others likewise into *England* to dissuade the Peace; but notwithstanding all they could say or do, the *French King* shortly after concluded a Peace, to the great discontentment of the Queen and the States, but to the great good, and establishment of the *French Common-wealth*.

And now the Queen providing for her own and her peoples safety, sent Sir *Francis Vere* to the States, to know if they were willing to joyn in a Treaty of Peace with the *Spaniard*; if not, what they would afford toward a War; and to deal earnestly with them, about repayment of money due to her from them. At home in the mean time, a great Consultation was holden, Whether a Peace with *Spain* were convenient for *England*, or no; and many Reasons were on both sides alleadged. *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer was for Peace, *Essex* for War, and so vehement in it; that the Treasurer, after a long debating, in a strange manner of Preface, reached forth the Book of the *Psalms* to him, pointing him to that Verse, *The bloody minded man shall not live out half his days*. Which made *Essex* afterward to set forth an Apology, with Reasons for justification of his opinion.

But now another Consultation was held, about a fit man to be Deputy of *Ireland*; The Queen intended to send Sir *William Knolles*, *Essex* his Uncle; but *Essex* was violent for Sir *George Carew*, whom he had a minde to remove from the Court; and when he could not by any means perswade the Queen to it, he then, forgetting himself and his duty, uncivilly and contemptuously turned his back upon the Queen, muttering certain words. Whereupon she growing impatient, gave him a box on the ear, and bid him be gone with a vengeance; *Essex* laid his hand upon his sword hilt, and swore a great oath, That he could not, nor would not put up such an Indignity; and that he would not have taken it at King *Henry* the Eighth his hands; and so in a rage flung away from the Court. But afterward, admonished by the Lord Keeper, he became more milde, and in a short time, returned into the Queens favour.

About this time, *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*, and high Treasurer of *England*, finding himself to droop with age, (for he was now threescore and seventeen years old) sent Letters to the Queen, intreating her to release him of his publick charge; whereupon she went to visit, and comfort him, but within a few days he ended his life, after he had been the principal stay of the *English Common-wealth* for many years together. One great good he did to his Countrey, a little before his death, that he brought the States of the *Low-Countries* to a Composition, for the payment of Eight hundred thousand pounds, by Thirty thousand pounds yearly; likewise a new League to be concluded with them.

The King of *Denmarks* Subjects having lately seized upon some goods of the *English* as Prize, to the value of a hundred thousand Dollers; the Queen sent the Lord *Zouch*, and *Christopher Perkins* Doctor of Law, in Embassage to the Dane, both to congratulate his late marriage with the Electors Daughter of *Brandenburg*; and also to crave restitution of the *English* goods; who obtained, that in lieu thereof, Threescore thousand Dollers were repaid. And now *George Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*, having with a Navy of eleven ships, waited for *Portingall* Cariques, and the *American Fleet*, till the season of the year was past (they not daring to stir forth) he at last set upon *Port-Rico* and took it; but seven hundred of his men falling sick of Calenures, and dying within forty days, he was fain to return home with some honour, but little profit.

A About this time, one *Edward Squire* was Arraigned of high Treason; he had been at first an ordinary Scrivener, afterwards a Groom in the Queens stable, and going as a Souldier in *Drakes* last expedition, was taken prisoner and carried into *Spain*, there he came acquainted with one *Walpoole* an *English* Jesuite, who caused him to be put into the Inquisition for an Heretick, and the fellow railing of miltery, was easily drawn to become a Papist, and afterward to attempt any thing for the Catholick cause. His ghottly father perswaded him it were meritorious to make away the Queen and the Earl of *Essex*, and sent him into *England* with a certain poyson, wherewith to anoint the pommel of the Queens Saddle, and the chair in which the Earl should sit, which he accordingly performed, but neither of them took effect, whereupon *Walpoole* suspecting *Squires* fidelity was bent to revenge it, and sent one into *England*, who in general terms should lay this aspersions upon him; whereupon *Squire* is called in question, and never thinking that his Confessor would detect him, directly denied all at first; but after seeing himself betrayed, confessed all the matter and was executed.

Edward Squire executed, and why.

This whole year the rebellion was hot in *Ireland*; For *Tir-Oen* notwithstanding his pardon lately obtained, all on a sudden besieged the Fort at *Blackwater*, to the raising of which siege, the Lieutenant General (for there was as yet no Deputy) sent thirteen Companies under the command of the Marshal, *Tir-Oens* sworn adversary, him *Tir-Oen* slew, and put his whole Army to rout, and achieved such a Victory, with so great losse to the *English*, as they had never felt the like since they first set footing in *Ireland*; for thirteen valiant Commanders, and fifteen hundred common Souldiers were slain at this skirmish, and soon after the Fort of *Blackwater* was yielded up. And now *Tir-Oens* fame began to resound as the Assertor of the liberty of the Nation, and upon a sudden all *Munster* brake forth into Rebellion. For the cherishing whereof *Tir-Oen* sent thither *Ouny Mac-Rorke* and *Terell* (who originally an *English* man, was grown a deadly enemy to the *English* Nation) with four hundred *Kernes*. Against these, *Thomas Norris* President of the Province, marched to *Killmallock* with a good force; but finding that the *Irish* Souldiers of his Company were ready to revolt, he was fain to disperse his Army and retire to *Corke*. Hereupon the Rebels grew insolent, spoyle the Countrey, and in cruel manner put all the *English* to the sword. Furthermore they declare *Fitz Thomas* to be Earl of *Desmond*; but upon condition he should hold of *O-Neale*, that is, of *Tir-Oen*, who now dispatched Letters to the *Spaniard*, relating his Victories to the full, and vowing to accept no terms of peace with the *English*, and yet at the same instant (after his wonted treacherous manner) proffered some kinde of submission to the Lieutenant, but withall made unreasonable demands.

Tir-Oen breaks openly into Rebellion, and gives the *English* a great a fear.

The State of *Ireland* being thus in combustion, a serious consultation is holden whom to send to quench it: the Queen and most of the Council thought Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* the fittest man; but *Essex* covertly intimated, that he had no military experience, and besides was too Bookish to prove a good Commander: he seem'd to aim at the place for himself, though he made a shew modestly to refuse it, and yet still ready with his exceptions if any other were nominated: many thought it dangerous to have an Army put into his hands, for his followers talked of great matters, that he (forsooth) was descended of the bloud Royal of *Scotland* and *England*, and had better Right to the Crown, then any other of the Competitors. In Conclusion, he is appointed Vice-Roy; with ample Authority, to make War or conclude Peace, and pardon all offenders, even *Tir-Oen* himself. An Army is allotted him as great as he desired: Indeed greater then ever *Ireland* had seen before, Twenty Thousand Foot, and Thirteen Hundred Horse: with these, and a great Retinue besides of the Nobility, he passeth into *Ireland*; where as soon as he had taken the Sword, contrary to his Commission (which was to goe immediately against the Arch-rebel) he marched towards *Munster*, against the petty Rebels. taked the Castle of *Cahir*, and driveth the Rebels into the Woods and Groves adjoining. His Forces being now impaired, he tarrieth to make them up; but in the mean time sendeth directions to Sir *Conyers Clifford*, President of *Connacht*, to set upon the Rebels in one place, (thereby to sever their forces) while he assaulted them in another; *Clifford* marched toward *Belike*, with 1500. Souldiers, where the Rebels are upon them at unawares, under the conduct of *O-Rorke*, (his Son that was hanged here in *England*). The *English* repel them at first with ease, and march along, but the Rebels finding they wanted Powder, set upon them again, and put them to flight; in which skirmish, *Clifford* and many of the old Souldiers were slain.

Yet at the same time makes some offer of submission.

A Consultation is held, whom to send against *Tir-Oen*.

At last the Earl of *Essex* is sent with ample authority.

Essex having by this time received new supplies out of *England*, and a check for neglecting the Queens Command, setteth forth at length towards the Borders of *Ulster*, with Thirteen hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse; being come thither, *Tir-Oen* by a Messenger requested Parley, *Essex* refuseth, saying, he might speak with him the next morning, between the two Armies; the next day word is brought to *Essex*, that *Tir-Oen* craved the Queens mercy, and that he might only be heard speak, appointing the shallow of *Balla Clinch* for a most convenient place; thither came *Essex* alone, with whom *Tir-Oen* (riding his Horse up to the girts) had private conference a full hour; A while after, *Con Tir-Oens* base Son came to *Essex*, requesting in his Fathers name a second Parley, and that some of the chief on both sides might be present: *Essex* consented, so there came not more then six. At the day appointed, many words had not passed, but it was agreed, that their Delegates should Treat the next day concerning a Peace: between them it was concluded, that a Truce should be held from six weeks to six weeks, till May day.

He hath private conference with *Tir-Oen*.

A Truce is concluded.

The Queen
writes to *Essex*
blaming his
delay.

Essex without
leave comes
over to the
Queen.

Is welcomed
with committ-
ing him to the
L. Privy Seal.

The Earl of
Tir-Om, upon
Essex his depar-
ture carries
himself as Mon-
arch of Ire-
land.

Sir *Charles*
Blunt L. Mont-
joy is sent De-
puty into Ire-
land.

A Treaty of
Peace is agreed
on with *Spain*.

The *English*
Commissioners
have a charge
not to give pre-
cedence to
Spain, and why.

The *Spaniards*
being denied
Precedence
break off the
Treaty.

The famous
Battail of
Newport, won
by the valour
of the *English*.

By this time, the Queen understanding that no more was done, after so much time and money A
sent, in a great anger taxeth the Earls proceedings, and I know not how, it fell from her to
some others that stood by, that he had other thoughts in his minde, then the good of his Prince
and Countrey: And thereupon dispatched very sharp Letters to him, blaming his delay, and
letting slip every fair opportunity: with which Letters *Essex* was so netled, and chiefly troubled,
that the Queen had now made *Cecil* Master of the Wards, which he expected himself: that he
began to cast strange projects within his minde, and held private consultations of returning into
England with part of his Forces, to surprize his Adversaries; But from this course, the Earl of
Southampton, and Sir *Christopher Blunt* dissuaded him, as being dangerous and wicked. Yet within
a moneth, over he went, and came to the Court at *Nonefuch*, to inform the Queen of the State
of Ireland. By the way, the Lord *Gray of Wilton* crossed him, but saluted him not; whom one B
of his followers offered to kill for his contempt: but *Essex* would not suffer him: And made
such halt, that early in the Morning he was upon his Knees before the Queen in the Privy
Chamber. She entertained him courteously, but not with the countenance she was wont: and
after a little talk bid him keep in his Chamber; And soon after, Committed him to Custody, in
the Lord Privy Seals House; where entring into Consideration of his case, he giveth himself
wholly to Divine Contemplation, and writeth wonderful Letters to his friends, of the vanity of
the things of this life.

It was now the year one thousand six hundred, and the two and fortieth of Queens *Elizabeths*
Reign, when after the departure of the Earl of *Essex*, *Tir-Om* began to carry himself as Monarch C
of Ireland, and sendeth *Kernes* to make spoil in the possessions of such as continued in their loy-
alty to the Queen, under *Mac-Guir* their Captain, who lighting casually upon Sir *Warham Saint-*
Leger, thrust him through with a spear, and was himself thrust through withall. Whereupon the
Queen sent Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montjoy*, to take upon him the Deputies place, who loseth no time,
but first of all marcheth towards *Ulster*, buildeth a fort within eight miles of *Armagh*, which, in
honor of Sir *John Norris*, under whom he had his first military schooling, he calleth by the name of
Mount Norris; there he placed *Edward Blayze*, who kept the Rebels in awe in those parts, from
thence back he goeth into *Leinster*, wherein the *Glynnes* he reduceth into order, *Donel-Spaniab*,
Phelim Mac-Phroph, and the rebelling Nation of the *O-Tooles*, taking hostages of them, then back
into *Ulster* again, being victor wheresoever he cometh, and at *Tradogh*, receiveth into prote-
ction *Mac-Henry*, *Mac-Cowly*, and other Rebels who fell at his feet for mercy. All this and more D
he did in his first year, and no lesse successful was *Carew* President of *Munster*, who drove out of
the County the Titular Earl of *Desmond*, and having found *Munster* a turbulent Province in *April*, he
overcomed and made it so quiet by *December* following, that the Rebels maintained not one Fort in
it against the Queen.

And now a new consultation was holden in England, touching a peace with the King of *Spain*,
the which he sought both by the *French* King, and by *Albertus* the Archduke, who was now
returned into the *Netherlands* out of *Spain*, where he was married to the *Infanta*. The Queen
consenting to a Treaty, left it to the *French* King to nominate both the time and place for
the meeting of the Delegates, who set down the moneth of *May*, and *Bulloigne* in *France*; But
now fore-seeing that a question would arise about Precedency, some were appointed to search E
Ancient Records concerning that point. These men found in the Book of the Ceremonies
of the Court of *Rome*, which (according to the Canons) giveth Rule to the rest, as the Lady and
Mistresse; that amongst Kings, the first place is due to the King of *France*, the second to the King
of *England*, and the third to the King of *Castile*; That the *English* quietly held this privilege in
the General Councils of *Basil*, *Constance*, and others: besides the Kingdom of *Castile*, which is the
Spaniards first Title, is but an upstart in regard of *England*, which had Earls, but no Kings till the
year 1017. In like manner, that Pope *Julius* the third, gave sentence for *Henry* the seventh of *Eng-*
land, against *Ferdinand*, who was then King of *Castile*.

At the day appointed, the Delegates met at *Bulloign*, Sir *Henry Nevill*, Legier Embassadour, Sir
John Herbert, *Robert Beal*, and *Thomas Edmunds* for the *English*, and other for the King of *Spain* and F
the Archduke. The *English* had instructions, first concerning Precedency, in no case to give way to
the King of *Spain*; yet if they contended, to put the matter to the division of the Lots, rather then
the Treaty should be dissolved; and for the rest, to propose and mention the renewing of the an-
cient *Evagundian* League, freedom of commerce, &c.

At the meeting, when they had severally shewed their Commissions; the *English* challenge the
Precedency, the *Spaniards* do the like, and in so peremptory a manner that without it they would
dissolve the Treaty: Hereupon the *English* made a proposition, to let passe the question of Prece-
dency; and to transact the businesse by writing, and Messengers between them: Or that the
Treaty might be intermitted only for threescore days, not quite boken off; but all was to no pur-
pose; and at three moneths end they parted.

The States the mean while, were so far from regarding a Peace, that at this time they thought G
upon reducing the Sea Coast of *Flanders* into their command; and thereupon they landed an Army
there, of fourteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, under the conduct of *Maurice* of
Nissaw; and fifteen hundred of the *English* under the command of Sir *Francis Vere*, and his Brother
Horatio: At which time happened the famous Battail of *Newport*, against the Archduke, wherein
nine thousand of the *Spaniards* were slain; and the Victory, by the valour of the *English*, fell to the
Dutch; for so forward were the *English* in this Battail, that of their fifteen hundred, eight
hundred

A hundred were slain and sore wounded, eight Captains killed, and of the rest every man hurt.

All this year, and the year past, sundry quarrels and complaints arose between the *English* and the *French*, touching reprisals of goods taken from each other by Pirates of either Nation: Also touching Customs and Impositions, contrary to the Treaty of *Bloys*, and deceit in *English* clothes, to the great infamy of our Nation. In *Denmark* likewise arose controversies touching Commerce, and the Fishing of the *English* upon the Coast of *Island* and *Norway*. The Queen also at this time, for the increase of Navigation and Commerce, Founded the Company of *East-India* Merchants, allowing them large Priviledges: but whether this hath proved beneficial to the Common-wealth, (there having been by this means such a masse of money and great store of other commodities carried out of the Kingdom, and so many Mariners lost every year) wise men make a question.

The Company of *East-India* Merchants founded by the Queen.

About this time also, Pope *Clement* the eighth, perceiving the Queen to be in her declining age, sent two Breeves into *England*, the one to the Popish Clergy, the other to the Laity, to suffer no person whatsoever, to take the Kingdom upon him after the Queens death, but one that should promise by Oath to promote with all his might, the *Roman* Catholick Religion, how neer soever otherwise, he were allyed to the Bloud Royal of the Kings of *England*.

This year by reason of intemperate weather, happened a great scarcity of Corn in *England*, and thereby many grievous complaints were occasioned. The common people cast out reproachful slanders against the Lord Treasurer *Buckhurst*, as the granter of Licences for transportation of Corn; but he appealing to the Queen, she forthwith defended his Innocency, and made it known by open Proclamation, imputed the fault upon the Broggers of Corn, and Foretallers of Markets, and gave order that the slanderer should be reprehended and punished.

The Earl of *Essex*, who had now been Prisoner six moneths in the House of the Lord Privy Seal, he then began to repent in good earnest, resolving to put away his perverie Counsellors, *Gylly Merrick* and *Henry Cusse*, and then he shewed so much patience and great submission, that the Queen then sent him to his own house, and to be there confined, always protesting that he would doe nothing that should be for his ruine, but only that, which should be for his amendmet. Nevertheless, when as the common people extolled his Innocency, she could not for the removal of suspicion of injustice, free her self and her Counsellors, but bring him to tryal, not in the Star-Chamber, lest the censure should fall too heavy on him; but in the house of the Lord Privy Seal, where the cause should have a plain hearing before the Lords of the Councel, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges of the Realm. The objections were, That contrary to his Commission he had made the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horse, had drawn his Forces into *Munster*, neglecting the Arch-rebel *Tir Oen*, entertained a Parlee with him, against the Dignity of the Queens Majesty, and the person of a Viceroy, which he represented; and that the said Parlee was suspicious, in regard it was private. Some aggravations the Lawyers added from abrupt sentences in his Letter to the Lord Privy Seal, written two years since, as these; *No storm is more fierce then the indignation of an Impotent Prince. What? cannot Princes erre? May they not injure their Subjects? and such like.*

The Earl of *Essex* upon his penitence is allowed to live at his own house.

Yet he is brought to a private Trial in the Lord Privy Seals house, and what was objected against him.

He falling upon his knee at the end of the Board, professed he would not contest with the Queen, nor excuse the faults of his young years, either in whole, or in part, Protesting that he always meant well, howsoever it fell out otherwise, and that now he would bid the World farewell; withall shedding many tears, so as the standers by wept also. Yet could he not contain himself, but began to plead excuses, till the Lord Privy Seal interrupted him, advising him to proceed as he had begun, to fly to the Queens Mercy, who would not have him questioned for disloyalty, but only for a contempt; and that he did not well to pretend obedience in words, which in deeds he had not performed. At length, in the name of the rest, he pronounceth this Sentence against him; That he should be deposed from the Office of a Privy Counsellor, suspended from the functions of the Earl Marshal, and Master of the Ordinance, and be imprisoned during the Queens pleasure. She had given expresse charge, not to suspend him from the office of Master of the Horse (minding to take him shortly into favor) and that his Censure in no case should be Recorded. After this he made shew of wonderful humility and mortification, which so affected the Queen, that shortly she removed *Barkeley* his Keeper, and gave him leave to go at large; only admonishing him, To make his own discretion his keeper, and not to come at the Court, or in her Presence.

The Earl protests his Innocence; and sheweth his repentance with tears.

What his Censure was.

Yet upon his humility he had leave to go at large.

After this Sentence, *Cusse*, who always perswaded the Earl to stand stoutly in his own defence, began so plainly to tax him of cowardize and pusillanimity; that the Earl in anger, commanded the Earl for his name to be put out of the Rowl of his servants, yet *Merrick* the Steward did it not, as being of *Cusses* minde himself.

Cusse taxeth the Earl for cowardize.

Essex being now ready to go into the Countrey, remembered himself to the Queen, by the Lord *Henry Howard*, in these words; *That he kissed the Rod, and the Queens hands, which had only corrected, not overthrown him; yet he should never enjoy solid comfort, till he might see those blessed eyes, which had been his load-stars, whereby he had happily steered his course, while he held on his way at lawfull distance; But now he resolved to eat grasse with Nebuchadnezzar, till it please the Queen to restore his senses.* She being greatly joyed

The Earls submissive Letter to the Queen.

joyed with these his speeches; *Would to God* (said she) *his deeds might be answerable to his words; he hath A*
long tried my patience, I must now make trial of his humility.

Being denied
the Farm of
sweet Wines,
he grows again
discontented.

Useth all the
ways of popu-
larity.

Who were his
chief Adhe-
rers and
Counsellors.

They resolve
to see upon the
Queens Pa-
lace, and in
what manner.

But is preven-
ted.

The Lord Keeper
and three other
of the Privy
Council, sent
to Essex house,
to know the
cause of this
concourse, and
his answer.

But presently
giving charge
to keep the
Lords, he goes
into the City.

He comes to
Sheriff Smiths
house, looking
for aid, but
Smith was
gone.

Essex is pro-
claimed a
Treason.

Gorge goeth
and fetcheth all
the Lords at
liberty.

And now the Earl grew so confident of the Queens favour, that he became a suitor to her for the Farm of sweet Wines; but she to try his temper, and with what minde he would bear a repulse, made him Answer, That she must first know what it was worth, and not give away things hand over head; and had often times in her mouth, the Aphorism of Physicians, That foul bodies, the more you nourish them, the more you corrupt them. And indeed, this was the right way to finde, whether the ulcer of his minde were thoroughly cured or no; for being not thoroughly cured, it would endure no touching; and no more did his, but as though every denial of a courtesie, were an injury that required revenge; his melancholy was presently turned into choler, now he began to hearken to *Cuffe* again; telling him, That it was now plain, the Queen de- B
 termined to make him as poor as *Job*, that he should live of the basket, and gather crumbs under the Table. Hereupon he returned to *London*, *Southampton* is sent for out of the *Low Countries*, his doores are set open for all comers, *Merrick* his Steward receiveth to his own table decayed souldiers, discontented and audacious persons; Sermons are made there every day by Puritan Ministers, to which the Citizens flock, and all signes of popularity appeared; which mat- ters coming to the Queens ears, alienated her affection from him daily more and more; but especially she was exasperated, that her Person was despised by him; for (not to say the worst) he had muttered, That the Queen was now old and decrepit, and withered as well in minde as body.

And now again, he runneth upon desperate counsels, for the removal of his adversaries from C
 the Court, seeketh to scruce himself into the King of *Scots* favour, to whom he traduceth his adversaries, by name *Raleigh*, *Cobham*, *Carew*, *Cecil*, and the Admiral as inclined to the *Spanish* Faction, and at one and the same time, seeketh to win to him both Puritans and Papists. Many were of his party, but few of his counsel; and these were the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, Captain of the Garrison of *Plimouth*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and some other. With these he met privately in *Drury* House to avoid suspicion, where he first giveth them a Catalogue of the Nobility and Gentry that favoured him, to the number of a hundred and twenty. Then they consult, whether it were better to set upon the Tower of *London*, or the Queens Palace; this latter they resolve upon which should be done in this manner. *Blunt* should keep the great Gate with a selected number of men, and *Davers* seize upon the Presence D
 Chamber: Then *Essex* with his Company should come from the *Mues*, and present himself be- fore the Queen. But now suspicions arising from divers circumstances, Secretary *Herbert* was sent to call him before the Council, at the Treasurers House; but he doubting the matter, ex- cuseth himself that he was not very well. And now the Plot of seizing upon the Court, which had been four moneths in contriving, was by this means quite dashed, for they had ready at the pre- sent, neither Souldiers, nor munition, so as some speedier course must now be thought on: at which time very opportunely cometh one to them (set on no doubt by *Essex* his Adversaries) as if he had been sent on purpose from the Citizens, to promise him the *aid*, which made *Essex* to ap- plaud his own great good fortune.

And now were four of the Lords, namely the Lord Keeper, the Earl of *Worcester*, Sir *William E*
Knolles, and the Lord Chief Justice of *England*, sent by the Queen to *Essex* house, who could hardly be suffered to come in, all their Attendants were kept out, save he that carried the Seal before the Keeper. In the Court, they found a confused number of people, and the Earls of *Essex*, *Rutland*, and *Southampton* in the midst of them. The Keeper turning himself to *Essex*, telleth him, The Queen had sent him and the rest to understand the cause of this concourse, pro- mising Justice, if any person had done them wrong. *Essex* with a loud voice cryeth out, They ly in wait for my life, we are met to defend our selves. The Keeper urging *Essex* again to unfold some part of his grievance; the unruly multitude cryeth out, Away, let us be gone, they come to be- tray you, Kill them, cast away that Great Seal. *Essex* retireth into the House, the Lords follow him, he chargeth them to make the doores fast, and turning him to the Lords, Have patience for a while F
 (saith he) I must go into the City, to dispatch a little businesse with the Maior and Sheriffs, I will return presently.

There the Lords are kept prisoners; *Essex* maketh hast into the City, with a Troop of 200 men at his heels; the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Cromwell*, and other Lords meeting him by the way, joyn themselves: coming into *London*, he cryeth out aloud, For the Queen, For the Queen, they lay wait for my life. The Citizens came running to gaze, but not so much as one person took Arms to take his part. Passing along the City, he came all in a sweat to the Sheriff *Smith*'s house, who shuffeth himself forth at a back-door, and goeth to the Lord Maior. By this time, cer- tain of the Nobility entred the City with a Herald, declaring *Essex* and his adherents Traytors. Hereupon, hearing also that the Lord Admiral made towards him with an Army, he began to be G
 disheartned; *Gorge* taketh care for himself, requesteth he might be sent to release the Counsellors, and with them to crave the Queens mercy, whiles the issue was yet doubtful. The Earl content, that *Popham* only should be freed; but he refused, unless the Keeper also might be dismissed. Then *Gorge* freeth them all, and goeth along with them to the Court by water.

Now when *Essex* thought to return, he found a chain fastened crosse the street, at the West end of *Pauls*, and men in Arms on the other side: then he began to draw his sword; and having once given the word, *Blunt* letteth fly at them, slew one of them incontinent, himself being sorely wounded

A wounded and taken. *Essex* himself had his Hat shot through; whereupon retiring he took Boat at *Queen-Hytbe*, and went to *Essex* house; where finding the Counsellors all dismissed, he grew extreme angry and dismayed, and cast certain papers into the fire, saying, They should tell no tales. By and by the Admiral besiegeth the house, commanding them to yeeld. *Southampton* offereth, if the Admiral would give Hostages to secure them, they would present themselves to the Queen. The Admiral answereth him by *Sidney*, That Rebels are not to proffer Conditions. Within an hour, *Essex* finding the case desperate, resolved to rush forth; and the Lord *Sands* (the most aged in the company) greatly urged it, saying, It were better to die valiantly then by the hands of a Hang-man. But *Essex* his minde, upon a little deliberation altering, they fell upon their knees, and deliver their weapons to the Admiral, when it was ten a clock at night. *Owen Salisbury*, and one or two more were slain with Musket Shot, and as many of the Besiegers. The next day, *Thomas Lea*, Commander of a Company of Souldiers in *Ireland*, who to one *Crosse* a Sea-Captain (that detected him) intimated, how noble an exploit it were, for six stout fellows to go to the Queen, and compel her forcibly to release *Essex* and *Southampton*, was presently apprehended, examined, found guilty, and executed. *Essex* and *Southampton* were carried first to *Lambeth*, to the Archbishops house, because it was a dark night; but anon were sent to the Tower, by the Queens direction; and with them, *Kutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Mounteagle*, *Danvers*, and *Bromley*, the rest were put in common prisons.

Essex returning and finding the Counsellors all dismissed, grows much dismayed.

At ten a clock at night, *Essex* yeelds himself to the Lord Admiral.

He is sent to the Tower, together with the Earl of *Southampton* and other Lords.

Essex and *Southampton* are arraigned.

On the nineteenth of *February*, *Essex* and *Southampton* were called to their Arraignment, before their Peers in *Westminster Hall*, where *Buckhurst* Lord Treasurer, was appointed Lord High Steward of *England* for that time. The Peers being severally called by their names, *Essex* demanded, If it were not lawful for them to except against some of the Peers, as private persons might do against the Jurors. The Judges made answer, That the credit and fidelity of the Peers of *England* was presumed to be such, that in Tryals they were not bound to take an Oath, nor are they lyable to any exception. Then were they joyntly indited of High-Treason; namely, That they plotted to deprive the Queen of her life and Kingdom, To surprize her in her very Palace; and that they brake forth into open Rebellion, by imprisoning the Counsellors of the Kingdom; by exciting the *Londoners* to Rebellion with vain Fictions; by assaulling the Queens loyal Subjects in the City; and by defending of *Essex* House against the Queens Forces. Hereunto they pleaded, Not guilty: *Essex* withal averring, That they had done nothing but of necessity, and the Law of Nature.

They plead not Guilty.

Edward Coke Attorney, argueth That the Earl could not excuse himself from the Law of Nature, seeing Majesty is not to be affronted for private revenge: The Earl of *Essex* with great confidence made answer, That to his Prince and Countrey, he always had and would bear a loyal affection. Then *Francis Bacon* (one that was little expected to speak against *Essex*, by whom he had been raised) in defence of *Cobham*, *Cecil*, and *Rawleigh*, aggravateth his crying out, That the Crown of *England* was sold to the Spaniard: whereto *Essex* replied, that he heard indeed, that *Cecil* the Secretary should say to one of the Lords of the Council, That the Right of the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Kingdom of *England*, was as good as any of the Competitors. Upon this *Cecil* (who stood by as an Auditor) steppeth in, and falling upon his knees, beseecheth the Steward that with his good leave, he might quit himself from this foul aspersion: which leave being granted him, he provoked *Essex*, if he durst, to name the Counsellor; but he would not: therefore (saith *Cecil*) it is a Fiction: still *Essex* averreth it. Then *Cecil* turning himself to *Southampton*, besought him, by all manner of Obtestations, to name the man. He referreth it to the Honourable Assembly, and to *Cecil* himself, if in Honour and good Reason he ought to do it: they affirming He might, *Southampton* nameth Sir *William Knolles*, *Essex* his Uncle. He being sent for, at *Cecil*s intreaty, said, That *Cecil* two years since told him, that one *Dolman*, in a Book, had asserted the Right of the *Infanta*; and had spoken no otherwise then so.

Now after the Judges had delivered their opinion what was Law in the matters alleadged, the Earls, by the Stewards direction, were taken aside: Then the Peers rose, and went apart, and having consulted about an hour, returned to their seats, and in their order, pronounced the Earls guilty of high Treason. Then the high Steward, advising *Essex* to implore the Queens mercy, giveth Sentence, and that done, brake his Staff and departed.

But are found guilty by their Peers.

The next day, Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Edmund Baynham*, *Littleton*, *Cluff*, Captain *Whitlock*, *John* and *Christopher Wright* and *Orell* an old Souldier, were called to their Tryal: but the Queen (informed by Sir *Fulk Grevill*, That most of them were drawn unwittingly into the danger) commanded that only *Littleton*, *Baynham*, and *Orell* should have their Tryal, the rest to be sent back to prison. These were all condemned, but their lives spared; which favour (*Rawleigh* for a good sum of money received of *Baynham*) procured.

Essex in the mean while, requested he might speak with some of the Counsellors, to whom he reconciled himself, and to *Cecil* especially; and then intimating that the Queen could not be in safety while he lived; he requested he might be executed privately in the Tower: He grievously inveigheth against some of the Conspiracy, & wished to speak with some of them, but specially with *Blunt* and *Cusse*; whom as soon as he saw, he brake forth into these words; O *Cusse*, ask pardon of God and the Queen, for thou hast chiefly provoked me to this disloyalty. Also he intimated Sir *Henry Nevill*, ordinary Ambassadour in *France*, to have been acquainted with the Conspiracy; and that other in *Scotland*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, and the Lord *Mountjoy*, Deputy of *Ireland*, knew of his purpose, and other in *England*; who being many in number, and the Lord *Mountjoy*, ordering the Affairs of *Ireland* in good fashion, the Queen wisely would take no notice of it.

Essex complains of *Blunt* and *Cusse*.

The

The five and twentieth day of *February*, which was to be the fatal day, there were sent to the *A* Earl divers Ministers, to give him ghostly comfort. The Queen now wavering in her self, one while remembering the ancient kindenesse she had shewed him, she commanded he should not be executed; then again, thinking of his stubbornnesse, That he would not once ask her mercy, and had said openly, That he could not live, but she must perish; countermanning her former word, she gave order that he should be executed.

H. is executed
in the Tower.

Then was he brought forth into the Yard, where a Scaffold was erected, and sundry of the Nobility present, amongst whom *Rawleigh* also; but being told, it was an inhumane thing to stand by and behold the death of his adversary, he withdrew himself into the Armory, and from thence beheld the Tragedy. *Essex* being ascended the Scaffold, uncovered his head, cast up his eyes towards Heaven, and cried God mercy for the manifold sins of his youth, but this last specially, which he said was a bloody, crying, and contagious sin; craved pardon of the Queen and her Counsellors, commended his Spirit into the hands of God, and had his head taken off at the third blow, though the first bereft him both of his sense and motion.

Cuffes pleading
for himself at
his tryal.

The fifth of *March*, *Sir Christopher Blunt*, *Sir Charles Davers*, *Sir John Davis*, *Sir Gyllie Merrick*, and *Cuffe*, were brought to their Tryal in *Westminster Hall*, before the Queens delegates. The Heads of their Inditements, were the same which were objected to *Essex* and *Southampton*. The others said little in their defence, only *Cuffe* stood upon these two Answers; Whereas (saith he) I am challenged of Treason, because I was in *Essex* house the day of the Rebellion; by the same Argument the Lyon in the Cellar might be indited; all that day I lamented the Earls fortune, and dealt with him to fly to the Queens mercy. And as for the Consultation in *Drury* *C* House, it is no more to be called High Treason, then an Embryon may be accounted a perfect man. The Lawyers on the other side demonstrated, That no necessity lay upon him to tarry in the House; and that the Consultation in *Drury* House was it self a Treason, though it had never broke forth into act. *Merrick* said only this, The Earl of *Essex* raised me, and he hath over-
turned me.

Merrick and
Cuffe, are
drawn to Ty-
burn, and there
executed.

Sir Charles Davers, and *Sir Christopher Blunt* beheaded at the Tower Hill.

The thirteenth of *March*, *Merrick* and *Cuffe* are drawn to *Tyburn*, where *Cuffe* entering into a long Speech, was by the Sheriff interrupted; and then, after prayers to God, and desiring God and the Queen to pardon him, he was cast from the Ladder: a man of great Wit and Learning, but of a boisterous and turbulent disposition. In the same maner dyed *Merrick*.

The fifteenth of *March*, *Sir Charles Davers*, and *Sir Christopher Blunt* were beheaded on the *D* Tower Hill; albeit *Davers* offered ten thousand pounds to redeem his life, though with perpetual imprisonment. The Earl of *Southampton*, and the Sheriff *Smith* were kept prisoners; though *Smith*, after some time, was upon sureties suffered to goe at large. The eighth of *July*, *Sir Henry Nevill* was cited before the Lords of the Council, where it was laid to his Charge, That he was present at the Consultation in *Drury* House, yet had not revealed their sinister purposes; and had imparted to *Essex* the secrets of his *French* Embassage. He confessed, That at the Earls intreaty, he shewed him the Commentaries of the *French* proceedings, was present at one of their Consultations only; but contemned their counsels, yet durst not be an Informer against so great Personages. Hereupon he had a grievous check given him, and was committed to prison.

One act of the By, is not here to be omitted. *Essex* at his Arraignment had complained, That his hand-writing was counterfeited. It happened the Countesse of *Essex* being fearful in her Husbands behalf, gave a Letter which she had received from him, to the custody of one *Ribbave*, a Dutch woman that waited on her: this Dutch womans husband named *Daniel*, lighted by chance upon the Letter, and perceiving some passages in it which might bring the Earl of *Essex* into danger, got a cunning fellow to draw a counterfeit Copy of the said Letter; with this he cometh to the fearful Lady, who was newly brought to bed, threatening to give the same to her husbands adversaries, unlesse she would presently give him three thousands pounds. She to shun the danger, paid him eleven hundred and seventy pounds at the very instant; yet did he deliver her the counterfeit Copy only, meaning to make use of the true one, *F* to get another sum of the Earls adversaries. This imposture being found out, he was censured to perpetual Imprisonment, condemned in three thousand pounds (two of which were to go to the Countesse) and his ears nailed to the Pillory, with this Writing over his head; *A notorious Cheater*.

The Queen
sets forth a
Proclamation,
declaring all
Monopolies to
be void.

Soon after, a Parliament was assembled, wherein grievous complaints being tendred to the lower House touching Monopolies; the Queen, by way of prevention, sendeth out Proclamations, declaring the said Licences and Patents to be void in part, leaving some part to the discussion of the Laws: which thing was so acceptable to the Lower house, that they presently sent eighty select persons, together with the Speaker, to give the Queen thanks, and she on the other side, gave them thanks, for being such faithful Monitors to her, to recall her from an error, whereinto *G* through ignorance, not wilfulnesse she was fallen.

The Spaniards
land in Ireland
and take Kin-
sale.

In *Ireland*, the Deputy at the entry of the Spring, draweth his Forces together, and driveth *Tir-Oen* from where he had fortified himself; *Carew*, President of *Munster*, taketh the titular Earl lurking in a Cave, and receiveth intelligence, That the Spaniards invited by *Tir-Oen*, had a purpose to land in *Munster*, yet could not perswade the Deputy they had any design for *Ireland*; but in the midst of *September*, certain news was brought, the Spaniards were in sight, who wanting winde to carry their Fleet to *Cork*, put into *Kinsale*, the three and twentieth of *September*,

A tember, and land their Souldiers without resistance. *Richard Percy* having but few Souldiers to defend the Town, is commanded to come away and leave *Kinsale* to the *Spaniards*, into which they enter with Ensignes displayed, and by the Magistrates and Inhabitants, were bidden welcome.

D *Aquila*, who commanded the *Spaniards*, publisheth a Declaration, wherein he sheweth, That *Queen Elizabeth* was deposed from her Kingdom by sentence of the Pope, her subjects absolved from their Allegiance; And that the *Spaniards* were now come to deliver *Ireland* from the jaws of the Devill. *Tir-Oen* joyneth his Forces with them, so as they were now six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and promised themselves assured Victory, the *English* being not near so many. The four and twentieth of *December*, a Battell is joyned; where, after a long fight, the Victory inclined to the *English*. *Tir-Oen*, *Odonell*, and the rest, cast away their weapons, and save themselves by flight. *Alphonso O Campo*, chief Leader of the *Spaniards*, together with three other Captains, was taken prisoner, and six Ensign-bearers, twelve hundred were slain, nine Colours taken, whereof four belonged to the *Spaniards*: of the *English* not many were slain, but a great number wounded.

Tir-Oen joyneth his Forces with the *Spaniards*, which together make a great Army, but in a battail are defeated.

Alphonso O Campo their chief leader is taken prisoner.

After six days, *D^r Aquila* sendeth Letters to the Deputy by a Drummer, requesting that some person of account might be sent to him, with whom to confer; *Sir William Godolphine* is sent, to whom he complained of the cowardise, and (he feared) treachery of the *Irish*; and therefore, although he wanted nothing to hold out the Siege, and did dayly expect great Forces from *Spain*, yet was willing to make a Composition: whereupon, at last it was agreed, The *Spaniard* should yeeld up *Kinsale* to the Deputy, as also the Castles and Forts at *Baltimore*, *Bere-Haven*, and *Castle-Haven*, and should depart with life and goods, and Colours displayed. The *English*, at a reasonable price, should furnish them with ships and provision into *Spain*; and that they should not carry Arms against the Queen of *England*, till they were arrived in *Spain*, &c.

D^r Aquila who commanded the *Spaniards*, requires a Composition and departs.

And now the *Spaniards* being driven out of *Ireland*, the Queen, to prevent their coming again, sendeth out *Sir Richard Levison*, and *Sir William Monson*, with eight ships of her own, and some smaller ships of War, to attempt something upon the Coast of *Spain*. On the nineteenth of *March*, *Levison* hoyseth Sail, and *Monson* afterward, having in vain tarried behind for some Dutch ships to joyn with them. *Levison* in the mean time lighted upon the *Spanish* Navy of eight and thirty ships, which brought the Treasure from *America*, and set upon them, but to no purpose. When *Monson* was come with the rest of the Fleet, they had certain notice, That a mighty *Indian* Caraque of sixteen hundred Tun, and richly laden, was upon the Coast of *Portugal*. There indeed they found it, but it lay close under a Fort, attended with eleven Gallies; and the Caraque it self appeared as big as a Castle; yet they resolved to fire it, if they could not take it. The next day, they thundred so violently against the Gallies, that within seven hours the Marquess of *St. Croffe*, together with the *Portugal* Gallies which he commanded, withdrew themselves; two of them were taken and fired; and in them was great store of powder, which was going for the *Low-Countries*. And now *Levison* signified to the Captain of the Caraque, That the Gallies which they trusted to, were driven away, and therefore, if they now refused mercy, they must expect none hereafter. After much speech to and fro, it was at last agreed; That the Caraque, with the Ordinance and Merchandize should be yeelded up. Thus the *English*, having a fair winde returned home with a Booty, to the value of a Million of Duckets, by the *Portugal* account, and not past five of their men lost in the Voyage.

Sir Richard Levison sets upon the *Spanish* Fleet of Treasure, but cannot prevail.

But he takes a Caraque of 16 hundred Tun, worth a Million of Duckets.

At this time there arose a Contestation amongst the Popish Clergy here in *England*; for the Jesuites and Secular Priests, made bitter Invectives in their writings, one against the other. The original of the Priests quarrel was, That *Blackwell*, one wholly at the beck of the Jesuites, was set over them as Arch-Presbyter, who first of all despoyled them of their Faculties; and when they appealed to the Pope, caused them to be declared Schismatics and Hereticks. They in sundry Books extolled the Queen very highly, as one that dealt mildly alwayes with the Catholics, till such time as they set all in a combustion in *England*; and by their Treasons, caused most severe Laws to be enacted against the Catholics. Parsons they traduced as a Bastard, an Equivocator and a Traytor. Whether they contended thus in good earnest, or in jest only, is hard to say; but the Bishop of *London* politickly nourished the contention; and all he gained, was this, That the Queen and her Council, finding them dangerous to the Common-wealth, both the one and the other, upon penalty of the Laws, were by Proclamation commanded to depart out of the Kingdom presently.

The Jesuites and the secular Priests contend against one another.

Both of them are commanded to depart the Realm.

In *France*, the Marshal *Biron*, for entring into dangerous attempts against the publick Peace, was arraigned, and lost his head. His confession brought some other into danger; and amongst them, the Duke of *Bulloign*, of the Protestant Religion, that when he was cited, he durst not appear, but fled into *Germany*. Hereupon the King of *France* sendeth to *Queen Elizabeth*, complaining that the Duke held his marriage unlawful, and the Popes dispensation nothing worth, pronouncing his sons illegitimate; had destined the Prince of *Conde* to the Succession of the Crown, and conspired the Destruction of the prime of the Nobility. The Queen, by her Legier Ambassadour, adviseth the King not too credulously to entertain those reports, as doubting these suggestions might proceed from some of the *Spanish* Faction. Hereupon the King grew very angry, saying, The Queen held a better opinion of the Duke than he deserved, and that he was one of the chief Architects of *Essex* his Treason; and being questioned by the King about it, was not able to deny it. About this time also, the Duke of *Savoy*, by cunning sleights, and

The King of France complains to the Queen against the Duke of *Bulloign*, and answers to her.

Tir-Oen yields himself to the Deputy absolutely without any condition.

and open force, practised against the State of *Geneva*; and the Queen relieved them with a great sum of money, gathered amongst the Clergy and Laity all over *England*.

And now the Earl *Tir-Oen*, perceiving himself in a desperate estate, resolved to sue for mercy, and promised at last to submit his life and fortunes to the Queens pleasure, absolutely without condition. Hereupon, being admitted to the presence of the Deputy, at the very entry of the room, he fell on his knees; and then passing on a few steps, prostrated himself again, saying, I confesse and crave pardon for my great fault, against God, and a most bountiful Prince my dread Sovereign; I fly to the Queens mercy, as a sacred Anchor, permitting her to dispose of my life and fortunes at her pleasure. Upon this his submission, the Deputy commanded him to go aside, and the next day took him along to *Dublin* with him, meaning to bring him into *England*, that the Queen might deal with him according to her Royal pleasure: But before he could come in-
to *England*, the Queen dyed.

Her Taxations.

She refuseth to burden her Subjects with Subsidies.

IN a Parliament holden the first year of her Reign, a Subsidy was granted, of two shillings eight pence the pound of Goods, and four Shillings of Lands, to be paid at two several Payments, of every person Spiritual and Temporal. In her sixth year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, one Subsidy was granted by the Clergy, and another by the Laity, together with two Fifteenths and Tenths. In her eighth year, in a Parliament then holden, there were offered to her four Subsidies, upon condition she would declare a Successor; but she refused their offer, and directly remitted the fourth Subsidy, which they had granted, saying, It was all one, whether the money were in her Subjects Coffers, or in her own. In her thirteenth year, in a Parliament then holden, towards her charges of repressing the Northern Rebellion, there was granted her by the Clergy, a Subsidy of six shillings in the pound; and by the Temporality, two Fifteenths, with a Subsidy of two shillings and eight pence in the pound. In her six and thirtieth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein was granted by the Clergy, two whole Subsidies, and by the Laity three, besides six Fifteenths and Tenths; but it was put into the Act, That this great Contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former Ages, should not be drawn into example. In her fortieth year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, were granted her by the Clergy, three entire Subsidies; and by the Laity, as many, with six Fifteenths and Tenths. In her two and fortieth year, to furnish her self with money towards the *Irish* War, she delegated certain Commissioners, to confirm the Crown Lands to the possessors, that held any of controverted Titles, and to take money for the Confirmation, thereby to take away the troubles by concealers, who at this time were very busie.

Controverted titles of Crown Lands confirmed by her.

Of her Laws and Ordinances.

Bishops limited for letting their lands.

All base moneys called in. Provision for the Queens house first ordained.

Allowance to Judges for their Circuit first ordained. Outcries for sale of Goods first ordained.

Buildings in London restrained. College Rents to be paid part in provision, first ordained. The Company of East-India Merchants first set up.

IN a Parliament holden in her first year, an Act was made, That every person should go to Divine service upon Sundays and Holy days, or else pay twelve pence to the poor. Also it was enacted, That Bishops should not let the Lands of the Church, longer then for one and twenty years, or three Lives, except to the Queen or her Successors. In her third year, a Proclamation was made, That the Teston, coyned for twelve pence, and in the Reign of King *Edward* embased to six pence, should not be current but for four pence; the Groat, but for two pence; and the piece of two pence, but for a penny: And not long after, all the said base moneys were called in, and fine Sterling money was allowed for them, after the Rate. For *Ireland* also, she coyned Sterling money; where nine pence in *England*, went for twelve pence there. The Queen was the first that brought certain Counties to deliver Provision at a certain rate, that so they might be freed from the Purveyors: Also the first that granted allowance to Judges for their Circuit. In her sixth year, in a Parliament then holden, it was made Treason to refuse taking the Oath of Supremacy; yet with this limitation, That by it the bloud should not be dishonoured, nor goods confiscate; nor the Oath to be required of any Baron of the Kingdom. Also this year, by a Common-Council in *London*, it was enacted, That all such Citizens as from thenceforth should be constrained to sell their household-stuff, Leases of houses, or such like; should first cause the same to be cryed through the City, by a man with a Bell, and then to be sold by the common Outcryer appointed for that purpose, and he to receive one farthing upon the shilling for his pains. In her three and twentieth year, she represseth by Proclamation excesses in apparel, Gold Chains, and Cloaks which men wore down to their heels. The length of Swords was limited to three Foot, and Daggers to twelve Inches, besides the hilts. Buildings likewise in the Suburbs were restrained, In-mates forbidden, and expresse charge set forth, That no dwelling house should be new built within three miles of any of the City Gates, under pain of imprisonment, and losse of the materials. In her time was set on foot by Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Law made for the serving of Colledges with provision, to the great benefit of those Scholastical Societies. In her two and fortieth year, she setteth forth Proclamations against the Transportation of Gold or Silver, wrought or unwrought, according to the former Acts of Parliament in that case provided. This year also she founded the Company of the *East-India* Merchants, and allowed them ample

Pri-

A Priviledges. In her three and fourtieth year, all Monopolies are called in by Proclamation. In her four and twentieth year, severe Laws are made against Papists, some inflicting death, some fine and imprisonment. In her eight and twentieth year, a Proclamation was set forth, prohibiting to sow Woad within eight miles of any of the Queens Houses, and four miles of any Cities or Towns Corporate. In her five and twentieth year, was first instituted and founded a publick Lecture in Surgery: to begin to be read in the College of Physitians in London, and the Reader to have a stipend no lesse then those of the Universities erected by King Henry the eighth.

All Monopolies called in by Proclamation.

Woad not to be sowed neer the Queens houses.

Affairs of the Church in her time.

B ON Sunday the first of January next after the Queens coming to the Crown, by vertue of her Proclamation, the English Letany was read accordingly as was used in her Graces Chappel, in all Churches through the City of London, and likewise the Epistle and Gospel of the day, begun to be read at Masse-time in the English Tongue. Also in a Parliament holden in in her first year, the first Fruits and Tenths were restored to the Crown, and the Supreme Government over the state Ecclesiastical, and the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments in the English Tongue was restored, and by degrees the Protestant Religion was established. The Bishops that refused the Oath of Supremacy, were all removed, and Protestant Bishops placed in their room. It was enacted also, That all persons should go to Divine Service upon Sundayes and Holy dayes, and a Fine of twelve pence imposed upon every one that should be absent, and the same to be given to the poor. In her fourth year, the Queen was solicited by Pope Pius, to send her Orators to the Councell of Trent, which she refused, as not acknowledging it a lawful Councel. In a Parliament holden in her eighth year, it was enacted and by a general consent declared, That the Election of the Archbishops and Bishops in England, together with their Consecration, Confirmation, and Investiture (which some persons slanderously called in question) was lawful and Canonical, and that they were rightly, and according to the Acts and Statutes of the Kingdom, chosen and consecrated. In her eleventh year, there arose in England two contrary factions in Religion: on the one side, Thomas Harding, Nicholas Sanders, and other Divines that had fled out of England, began to exercise the Episcopal Jurisdiction upon the Queens Subjects which they had derived from the See of Rome: On the other side, Colman, Burton, Hallingham, Benson, and other, making profession of the pure Religion, would allow of nothing but what was directly taken out of the Scriptures, openly condemning the received Discipline of the Church of England, together with the Church Liturgy, and the very calling of Bishops, as favouring too much of the Romish Religion, protesting in the Pulpits, That it was an impious thing to hold any thing common with the Church of Rome, and used all diligence to have the Church of England reformed in every point, according to the Rule of the Church of Geneva. These, although the Queen commanded to be committed to prison, yet it is incredible how upon a sudden their followers encreased, known by the envious name of Puritans. This sect so mightily encreased, that in her sixteenth year, the Queen and Kingdom was extremely troubled with some of the Clergy, who breathing out nothing but Evangelical parity, cryed down the Ecclesiastical Form of Government (as a thing polluted with Roman dregs) and setting forth Books likewise, intituled, *The Admonition to the Parliament*, and the *Defence of the Admonition*: they refused to resort to the Divine Service publicly in use, and framed to themselves other Rites. Whereupon, the Queen to suppress them, whom by no means she liked, commanded every where the severity of the Law touching the Uniformity of Common-Prayer, to be put in execution, and those Books, upon pain of Imprisonment, to be delivered into the hands of the Bishops, or some of the Queens Councell. And this year were taken at Masse in their several houses, the Lord Morley's Lady and her children, the Lady Guilford, and the Lady Brown, who being thereof indited and convicted, suffered the penalty of the Law in that case provided. Untill the twentieth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign, the Papists in England were mercifully connived at, while they solemnized their own Rites within their private houses (though that also were against the Laws) but when as that Thunderbolt of excommunicating the Queen came abroad, then was the Law enacted against those who brought into the Kingdom any *Agnus Dei*, or hallowed Beads, or reconciled any of the Queens Subjects to the See of Rome; yet for six whole years together after this Law was made, it was not executed upon any Papist, till Cuthbert Mayn, a Priest, and an obstinate maintainer of the Popes authority against the Queen, was executed at Launston in Cornwall, and the Gentlemans goods that harboured him confiscate, and himself adjudged to perpetual Imprisonment. In her three and twentieth year, divers Priests and Jesuites came into England; amongst whom, Robert Parsons, and Edmund Campian, English men and Jesuites, being now bound for England, to promote the Catholick Cause, at which time a Proclamation was set forth, That whosoever had any children beyond the Sea, should by a certain day call them home; and that no person should receive or harbour any Seminary Priest or Jesuite. At this time also, there arose up in Holland a certain Sect, naming themselves, *The Family of Love*, who perswaded their followers, that those only who were adopted into that Family, were elected, and no other could be saved, but were all reprobates, and damned, and that it was lawful for them to deny upon oath whatsoever they pleased, before any Magistrate or whomsoever, that were not of their Family. Many of their books were printed, under these titles, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, *The Lords Sentences*, *The Propbesie of the spirit of love*, *The publication of Peace upon earth*, by the Author

The Protestant Religion is by degrees established.

Puritans how encreased.

Severe Laws against Papists when and why enacted.

Parsons and Campian come into England.

The Family of Love where and when it began.

Parliaments
not to meddle
in Ecclesiasti-
cal Affairs.

Three Articles
to which every
Minister must
subscribe.

The Brownists
Author who.

Martin Mar-
Prelate writeth
against Bi-
shops.

The Royal
Exchange
when and by
whom built.

Gresham Col-
lege in Broad-
street given to
Professors of
the Sciences.

thor H.N. but who this Author was they would by no means reveal: at last he was found to be **A**
Henry Nichols of *Leyden*, who blasphemously preached, That he was partaker of the Divinity of
God, and God of his humane Nature: all which books were by Proclamation commanded to be
burnt. In a Parliament holden the eight and twentieth year of her Reign, some out of a desire
of Reformation, began to pick quarrels at the Clergy, desiring to passe Laws for the restraint of
Bishops in their granting of Faculties, conferring of holy Orders, Ecclesiastical Censure, and the
Oath *Ex Officio*. They complained likewise of the non-residency of Ministers, and the like.
But the Queen, who always hated Innovation (which for the most part changeth for the worse)
would give no ear unto them; conceiving besides, That these proceedings in Parliament in Eccle-
siastical Affairs, derogated from her Prerogative. In her six and twentieth year, the Queen gave
a special charge to *Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to settle an Uniformity in the Ecclesiastical **B**
Discipline, according to the Laws, which through the connivence of Bishops, and perversnesse of
the Puritans, lay now almost gasping: Whereupon, he provided three Articles, to which every
Minister should subscribe.

The first, That the Queen had Supreme Authority over all persons born within her Domini-
ons, of what condition soever they were; and that no other Prince, or Prelate, or Potentate,
haib, or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Civill or Ecclesiastical, within her Realms and
Dominions.

The second, That the Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Dea-
cons; containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God, but may lawfully be used, and that they
will use that and no other.

The third, That the Articles agreed on in the Synod holden at London, in the year 1562, and
published by the Queens Authority, they did allow of, and believe them to be consonant to the
Word of God. **C**

It is incredible what reproaches the Archbishop incurred by setting forth these Articles,
both from factious Ministers, and from some also of the Nobility; yet by his patience and con-
stancy, he brought at last peace to the Church, making this his Motto, *Vincit qui patitur*. Nei-
ther did these at home only disturb the Peace of the Church, but others also from abroad,
as *Robert Brown*, a young Student of Divinity in *Cambridge*; from whom came the Sectaries
called Brownists; and *Richard Harrison*, a petty Schoolmaster. These presuming to judge
matters of Religion by their own private spirit, by Books set forth in *Zealand*, and dispersed **D**
at this time over *England*, condemned the Church of *England* for no Church, and ensnared
many in the nets of their new Schism. Neither could they be refrained, though their Books
were prohibited by the Queens Authority, and soundly confuted by sundry learned men; and
one or two of the Ring-leaders executed at *S. Edmunds Berry*. In her one and thirtieth year,
these Puritans flames brake forth again, Books are written by the names of *Martin Mar-Prelate*,
and *A Demonstration of the Discipline*, by *Penty* and *Udal* against the Government of Bishops; and
nothing would please them, but the Discipline of *Geneva*: Many Abettors they had, *Knightly*
and *Wigstone*, Knights, besides *Cartwright* (the father of them) *Snape*, *King*, *Pradlow*, *Payn*, and others;
who though called in question, fined and imprisoned, could never be reclaimed. In her six and
thirtieth year, the Queen caused the severity of the Laws to be executed upon *Henry Barrow* and **E**
his Sectaries, for disturbing the Church, and the publick Peace, by scattering of their monstrous
Opinions, condemning the Church of *England* as no Christian Church, and derogating from the
Queens Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical.

Works of Piety in her time.

THIS Queen converted *Westminster Abbey* into a Collegiate Church, and there ordained
a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a Master, Usher, and forty Scholars, Vicars, Singing-men,
and twelve Almshouses. In her third year, the Merchant-Taylors founded a notable Gram-
mar School, in the Parish of *S. Lawrence Pountney* in *London*. Also this year, *William Harper*,
Maior of *London*, founded a Free School in the Town of *Bedford*, where he was born.
In her seventh year, on the seventh of June, *Sir Thomas Gresham* laid the first stone of
the Royal Exchange in *Cornhil*, which in November the year after, at his own charges was
finished, being the year 1567. In her tenth year, the Citizens of *London* builded a new Con-
duit at *Walbrook* corner, neer to *Dowgate*, the water whereof is conveyed out of the *Thames*.
Also this year, *Sir Thomas Roe* Maior of *London*, caused to be enclosed within a wall of Brick,
one Acre of ground, neer unto *Bedlam*, without *Bishops Gate*, to be a place of Burial for the
dead of such Parishes in *London* as lacked convenient ground within their Parishes: He also
builded a convenient room in *Pauls Church-yard*, on the South side of the Crosse, to receive **G**
a certain number of Hearers at Sermon time. *Sir William Peter*, having himself been born at
Exeter in *Devonshire*, he gave to *Exeter College* in *Oxford*, a hundred pounds Lands a year:
He also builded at *Ingershale* in *Essex*, Almshouses for twenty poor people, and giving them
some competent maintenance. *Sir Thomas Gresham* had his dwelling house in *Broadstreet* *London*,
which he dedicated to the profession of the Liberal Sciences, erecting there Lectures of Di-
vinity, Civil Law, Physick, Geometry, Astronomy, Musick, and Rhetorick, allotting to the
Professors very competent allowance. In her seventeenth year dyed *Matthew Parker*, Archbishop
of

A of *Canterbury*, who founded a Grammar School in *Rochdale* in the County of *Lancaster*: He also procured to *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*, thirteen Scholarships, and built two Chambers for Scholars, and the inward Library of the same College, and procured to it the Patronage of *S. Mary Abchurch* in *London*, with many other works of like kinde. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Keeper gave for six Scholars to be found in *Benet* College in *Cambridge*, three pounds, six shillings and eight pence for ever. *Edmund Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a Free-School in *Cumberland*, where he was born, and gave many Pensions to both Universities. *Frances*, Countesse of *Suffex*, sister to Sir *Henry Sidney*, founded *Suffex Sidney* College in *Cambridge*: As likewise Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, founded *Emmanuel* College in the same University. Sir *Thomas Bodley* erected and furnished the famous publick Library at *Oxford*. *Alexander Nowell* Dean of *Pauls*, endowed *Brasen-nose* College in *Oxford*, where he was brought up, with two hundred pound per annum, and dyed in the year 1602. Sir *Roger Manhood*, chief Baron of the Exchequer, built seven Almshouses in *Canterbury*, giving to every Almshouse four pounds yearly: and our worthy Countreyman *William Lambard* built an Almshouse at *Greenwich*, which he called, *The College for the poor of Queen Elizabeth*. Also in her time, namely in the year 1595. *Bevis Bulmar* Gentleman, builded a large house of great height, called an Engine, at the Bridge foot, for the conveying and forcing of *Thames* water to serve in the middle and west parts of the City. Also in her time, namely in the year 1596. *Ralph Rokeby* one of her Masters of Requests, then dying, gave by his Will, to *Christis* Hospital in *London*, 100 l. to the College of the poor of *Queen Elizabeth* in *East Greenwich*, 100 l. to the poor Scholars in *Cambridge*, 100 l. to the poor Scholars in *Oxford*, 100 l. to the prisoners in the two Compters in *London* 100 l. to the prisoners in the Fleet 100 l. to the prisoners in *Ludgate* 100 l. to the prisoners in *Newgate* 100 l. to the prisoners in the *Kings Bench* 100 l. to the prisoners in the *Mashalfe* 100 l. to the prisoners in the *White Lyon* 20 l. a liberal and pious Legacie; and worthy not to be forgotten.

Suffex-Sidney College in *Cambridge* Founded.

Emmanuel College in *Cambridge* Founded.

The publick Library in *Oxford* erected.

Casualties in her time.

IN the first year of her Reign, dyed Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, of whom it is reported for a certain, That his pulse did beat more then three quarters of an hour after he was dead, as strongly as if he had been still alive. In her third year there was found near *Keswick* in *Cumbrelland*, a most rich Vein of pure and native *Brasse*, which had lain neglected a long time: Also the stone called *Lapis Calaminaris*, which is of great use in *Brasse* Works, was first brought into *England* at this time, and that in most plentiful manner. Likewise this Queen was the first that caused *Gun-powder* to be made in *England*, which before was had from forain parts, and at dear rates. In her third year, the Spire of the Cathedral Church of *Pauls*, being five hundred and twenty foot from the ground, and two hundred and sixty from the square Steeple where it was placed, and was made of wooden materials, but covered with Lead, was with lightning burnt down, together with the Roofs of that large Church, and that within the space of five hours; the Roofs were after re-edified, but the Spire is yet wanting. The Queen gave towards it a thousand Marks in money, and a thousand load of Timber; and the City granted a Benevolence, and three Fifteens; and the Clergy also contributed towards it. Also this year there were many monstrous Births: A Mare brought forth a Foal with two heads, and a long tail growing out between the two Heads. A Sow farrowed a Pig with two Bodies, eight Feet, and but one head. A man-child was born at *Chichester* in *Suffex*, having arms and legs like to an Anatomy, the Breast and Belly monstrous big, about the neck a great collar of flesh and skin, growing like the ruff of a shirt. In her sixth year, upon the returning of the Army from *Newhaven*, the Pestilence was brought into *England*, but especially into *London*; where in one year there dyed one hundred and twenty thousand and five hundred. This year also, in the Moneth of *December*, was driven on the shore at *Grimsbey* in *Lincolnshire* a monstrous Fish, in length nineteen yards, his tail fifteen foot broad, and six yards between the eyes. Twelve men stood upright in his mouth to get the Oyl. In her seventh year on the one and twentieth of *December* began a Frost, so extreme, that on *New-years* Even people passed over the *Thames* on foot; some played at Foot ball, some shot at pricks, as if it had been firm ground. Yet this great Frost, the third of *January* at night began to thaw, and by the fifth day, there was no Ice at all to be seen; which sudden thaw caused great Inundations. In her eighth year, within the space of ten Moneths, there dyed in *London* seven Aldermen, namely, *Edward Banks*, *Richard Chamberlain*, *Sir Martin Bowes*, *Sir Richard Mallory*, *Sir William Hewet*, *Sir Thomas White*, and *Richard Lambert*, one of the Sheriffs for that year. The same year also, in the Town of *Offesbury* in *Wales*, two hundred houses, in the space of two hours, were consumed with fire. In her tenth year, were taken in *Suffolk*, at *Downham* Bridge neer to *Ipswich*, seventeen monstrous Fishes; some of them being seven and twenty Foot in length: And in the same year, many *Dutch* flying into *England*, to avoid the persecution of the Duke *D'Alva*, were the first that brought into *England* the Art of making Bayes, Sayes, Serges, and such woven stuffs both Woollen and Linnen. In her time a rich Vein of Copper was found in the Earl of *Northumberland's* Grounds, which she by her Prerogative seized upon. In her thirteenth year, a prodigious Earth-quake happened in the

The pulse to beat of one that was dead.

A vein of *Brasse* found: also the stone called *Lapis calaminaris*: *Gun-powder* first made in *England*.

The Spire of *Pauls* Church burnt down with lightning.

Many monstrous Births.

A monstrous Fish taken in *Lincolnshire*. An extreme Frost.

The art of making Bayes, and Serges, when and by whom brought first into *England*.

A prodigious
Earthquake.

A mighty
Whale taken in
Thames in Kent.

Another pro-
digious Earth-
quake.

Tobacco first
brought into
England, and
by whom.

East parts of *Herefordshire*, at a little Town called *Kinnaston*. On the seventeenth of *February*, at six of the clock in the evening, the earth began to open, and a Hill with a Rock under it (making at first a great bellowing noise, which was heard a great way off) lifted it self up a great height, and began to travel, bearing along with it the Trees that grew upon it, the Sheep-folds, and Flocks of Sheep abiding there at the same time. In the place from whence it was first moved, it left a gaping distance forty foot broad, and fourscore Ells long; the whole Field was about twenty Acres. Passing along, it overthrew a Chappell standing in the way, removed an Ewe-Tree planted in the Church-yard, from the West into the East; with the like force it thrust before it High-ways, Sheep-folds, Hedges and Trees, made tilled ground Pasture, and again turned Pasture into Tillage. Having walked in this sort from *Saturday* in the evening, till *Munday* noon, it then stood still. In her fifteenth year, in the month of *November*, a new Star, or rather a Meteor (but that it was found to be above the Moon) was seen in *Cathedra Cassiopeæ*, exceeding *Jupiter* in brightnesse, and in that place was carried with the Diurnal motion of the Heavens sixteen moneths together, though after eight moneths it was perceived to grow lesse and lesse. In her sixteenth year, was a great Dearth, so as Wheat was sold at five and six shillings the Bushell, and other things in proportion. In her seventeenth year, a vast mighty Whale was cast upon the Isle of *Thanet* in *Kent*, twenty Ells long, and thirteen foot broad from the belly to the back-bone, and eleven foot between the eyes. One of his eyes being taken out of his head, was more then a Cart with six Horses could draw; the Oyl being boyled out of the head, was *Parmacittæ*. This year also, the River *Thames* ebbed and flowed twice within an hour: and in the moneth of *November*, the Heaven seemed to be all on fire. Also on the four and twentieth of *February*, being a great Frost, after a Flood which was not great, there came down the River of *Severne* such a swarm of Flies and Beetles that they were judged to be above a hundred Quarters; the Mills thereabout were dammed up with them for the space of four days, and then were cleansed by digging them out with Shovels. In her two and twentieth year, a strange apparition happened in *Somersetshire*, threescore personages all cloathed in black, a furlong in distance from those that beheld them; and after their appearing and a little while tarrying, they vanished away, but immediately another strange company, in like manner, colour and number appeared in the same place: and they encountred one another, and so vanished away. And the third time appeared that number again, all in bright armour, and encountred one another, and so vanished away. This was examined before *D* Sir *George Norton*, and sworn by four honest men that saw it, to be true. In her three and twentieth year, in the beginning of *April*, about six a clock after noon, happened an Earthquake not far from *Tork*, which in some places strook the very stones out of Buildings, and made the Bells in Churches to jangle. The night following, the earth trembled once or twice in *Kent*, and again the first day of *May*. In this year also, in the Town of *Walsbam* in *Suffex*, a childe of eleven years old, named *William Withers*, lay in a trance for the space of ten days without any sustenance; and at the last coming to himself he uttered to the standers by, many strange speeches: Inveighing against Pride, Covetousnesse, coldnesse of Charity, and other enormous sins. In her six and twentieth year, being the year 1588. the like Prodigie happened in *Dorsetshire*; as in the year 1571 had happened in *Herefordshire*; A field of three acres in *Blackmore*, with the Trees and Fences, moved from its place, and passed over another field, travelling in the High-way that goeth to *Herne*, and there stayed. In her eight and twentieth year, Tobacco was first brought out of the *West-Indies* into *England* by *Ralph Lane*. In her five and thirtieth year, there was so great a drought, that not only the Fields, but the Springs themselves were dried up, and many Cattel every where died for want of water. The River of *Thames* likewise did so fail, that a Horseman might ride over at *London-bridge*. In her six and thirtieth year, was a great Plague in *London*, so as there dyed this year, in *London* and the Suburbs, seventeen thousand eight hundred and ninety, besides the Lord Maior, and three Aldermen; and *Michaelmas* Term was holden at *S. Albons*. For the prices of victuals in her time, we may take a pattern of the rest by one kinde: for *John Stow* reporteth, that in his youth he fetched many a half peniworth of Milk from a Farm by the *Minories*, and never had lesse then three Ale Pintes for a half peny in the Summer, nor lesse then two Ale pintes for a half peny in the Winter. Also in the year 1533, a fat Ox was sold at *London*, for twenty six shillings at the most; a fat Weather for three shillings four pence; a fat Calf the like price: a fat Lamb for twelve pence, three pound of Beef for a peny.

Of her Personage and Conditions.

She was of stature indifferent tall, slender and straight, fair of Complexion, her hair inclining to pale yellow, her fore-head large and fair, her eyes lively and sweet, but short sighted; her nose somewhat rising in the midst; the whole compasse of her countenance somewhat long, yet of admirable beauty, but the beauty of her minde was far more admirable: She had been a subject, which taught her to rule; she had been in misery, which taught her to be merciful; and indeed, never Prince ruled with more justice, and with her justice mingled more mercy: She had more Valour in her then was fit for a woman, but that she was a Ruler over men; and more Humility in her then was fit for a Prince, but that she meant to be a President to women. She delighted in nothing so much, as in the love of her people, which she procured by ordaining good

Agood Magistrates, and forbearing Impositions. Her way not to need them, was frugality; and her way to have them when she needed them, was liberality. She made honour in her time the more honourable, by not making it common; and indeed, knowing it to be an influence from her self, she kept it, as her self, a Virgin, and would not prostitute it to unworthy persons. She declined being a mother of children, to the end she might be a mother of her Countrey; and indeed, no mother ever loved her children more, then she did her people; and therefore never children loved a mother more, then her people did her. She coveted not so much to be an owner of riches, as of rich Subjects; for she thought money did as well in their Coffers, as in her own: and indeed, she never wanted it, when they had it; and they always had it, when she needed it. Never Prince had a wiser Council then she, yet never Prince needed it lesse; for she was her self a Counsellor to her Counsel. In sum, whatsoever may in flattery be said of a wise, just, merciful, religious, and learned Prince, may truly be said of her: in all which, if ever she had an equal, yet she never certainly had a superiour. In playing her game of Fortune, she loved not an after-game; for she liked Preventions better then Remedies. She was admirable in expressing her minde, both by speech and writing: and if collection could be made of her Apophthegms, and extemporal Orations, it would certainly excel any thing extant in that kinde: And for her writing, Sir Henry Savile affirms, That he had seen some Translations of hers, which far exceeded the Originals. Never Prince kept greater State with lesse statelineffe: Her Pensioners and Guard were always the tallest and goodliest Gentlemen and Yeomen of the Kingdom: her maids of Honour and other women about her, the fairest and most beautiful Ladies of the Realm; and yet her self a *Diana* amongst her Nymphs; insomuch that a great Lord of *France* being entertained at Court, and the Queen asking him how he liked her Ladies, made answer, It was hard to judge of Stars, in presence of the Sun.

Of her Death and Buriall.

IT was now the year 1602, when she feeling some Infirmities of Old age and sicknesse, retired her self at the end of *January*, to *Richmond*; at which time, in a sad Onen, she commanded the Ring to be filed off her finger, wherewith she was solemnly at the first inaugurated into the Kingdom, and since that time had never taken it off it being grown into the flesh in such manner, that it could not be drawn off without filing. At the beginning of her sicknesse, the Almonds of her Jaws began to swell, and her appetite by little and little failed her; withal she gave her self wholly to sadnesse and heavinesse, which some imputed to her care for the losse of the Earl of *Essex*; others, because she heard, That divers of the Nobility fought the favour of the King of *Scots*, adoring him as the Sun rising, and neglecting her: but howsoever, in *March* a kinde of benumbednesse seized upon her, with a deep melancholy, so as she would sit silently, refrain her meat, and not admit of any conference, but with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with whom she prayed fervently, till such time as her speech failed her, which failed her **E** a day before she dyed. She being in this case, it was thought fit the Admiral and Secretary should go to her, to know her minde concerning a Successor; to whom she gave this answer; My Throne hath been the Throne of Kings, I would not a mean person should succeed me. The Secretary requestling her to speak more plainly, I will (said she) have a King succeed me; and what King, but the King of *Scots*, my neereſt kinsman? After this, the Archbishop exhorting her to think of God, That do I (said she) nor do my thoughts ever wander from him. And when her tongue no longer served her, it was evident by the lifting up of her hands and eyes; that her thoughts were fixed upon him. And so on the four and twentieth day of *March*, being the last day of the year 1602, she yielded up her soul to God, when she had lived threescore and nine years, six moneths, and seven dayes; Reigned four and forty years, four moneths, **F** and seven days. Her Body was embalmed, wrapped in Lead, and brought to *White-hall*; from whence on the eight and twentieth of *April* following, in great solemnity, it was carried into the Collegiate Church of Saint *Peters* at *Westminster*, and there interred in the Vault of her Grand-father, King *Henry* the seventh, in his magnificent Chappel, where our renowned Sovereign King *James* hath built her a Princely Monument, inscribed with Epitaphs to her eternal glory. At her Funeral were said be Mourners in black, to the number of one thousand and six hundred persons.

Men of note in her time.

THE Ocean is not more boundlesse; then the number of men of note in her time; but though all of them cannot be reckoned, yet some of them must not be omitted. And to begin with States-men: An exquisite States-man for his own ends, was Robert Earl of *Leicester*; and for his Countries good, Sir *William Cecill*, Lord *Burleigh*; as also Sir *Francis Walsingham*, that great underminer of Conspirators. Famous Sea-men, were the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, afterward Earl of *Suffolk*; and of meaner Rank, Sir *John Hawkins*, Sir *Martin Forbyſher*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, *Cavendish*, *Preston*, *Ryman*; and, to name the worthiest

Roger Askam
his delight in
Gaming and
Cockfighting.

Famous Play-
ers, and Play-
makers,

last, Sir *Francis Drake*, who though he were but a short square bodyed man, yet his great Acts A have made the *Spaniards* believe that he was some goodly personage. Great Commanders by Land, were *Robert Earl of Essex*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Grey of Wilton*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *Roger Williams*, *Baskerville*, *Savage*; and the Honour of his Family, and our *English Nation*, Sir *John Norri*. Learned Gentlemen and Writers, were Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, employed by Queen *Elizabeth* as her Legier in *Spain*, who wrote five books of the restoring of the *English Common-wealth*, in *Elegant Verses*, while (as he said) he lived in a *Stove* in *Winter*, and in a *Barn* in *Summer*: *Roger Askam*, born in *Yorkshire*, notably skilful in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongue, who had some- B time been Schoolmaster to Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Secretary for the *Latine* Tongue; but taking too great delight in Gaming and Cockfighting, he both lived and dyed in mean estate, yet left behinde him sundry Monuments of Wit and Indultry. Sir *Thomas Smith*, born at *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*, B sometime Secretary to King *Edward* the sixth, who wrote an imperfect Work of the *English Common-wealth*, a singular Book of the Orthography of the *English* tongue, and another of the Pronunciation of the *Greek*; the first man that set on foot the Law for serving the Colledges with Provision. Sir *Henry Savill*, Provost of *Eaton*, and Reader to Queen *Elizabeth*, who set forth all S. *Chrysostoms* works in *Greek*, and by translating of *Cornelius Tacitus*, deserved as much of the *English* Tongue, as he of the *Latine*: But above all, the admirable Sir *Philip Sidney*, who by writing in a light Argument, shewed how excellently, and beyond all comparifon he could have done in a grave. Learned Divines were *John Jewell*, born in *Devonshire*, a Student in *Corpus Christi* College in *Oxford*, in Queen *Maries* time an Exile, by Queen *Elizabeth* made Bishop of *Salisbury*, who wrote an Apology for the Protestant Doctrine, and dyed at scarce fifty years of age, in the fourteenth C year of Queen *Elizabeth*. *John Whitaker*, Master of S. *Johns* College in *Cambridge*, who learnedly answered all the Books of *Bellarmino*. *Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, sometimes Fellow of new Col- D lege in *Oxford*, who, amongst his other learned Works, hath written notably of Christs descent into hell. *Richard Hooker*, Preacher at the Temple, who with too much meeknesse smothered his great Learning, yet hath something discovered it in his five Books of Ecclesiastical Disci- pline, and dyed in the year 1599. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *Pauls*, who forbearing deeper Works, set forth a Catechism, according to the Doctrine of the *English Church*, and dyed in the year 1620. After such men, it might be thought ridiculous to speak of Stage-players; but seeing ex- cellency in the meanest things deserve remembring, and *Roscius* the Comedian is recorded in Hi- story with such commendation, it may be allowed us to do the like with some of our Nation. D *Richard Bourbidge* and *Edward Allen*, two such Actors as no age must ever look to see the like: and, to make their Comedies compleat, *Richard Tarleton*, who for the Part called the *Clowns* Part, never had his match, never will have. For Writers of Playes, and such as had been Players them- selves, *William Shakespeare* and *Benjamin Johnson*, have specially left their Names recommended to posterity.

Maiores and Sheriffs of London in her Reign.

In her first year,
Sir *William Hewet* was Maior.
Thomas Lodge, *Roger Martin*, Sheriffs.

In her second year,
Sir *William Chester* was Maior.
Christopher Draper, *Thomas Rowe*, Sheriffs.

In her third year,
Sir *William Harper* was Maior.
Alexander Avenon, *Humphrey Baskerville*, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,
Sir *Thomas Lodge* was Maior.
William Allen, *Richard Chamberlain*, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,
Sir *John White* was Maior.
Edward Bankes, *Rowland Heyward*, Sheriffs.

In her sixth year,
Sir *Richard Mallory* was Maior.
Edward Jackman, *Lionel Ducket*, Sheriffs.

In her seventh year,
Sir *Richard Champion* was Maior.
John Rivers, *James Hawes*, Sheriffs.

In her eighth year,
Sir *Christopher Draper* was Maior.
Rich. Lambert, *Amb. Nicholas*, *Job. Langley*, Sheriffs.

In her ninth year,
Sir *Roger Martin* was Maior.
Thomas Ramsey, *John Bond*, Sheriffs.

In her tenth year,
Sir *Thomas Rowe* was Maior.
John Oliph, *Rob. Harding*, *James Bacon*, Sheriffs.

In her eleventh year,
Sir *Alexander Avenon* was Maior.
Henry Beecher, *William Dane*, Sheriffs.

In her twelfth year,
Sir *Rowland Heyward* was Maior.
Francis Barneham, *William Boxe*, Sheriffs.

In her thirteenth year,
Sir *William Allen* was Maior.
Henry Milles, *John Branch*, Sheriffs.

In her fourteenth year,
Sir *Lionell Ducket* was Maior.
Richard Pipe, *Nicholas Woodroffe*, Sheriffs.

In her fifteenth year,
Sir John Rivers was Maior.
James Harvey, Thomas Pullocel or Pullison, Sheriffs.

In her sixteenth year,
Sir James Hawes was Maior.
Thomas Blancke, Anthony Gamage, Sheriffs.

In her seventeenth year,
Sir Ambrose Nicholas was Maior.
Edward Osborne, Wolstane Dixie, Sheriffs.

In her eighteenth year,
Sir John Langley was Maior.
William Kempton, George Barne, Sheriffs.

In her nineteenth year,
Sir Thomas Rensfey was Maior.
Nicholas Backhouse, Francis Bowyer, Sheriffs.

In her twentieth year,
Sir Richard Pipe was Maior.
George Bond, Thomas Starkie, Sheriffs.

In her one and twentieth year,
Sir Nicholas Woodroffe was Maior.
Martin Calthrop, John Hart, Sheriffs.

In her two and twentieth year,
Sir John Branche was Maior.
Ralph Woodcocke, John Allot, Sheriffs.

In her three and twentieth year,
Sir James Harvey was Maior.
Richard Martin, William Webbe, Sheriffs.

In her four and twentieth year,
Sir Thomas Blancke was Maior,
William Rowe, John Haydon, deceased, Cuthbert
Buckle succeeded, Sheriffs.

In her five and twentieth year,
Sir Edward Osborne was Maior.
William Masham, John Spencer, Sheriffs.

In her six and twentieth year,
Sir Thomas Pullocell was Maior,
Stephen Slany, Henry Billingsley, Sheriffs.

In her seven and twentieth year,
Sir Wolstane Dixie was Maior,
Anthony Ratcliffe, Henry Pranell, Sheriffs.

In her eight and twentieth year,
Sir George Barne was Maior.
Robert House, William Elkin, Sheriffs.

In her nine and twentieth year,
Sir George Bond was Maior.
Thomas Skinner, John Catcher, Sheriffs.

In her thirtieth year,
Sir Martin Calthrop served one part,
Sir Richard Martin the other.
Hugh Offey, Richard Haltonstall, Sheriffs.

In her one and thirtieth year,
Sir John Hart was Maior.
Richard Gurney, Stephen Some, Sheriffs.

In her two and thirtieth year,
Sir John Allot served one part,
Sir Rowland Heyward the other.
Nicholas Mosley, Robert Brook, Sheriffs.

In her three and thirtieth year,
Sir William Webbe was Maior.
Will. Rider, Benet, or Benedick Barnham, Sheriffs.

In her four and thirtieth year,
Sir William Rowe was Maior.
John Garret, or Gerrard, Robert Taylor, Sheriffs.

In her five and thirtieth year,
Sir Cuthbert Buckle served one part,
Sir Richard Martin the other.
Paul Banning, Peter Haughton, Sheriffs.

In her six and thirtieth year,
Sir John Spencer was Maior.
Robert Lee, Thomas Bennet, Sheriffs.

In her seven and thirtieth year,
Sir Stephen Slany was Maior.
Thomas Lowe, Leonard Hallyday, Sheriffs.

In her eight and thirtieth year,
Sir Thomas Skinner served one part,
Sir Henry Billingsley the other.
John Wats, Richard Godard, Sheriffs.

In her nine and twentieth year,
Sir Richard Saltonstall was Maior.
Henry Row, John More, Sheriffs.

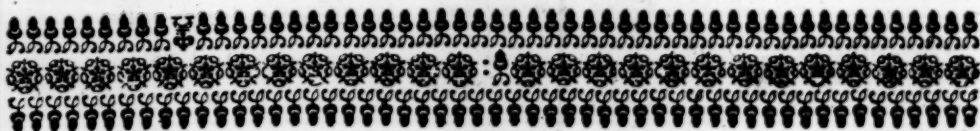
In her fortieth year,
Sir Stephen Some was Maior.
Edward Holmedon, Robert Hampson, Sheriffs.

In her one and fortieth year,
Sir Nicholas Mosley was Maior.
Humphrey Walde, Roger Clerke, Sheriffs.

In her two and fortieth year,
Sir William Rider was Maior.
Thomas Smith, Tho. Cambell, Will. Craven, Sheriffs.

In her three and fortieth year,
Sir John Garret, or Garrard was Maior.
Henry Anderson, William Glover, Sheriffs.

In her four and fortieth year,
Sir Robert Lee was Maior.
James Pemberton, John Swinnerton, Sheriffs.



THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

Anno Dom.
1603.

King James is
proclaimed
King of Eng-
land, Scotland,
and Ireland.



JAMES the fourth King of Scotland, married Margaret eldest Daughter of Henry the seventh King of England, by whom he had James the fifth, who had one only child Mary Queen of Scots, who had one only Son James the sixth, who from James the fourth had undoubted right to the Kingdom of Scotland, and from Margaret, King Henry the seventh's eldest Daughter (the male line being clean extinct) unquestionable title to the Crown of England: whereupon Queen Elizabeth being dead about ten a clock in the morning the 24. of March, King James the sixth King of Scotland was the very same day (M. Secretary Cecill himself reading his Title, and Queen Elizabeth's Will) proclaimed King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by sound of Trumpet, first at White-hall; and then in Cheapside, in presence of all the Lords of the Council, and other of the Nobility, with a general acclamation of all sorts of people, that we may truly say, sorrow was never more deceived then at this time; for where upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, it was expected there would be nothing for a long time but sorrowing and lamenting; now that very sorrow was swallowed up of joy, her death bringing with it no other alteration but only of sex, in all other points in a manner the same, the like wisdom, the like learning, the like Justice, the like religiousness in them both: only bettered in this, that we changed a Queen of 70 years old, whom we could not look to keep long, for a King of 36, whom we might well hope to enjoy many years.

Sir Robert Cary
acquaints
him with the
Queens death.

Queen Elizabeth was no sooner dead, but Sir Robert Cary a younger son of the late Lord Hunsdon, passed away unsent, to King James in Scotland, informing him of the accident; for bringing which news, the King afterwards rewarded him with making him a Baron of the Realm, and Lord of Leppington. But though it were sufficient for the Kings information that he heard the news by Sir Robert Cary; yet it was not sufficient for the Lords of the Council in discharge of their duty, if he heard it not from them, and therefore within a very few days, as soon as they could provide fit men, they sent first Sir Charles Piercy, and Mr. Thomas Somerset, and after them Sir Thomas Lake, Clerk of the Signet, a man well acquainted with the State of the Kingdom, both to acquaint him with the general applause of all the Realm, to receive him for their Sovereign, and also inform him in what terms the state of the Kingdom stood, that so he might not come altogether a stranger when he came into it.

The King
addes new
Counsellors.

Queen Elizabeth indeed had left him not only a Kingdom, but a Kingdom without incombrance; no wars abroad, no sedition at home; and not only so, but a Kingdom furnished with all the fruits of Peace, plenty of all things necessary, and of all necessary things; the chiefest a wise Council, for she left Sir Thomas Egerton Lord Chancelour, Thomas Lord Buckhurst Lord Treasurer, Charles Earl of Nottingham Lord Admiral, and Sir Robert Cecill principal Secretary: Four such men that the meanest of them were sufficient to sit at the Helm of any Kingdom. Yet to these and divers others besides (all whom the King now by his letters authorizeth to exercise their several places, as formerly they had done) he addeth certain new ones of his own choosing, as namely the Earl of Northumberland, and Cumberland, the Lord Thomas Howard, and then after the

- A the Lord *Henry Howard*; the one the brother, the other the son of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who had suffered so much, that at last he suffered for the Queen his mother. But although the calling of these two last to such place, was done (no doubt) out of favour to that house; yet one of them being known, the other doubted to be a Papist, it was presently apprehended, as a favour to that side; and the Catholics were not a little confident of his good inclination to them all in general. And it was indeed but necessary they should at this time have such a conceit, for in the late Queens sickness, a little before her death, Pope *Clement* the eighth, had written two Brieves to the Catholics in *England*, to admit of none to succeed in the Kingdom, when that miserable woman should happen to die (so he pleased to style the most glorious Queen that ever lived) but such a one, of whose good inclination to the See of *Rome*, they should at least be well persuaded. And now King *James* having settled the Government of his Kingdom of *Scotland*, &c. made convenient preparation for his journey: on the fifth of *April* 1603, he set forward and rode that day from *Edenburgh* to *Dunglassie*, and from thence the next day to *Berwick*, where having stayed two days, the eighth of *April* he rode to *Wuberington* a house of Sir *Robert Carier*, from thence the ninth to *Newcastle*, where he stayed Sunday and heard the Bishop of *Durham* preach, and so joyful were the Townsmen of his being there, that all the time of his stay they bore the charge of his household. The thirteenth of *April* he set forward to *Durham*, and from thence the fourteenth to *Waltworth*, the fifteenth towards *York*, where his train increased to such a multitude, that he was fain to publish an inhibition of the peoples resorts, and flocking to him. At *York* it was a question to whom it belonged to bear the sword before the King in that place, for both the Earl of *Cumberland* claimed it, as hereditary to his House, and the President of the North claimed it as belonging to his place, but it was adjudged to *George* Earl of *Cumberland*; who accordingly did it. From *York* the eighteenth day the King rode to *Grimston*, to a house of Sir *Edward Stanbops*, the nineteenth to *Pomfret*, and so to *Doncaster*, where he lodged at the sign of the Bear and Sun: The twentieth of *April* he rode towards *Worsuppe*, a house of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; from thence the twenty one to *Newark* upon *Trent*, where a Curpurse being taken in the fact, was by the Kings warrant hanged; a most unseasonable delinquent, who would force the King to a work of Justice at a time when he intended nothing but mercy: the 22. to *Beaver Castle*, a house of the Earl of *Rutlands*, hunting all the way as he rode: From *Beaver* the 23. to *Burleigh*, where having stayed two or three days, the 27. he removed to *Hitchinbrook*, a house of Sir *Oliver Cromwells*, where the heads of the University of *Cambridge* met him: From thence he rode towards *Royston*, and as he passed through *Godmanchester*, a Town close by *Huntington*, the Bailiffs of the Town presented him with 70 Teem of Horse all traced to fair new Ploughs, at which the King wondring, they said, it was their ancient custom so to do when any King of *England* passed through their Town, and by which as being the Kings tenants, they held their land. At *Royston* he lodged that night at M *Chesters* house, at his own charge, which he had not done before, since his coming into *England*. The 30. of *April* he rode to *Standon*, a house of Sir *Thomas Sadlers*, where he stayed Sunday, and heard the Bishop of *London* preach. The second of *May* he removed to *Brosbourn*, a house of Sir *Henry Cock*, cofferer to the late Queen, and now to the King, where met him the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, and divers other Lords: The third of *May* he came to *Theobalds*, a house of Sir *Robert Cecils*; when all the Lords of the late Queens most honourable Privy Council presented themselves, and there the Lord Keeper made a grave Oration. At this house, the fourth of *May*, the King made divers Noblemen of *Scotland*, of his Privy Council here in *England*; namely the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume* Treasurer of *Scotland*, Sir *James Elphinston* his Secretary, and the Lord of *Kinlosse* made afterward Master of the Rolles. Saturday the seventh of *May*, he rode towards *London*, where by the way, the Sheriff *Swynerton*, and the Aldermen met him; and by their Oratour Mr. *Richard Martin*, made him an eloquent Oration; and then he rode on to the Charter-house neer *Smithfield*, a house belonging to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, where he stayed four days: and at his departing from thence made the Lord *Zouch*, and the Lord *Burgley*, of his Privy Council. But we must not here omit, that from the Kings first setting forth of *Scotland*; as he was in all places received with most Royal entertainment and rich presents; so he again carried himself most affable, and distributed his favours in most plenteous manner: in some places discharging all prisoners, but such as lay for Treason or murder: but especially in conferring the order of Knighthood, of which sort the first he made, was Mr. *John Peyton*, son to Sir *John Peyton*, Lieutenant of the Tower. After him divers Scots in sundry places; at *Theobalds*, eight and twenty; (of which number the compiler of this work, though the unworthiest, was one;) at *Charter-house* above fourscore: and not many days after, no fewer then at least a hundred; and before the year went about, God knows how many hundreds; that one would wonder what the King would do with so many *Milites*, having no war toward: But it was indeed fit to give a vent to the passage of Honour, which during Queen *Elizabeths* Reign had been so stopped, that scarce any County of *England* had Knights enow to make a Jury.
- G Before we go further, it will not be amisse, to shew what great men attended King *James* out of *Scotland*; as namely the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, and many other great Lords; and many other whom he afterward made great Lords, as being in his special favour; first Sir *George Hume*, made afterward Earl of *Dunbarre*: then Sir *Thomas Erskin*, made Earl of *Kelly*; then Sir *John Ramsay* made Earl of *Holderness*; (which two last had the

The King fees forward into *England*.

To whom it belonged to bear the sword before the King at *York*.

At *Godmanchester* the King is presented with 70 Teem of horse, and why.

Divers Noblemen of *Scotland* made of his privy Council.

What number of Knights the King made.

With what great Lords the King came attended out of *Scotland*.

fortune

Sir Richard Preston Earl of Kildare unfortunately drowned.

What Lords and Ladies were sent to attend the Queen at her coming.

Lords made by the King.

Embassadors from all Princes of Christendom come to congratulate the Kings happy coming to the Crown.

The office of Master of the Ceremonies erected.

Fourteen Serjeants at law made.

Valentine Thomas for offences against Queen Elizabeth is hanged and quartered.

The Lord Montjoy brings Tir-Oen into England, who is fully pardoned.

The Earl of Rutland sent with the Garter to the King of Denmark. The Lord Spencer to the Duke of Wirtemberg. A Treason of a strange composition.

fortune to come first in to his rescue against the Gowries) then Sir James Hey, made afterward Earl of Carlisle; and then Sir Richard Preston made Earl of Kildare in Ireland; but whole great fortune by marrying the Heir of that Earldom, was afterward the occasion of his great misfortune; for coming out of Ireland, he was unfortunately cast away and drowned.

But though King James was now safely come himself to London; yet he accounted himself but half come, until his Queen and children were come to him; and therefore there are now appointed to go to conduct them, of Lords, the Earl of Sussex, the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Compton, the Lord Norris, and Sir George Carew Knight, Lord President of Munster: of Ladies the Countesse of Worcester, the Countesse of Kildare, the Lady Anne Herbert Daughter to Henry Earl of Pembroke; the Lord Scroopes Lady, the Lady Rich wife to the Lord Rich, and the Lady Walsingham, one of the late Queens Bedchamber: But although these only were appointed to go, yet many other Lords and great Ladies went of themselves to attend her Majesty, as the Countesse of Bedford, the Lady Hastings, the Lady Cecill, the Lady Hatton, the Lady Harrington, and divers other: and with this Princely attendance, the Queen with two of her children, namely Prince Henry of the age of nine years, and the Lady Elizabeth on the eleventh of June came to York: where resting themselves some few days, on the seven and twentieth of June they came to Euston in Northamptonshire, a house of Sir George Fermors, where the King met them at dinner: and afterward they rode together to a house of Sir John Fortescue, and so to London. The Kings younger son, Charles Duke of Albany, came not at this time, as being not three years old, and therefore not thought able to endure such a journey, but the year following falling sick of a Feaver, Doctor Atkins one of the Kings Physitians was sent to conduct him, who in six weeks cured him of his feaver; and the first week of October brought him safe to Windsor; where the King then lay; for which service he was so well rewarded, that together with the gains of his usual practise, he grew to a greater wealth then was usual for Physitians.

King James had distributed the meener Order of Knighthood, very plentifully; now he thinks fit to raise his distributions to a higher degree, and thereupon the twentieth of May, he made Sir Robert Cecil Baron of Esmond; Sir Robert Sidney Baron of Penhurst; Sir William Knowles Baron of Grey; and Sir Edward Wootton Baron of Morley: and not long after he made the Lord Henry Howard Earl of Northampton; and Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst, he made Earl of Dorset.

The King had by this time found the love and affection of his own people; but the affection of neighbouring Princes towards him stood yet in suspense, when now to take away that doubt came first in the beginning of June, an Embassadour from the Palgrave of Rhine; presently after another from the States of Holland and Zeland; another from the Archduke of Austria; another from the King of Spain; from the Seignior of Venice another; another from the Duke of Florence; and lastly on the eighth of June Monsieur de Rosny from the King of France: all congratulating his happy coming to the Crown of England: for entertainment of which Embassadours, and all other that should come after; the King had created an Office by the name of Master of the Ceremonies, allowing him two hundred pounds a year Fee, and the first that had the place was Sir Lea in Lewkenor: a Gentleman, who besides other good parts, was very skilful in the neighbouring languages.

Upon the seventeenth of May this year, were made fourteen Serjeants at Law: whereof eleven had received Writs the last year of Queen Elizabeth: namely, Thomas Coventry, Robert Haughton, Lawrence Tanfield, John Crook, Thomas I. Esq. Edward Phillips, Thomas Harris, James Alibam, Henry Hubbard, Augustine Nicholls, and Robert Parker; to whom the King added three new; John Sherly, George Snygge, and Richard Hutton, who all kept their Feast together in the middle Temple Hall.

One would think that this time all Offences against Queen Elizabeth had been forgotten; but King James more tender of wrongs done to her then to himself, would not suffer Valentine Thomas so to escape; who after he had lyen many years prisoner in the Tower, was on the fourth of June arraigned at the Kings Bench-Barre; and for conspiracy against the late Queen and some of her Council, was on the seventh of June after six a clock at night, drawn to S. Thomas Waterings, and there hanged and quartered.

About this time the Honourable Charles Lord Montjoy, returned out of Ireland; bringing along with him Hugh O'Neal, Earl of Tir-Oen; at whose coming to the King, the Lord Montjoy was sworn of the Kings Privy Council; and the Earl of Tir-Oen, who had been the cause of so much English blood shed, was yet pardoned, and Proclamation made, that by all men he should be used with respect and honour.

All this while the King had moved within his own Sphear, and had done nothing out of the Realm; his first Employment abroad was now in June, to his brother the King of Denmark, to whom he sent in Embassage the Earl of Rutland upon two occasions: the one to be Godfather to his Son, who was named Christianus, the other to present him with the Order of the Garter; upon the like employment, soon after, he sent the Lord Spencer to Frederick Duke of Wirtemberg; which Lords saw the said Princes invested with the Garter, and after honourable entertainment returned home.

It was now a time that every man might sit under his Vine, and enjoy the happinesse of a peaceable Government: when suddenly like a storm in a fair Summers day, brake forth a Treason of a strange Composition: for where in all Treasons commonly they are all of some one Faction,

A Faction, in this, there were people of all sorts; Priests and Laymen, Papists and Protestants, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen; that one would think it should be a well managed Treason, and yet was the shallowest that was ever set on foot; so shallow, that it could scarce be observed, either what the Authors of it ailed, or what it was they would have done. Indeed the great favour which King James at his first coming to the Crown, shewed to the Earl of Southampton, was like to breed no good blood in those that were his opposites; and it was said (how true I know not) that as the King had sent to enlarge the Earl of Southampton, and appointed him to meet him upon the way: so when he heard of an intention that the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Rawleigh had to meet him; he sent them word they should spare their labour. But whether it were so or no, it seems they found some cause of discontentment, and discontentment will never want Complices; and by this means was the composition of this Treason made up, and thereupon were apprehended Henry Lord Cobham, and George Brook his brother, Thomas Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Walter Rawleigh, Sir Griffith Markham, and Sir Edward Parham Knights, Bartholomew Brookesby and Anthony Copley Gentlemen, William Watson and William Clerk Priests: But though they were apprehended in July, yet they came not to their arraignment till November following; for by reason of the sicknesse, which was then hot in London, the Term was put off till Crasno Martini, and then to be kept at Winchester in Hampshire, only the Courts of the Exchequer, Wards, Liveries and the Dutchy of Lancaster were kept in the Kings Manor at Richmond in the County of Surrey; and so in the fourth of November following, all the foresaid Delinquents were removed from the Tower of London and other Prisons, by strong Guards to Winchester, and there

C arraigned; whose Indictment was for Conspiring

- 1 To kill the King.
- 2 To raise Rebellion.
- 3 To alter Religion.
- 4 To subvert the State.
- 5 To procure Invasion by Strangers.

Concerning the first Point, it was proved that the Lord Grey intended to obtain the levying of two thousand men, for defence of the Low-Countries, and with them to seize upon the King and Prince, and take the Lords of the Council in their chambers. For the other Points, It was proved,

D about raising Sedition, moving Rebellion, altering Religion, subverting the State, and to set up the Lady Arbella. And particularly for the Point of subverting the State; it was proved, that Watson was designed to be Lord Chancellor, George Brook Lord Treasurer, Sir Griffith Markham Secretary, and the Lord Grey to be Master of the Horse, and Earl Marshal of England. And for effecting of these Treasons, It was proved that Watson the Priest had devised Oaths in writing, by which all parties were bound to keep them secret. And for the last point, It was proved, that Sir Walter Rawleigh was appointed to treat with Count Aramberg for six hundred thousand Crowns, and the Lord Cobham to go the Archduke and to the King of Spain, to perswade them to assist the Lady Arbella. These things being proved against them; on the days in which they were severally

E Indicted, the most which was replied in mitigation of their fault, was first by Watson, who affirmed it could not be Treason, because the King was not yet Crowned; and then by the Lord Grey, that it was but a verbal matter and never took effect, and therefore could be no Treason: but these assertions being both refused, they were all (except Sir Edward Parham, who only was acquitted) on their several days of inditement, found guilty of Treason; and had Judgement accordingly. The Priests Watson and Clerk were executed at Winchester, the nine and twentieth of November: George Brook was beheaded the fifth of December, but then the hand of Justice stayed: and this was the course which the King held in shewing mercy. After the death of the three before named he signed three other Warrants for the execution of the late Lord Cobham, the Lord Grey, and Sir Griffin Markham; on a certain day then following; but before that day came he privately framed another Warrant, written with his own hand to the Sheriffe, (who was then

F Sir Benjamin Tiroburne) by which he countermanded the former Warrants: and that there might be no notice taken of it, he sent it by Mr. John Gybbe, a Scotch man, and one utterly unknown of all the company, appointing him to deliver it so, that it might not take effect, till after their several confessions, and at the very point of their Execution; which was accordingly performed: At which time it was a wonderful thing to see how the Delinquents falling on their knees, lamented their misdoings, and most of all how they extolled the Kings unspeakable mercy. But though thus pardoned, yet were they carried back to the Tower, where the Lord Grey not long after dyed, and in him was extinct that Barony, which had formerly brought forth many valorous and worthy men. Sir Griffin Markham after some time was set at liberty and passed beyond Sea, where he lived long after in mean account. The Lord Cobham likewise was afterward discharged of imprisonment, but deprived of his Estate, lived divers years after in great penury; and in him ended that noble Family, which had flourished in great honour many Ages. Sir Walter Rawleigh was kept

G in the Tower, where to his great honour he spent his time in writing, and had been a happy man if he had never been released. But such is our state, that no mans fortune is understood, whether it be good or bad until it be discovered by the Event.

But in this mean time many things had passed, for his Majesty having deferred the Feast of St. George until his being at some of his own houses, held now the said Feast at Windsor, the second of July; where the Prince was installed Knight of the Garter; as also the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of

The L. Cobham, Sir Walter Rawleigh and others arraigned at Winchester: and why.

And all condemned but only Sir Edward Parham. Watson and Clerk executed.

George Brook beheaded.

The rest spared and the course the King held in it.

The Lord Grey dyes in the Tower, in whom that Barony was extinct.

The Lord Cobham discharged of imprisonment, but lived in great penury, and in him that Barony also was extinct. Sir Walter Rawleigh is kept in the Tower: where, how he spent his time.

The Prince and others made Knights of the Garter.

Southampton,

Southampton, the Earl of *Marre*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*; and at the same time were elected the King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Wurtemberg*: though their investing have been spoken of before.

Divers Lords made.

And now was preparation made for the Kings Coronation, and for a preparative unto it, he first restored the Earl of *Southampton*, and then raised in honor these following: Sir *Thomas Eger-ton* Lord Chancellor, he made Baron of *Elsemere*; Sir *William Russel*, Baron of *Thornauigh*; Sir *Henry Grey*, Baron of *Groby*; Sir *John Peter*, Baron of *Writtle*, Sir *John Harrington*, Baron of *Ex-ton*; Sir *Henry Denvers*, Baron of *Dantsey*; Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Baron of *Gerards Bromley* in the County of *Stafford*; and Sir *Robert Spencer*, Baron of *Wormeleyton*. After this he conferred inferior Orders; and made Knights, all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other: and lastly made Knights of the *Bath* three- B
score and two, most of them Noblemens sons, and the rest Gentlemen of special worth. These things done, on the five and twentieth of *July*, being *St. James* day, the King and Queen were together crowned, and anointed at *Westminster*, by the hands of *John Whitegift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in presence of the Nobility and other, namely Sir *Robert Lee* Lord Maior of *London*, in a Gown of Crimson Velvet, his Brethren the Aldermen in Gowns of Scarlet, and 12 principal Citizens admitted to attend on them: all other Citizens stayed from passing thither either by water or by land, by reason of the sicknesse; and the first of *August* following, all suiters were by Proclamation forbidden to repair to the Court till the Winter following.

The King and Queen are Crowned together.

The fifth of August kept holy day, for the Kings deliverance from the *Gowries*.

At this time the King forgot not a deliverance he had formerly had, which though it were had in *Scotland*, yet he would have notice of it taken in *England*, which was his deliverance from the conspiracy of the *Gowries* on the fifth day of *August* three years before; and thereupon Friday being the fifth of *August* was by commandment appointed to be holy day, with Morning Prayer, Sermons, and Evening Prayer that day, and Bonfires at night; which was then, and after during his life solemnly observed.

All Letters of Mart called in. A Treaty of Peace with Spain, and who were Commissioners.

A Peace concluded, and the solemn manner of confirming it.

King *James* had in him as it were two persons; one as he was the King of *Scotland*; and in this he was in perfect amity with the King of *Spain*, another as he was King of *England*, and in this he had some difference with *Spain*; but he, as *Rex pacificus*, took the best from both, and was altogether for the Olive branch, and thereupon when at his coming into *England*, he found letters of Mart granted against *Spaniards*, he first caused them all to be called in, and then consented to a Treaty of perfect reconcilment: In which Treaty handled at *London*, the 18. of *August*, 1604. D
the Commissioners for the King of *England* were *Tho. Earl of Dorset*, *Charles Earl of Nottingham*, *Charles Earl of Devonshire*, *Henry Earl of Northampton*, and *Robert Viscount Cranburn*: For the King of *Spain*, *John de Velasco* Constable of *Castile*, *John de Tassis* Earl of *Villa Mediana*, and *Alexander Robidim* Professor of the Law in the College of *Milain*: For the Archdukes, *Charles Count of Aramburg*, *John Richardot* President of the Privy Council, and *Lodowick Verreikin* principal Secretary: by whom a Peace being concluded and contained in many Articles; the Summer following, the King of *Spain* sent Don *John de Velasco* Constable of *Castile* and Duke of *Fryas*, also *Pedraza de la Syerra*, his great Chamberlain accompanied with divers Marqueses, Earls and Barons, who coming into *England*, were by the Earl of *Devonshire* on the nineteenth of *August* brought to the Court, where the King in his Chappel in the presence of the Commissioners and other English Lords, (the Duke of *Fryas* holding the Kings hands between his) took his Oath upon the holy Bible, religiously to observe and keep all the Articles of the Peace and League agreed upon: and in March following, being now the third year of King *James*, *Charles Earl of Nottingham*, Lord high Admiral of *England* was sent into *Spain* to take in like manner the King of *Spain's* Oath: who accompanied with three Barons, and many Knights, Gentlemen and other, to the number of six hundred and fifty, the fifteenth of *April* arrived at *Groyne*, from whence he was conducted to *Valledolid*, three hundred miles off, where the King of *Spain* then kept his Court, entertained in all places as he passed, at the King of *Spain's* charge, with so great provisions and such demonstration of love and gladnesse, that it plainly shewed the *Spaniards* were as glad of our friendship as we of theirs. The Lord Embassadour being come to the Court, he caused *Thomas Knoll* Esquire, to deliver the presents sent from the King of *England*, which were six goodly Horses, with saddles and saddle clothes very richly imbroidered, whereof three for the King, and three for the Queen: two F
Crosse-bows with sheafs of arrows: four fowling pieces inlaid with plates of gold: and a couple of Lyme-hounds of singular qualities: which the King and Queen in very kinde manner accepted, and then on the thirtieth of *May*, the Lord Embassadour being sent for, the King came forth into a large room: where having a little Table set before him, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it, together with a Crucifix: the Archbishop of *Toledo* read the Oath, at the reading whereof, the Lord Embassadour held the Kings hands between his, and the King kneeling down, laid his hands upon the Book, and after his Oath, subscribed to the Articles formerly concluded. Whilst the Earl of *Nottingham* was thus employed in *Spain*, the right honorable *Edward Earl of G
Hartford*, was likewise sent Embassadour to *Albertus* and *Isabella*, Archdukes of *Austria*, to take their Oaths, for confirmation of the said Articles of Peace, which were taken at *Bruxel* the first of *May* with great state and solemnity: After which, as the Earl bestowed on the Archdukes servants, to the full sum of three thousand pounds; So the Archduke at his departy, bestowed upon the Earl, a Jewel worth nine hundred pounds, and a suit of Arras worth three hundred, and bore his charges all the time of his stay at *Bruxels*. And now was King *James* truly *Rex pacificus*, in peace and amity with all Princes of Christendom, which few of his Ancestors ever were.

Charles Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral is sent into Spain to take the Kings Oath, and his entertainment. The Kings Presents to the King & Queen of Spain.

A A little before this, in the Month of *August*, in the year 1604, the strong Town of *Offend* in *Flan-*
ders, after above three years siege, and the slaughter of above a hundred and twenty thousand men
 of both sides, and in defence whereof, Sir *Francis Vere* General, and his brother Sir *Horatio Vere* had
 shewed great Valour, was by the Marquess *Spinola* taken; for which service, the King of *Spain*
 made him Duke of *Santa Severina*, and the Lord General of all the Forces in the *Low-Countries*.

Offend taken by
 the Marquess
Spinola.

It was now the third year of King *James* his Reign, when he kept Saint *Georges* Feast at *Green-*
wich, and there made two new Knights of the Garter; namely the High and Mighty Prince Duke
Ulrick, heir of *Norway*, and brother to our gracious Queen *Anne*: and the right Noble Lord *Henry*
Howard, Earl of *Northampton*. And upon the Saturday following, in the Hall at *Greenwich*, being
 richly hanged with Arras, he created three Earls, one Viscount and four Barons: namely Sir *Ro-*
bert Cecil Viscount *Cranburn*, he created Earl of *Salisbury*: *Thomas Cecil*, Lord *Burley* his eldest

An. Reg. 3.

Earls and Ba-
 rons created.

B brother, he created Earl of *Exeter*, and Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*,
 he created Earl of *Montgomery*: then *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penbursi*, Lord Chamberlain to the
 Queen, he created Viscount *Lisle*: Sir *John Stanhope*, Vicechamberlain to the King, he made Lord
Stanhope of *Harington*: Sir *George Carew* Vicechamberlain to the Queen, he made Lord *Carew* of
Chipton: Mr. *Thomas Arundell* of *Devonshire*, he made Lord *Arundell* of *Wardour*: and Mr. *William Caven-*
ish, he made Lord *Cavendish* of *Hardwick*.

About this time a strange fancy possessed the brains of a professed Physitian, one *Richard Haidock* *Richard Hai-*
 of new College in *Oxford*, who pretended to preach at night in his sleep, in such sort, that though
 he were called aloud or stirred and pull'd by the hands or feet, yet would make no shew of either
 hearing or feeling. And this he did often, in the presence of many honourable persons, that came
 to hear him, so as within a short time, his fame was spread through the land, by the name of the
 sleeping Preacher. At length the King commanded him to be brought to the Court, where his
 Majesty late up the most part of a night to attend the event: when at last *Haidock* making a shew
 to be asleep, began to pray; then taking a Text, made his Division; applying it to his purpose,
 for in his Preaching his use was to inveigh against the Pope, against the *Crosse* in Baptism, and
 against the last Canons of the Church of *England*; and having ended his Sermon seemed to conti-
 nue sleeping. His Majesty having well observed the manner of his carriage; after a few days, called
 the said *Haidock* before him, and in Conference with him (as he had indeed an admirable sagacity
 in discovering of Fictions) made him confesse, that all he did was but imposture: and thereupon to
 fall upon his knees, and ask forgiveness: which the King granted, upon condition, that in all
 places he should openly acknowledge his offence; because many were brought into belief, that his
 nightly preaching was either by inspiration or by vision.

Haidock his peccen-
 ding to preach
 in his sleep.

Discovered by
 the King.

D We may not here think it unworthy the relating, seeing King *James* thought it not unworthy
 the seeing, thereby to observe the nature of the *Lyon*, and make a solemn matter of it; for on Mun-
 day the 3 of *June* (taking with him the Duke of *Lennox*, and divers Earls and Lords) he went to the
 Lyons Tower, and caused two Lyons, a male and female, to be put forth, and then a live Cock to
 be cast before them; which they (as being their natural enemy) presently killed and sucked his
 blood. Then a live Lamb to be put down to them, which the generous Lyons (as having respect to
 its Innocency) never offered to touch, though the Lamb was so bold as to go close unto them. Then
 the King caused those Lyons to be taken away and another Lyon to be put forth, and two Mastiffs
 to be put in to him, who presently flew upon the Lyon and turned him upon his back, and though
 the Lyon were superior to them in strength, yet it seems they were his matches in courage, and so
 much superior as they were the first assailants, with whom otherwise, perhaps the Lyon would not
 have offered to meddle.

The King tries
 the nature of
 the Lyon, with
 a Cock and a
 Lamb.

E On Fryday the 4 of *January* in the Kings second year, *Charles* Duke of *Albany* the Kings second
 Son, being then but four years old, was created Duke of *York*; which because it was done with
 extraordinary solemnity, is not unworthy to have the manner of it, here related. First were ap-
 pointed Knights of the Bathes, the Duke of *Albany* himself, then the Lord *Willowby*, the Lord
Chandos, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, *William Cecil*, son and heir to the Viscount *Cranburn*,
Allan Percy, brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Somerset*, second son to the Earl of
Worcester, *Francis Manners* brother to the Earl of *Rutland*; *Thomas Howard* second son to the Earl
 of *Suffolk*, and *John Harington* son and heir to the Lord *Harington*, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex*
 were Esquires to the Duke of *Albany*; all the Knights took their lodging that night in the first
 Gate-house going to *Kings* street; where they supped, and had Bathes provided for them. The next
 morning being Saturday, they went out into the Park in their Hermits weeds, the Minstrels playing
 and the Heralds going before them into the Court, and so into the Chappel, where every Knight
 with his Esquires went to the Altar, and there offered, (the Dean of the Chappel, in a rich Cope,
 holding the Bason) After this they went up into their lodgings, and there new attired themselves
 in robes of Crimson Taffaty, with hats and white feathers, and so went back to the great Chamber:
 where by the King they were girded with the sword and had gilt spurs put upon them. This done,
 they were solemnly served at dinner, and after went again to the Chappel, and there offered their
 swords. The next day being Sunday and Twelfth day, in robes of purple Sattin, with Doctors hoods
 on their shoulders and hats with white feathers, they issued out of the Reveltry with the Duke
 of *Albany* (being then to be made Duke of *York*) into the Hall, where the King fate under the cloth
 of Estate, and then the Heralds going before, the Knights of the Bath followed, and then the Earl of
Suffolk Lord Chamberlain came alone, then followed *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Charles*
Blunt Earl of *Devonshire*, carrying the robes of Estate for the Duke of *York*; after whom *Wriothesly*
 Earl

Charles the
 Kings younger
 son is created
 Duke of *York*,
 and the solemn
 manner of it.

Earl of Southampton carried the Coronet, *George Clifford* Earl of Cumberland, the Golden Rod, the A Earl of Worcester the Cap of Estate, and the Earl of Nottingham bore the Duke of Albany in his Arms, supported by the Earls of Dorset and Northumberland, who all coming in this order before the King; the Duke of Albany was after the Patent read created Duke of York, with the Robes and Coronet put on him; and the Golden Rod delivered into his hand: all which performed, they went to dinner, and the solemnity ended.

Thomas Douglas a Scotch man, hanged in Smithfield, and why.

About this time on the fifteenth of June, *Thomas Douglas* a Scotch man, was committed to the Tower, and had Irons put upon him, being sent hither, but three days before from the Count Palatine of Rhyne. His offence was, that he had counterfeited the Kings Privy Seal to divers Princes of Germany; One to the Archbishop of Cullen, another to the Archbishop Tryer, another to the Duke of Cleve, another to the Archbishop of Moguntia, and a fifth to the Count Palatine of the Rhyne; B whereof being examined and convicted, he was drawn on a hurdle into Smithfield, and there hanged and quartered.

The Gunpowder Treason.

By whom first plotted.

And with what Assistants.

And now was a second Parliament appointed to be held at Westminster, on the nineteenth of March following, when four days before the day of sitting, the King, the Queen and Prince rode solemnly in great state through the City of London, where in divers places were erected Pageants: Presents given, Orations made, and all demonstrations of love and observance; and then the Parliament beginning, the King made a long and loving Speech to the House, wherein he signified the causes of his calling it; but in the time when it should have proceeded, there was suddenly discovered a Plot of Treason (so damnable and foul, that posterity will hardly think it true, when they shall hear it) the Plot was, to blow up with Gun-powder, both Houses of Parliament C at a time, when the King, Prince and all the Nobility should be sitting in the Upper House, and all the Knights and Burgesses in the Lower.

The principal contriver of this Plot was *Robert Catesbie*, a Gentleman of great account in Northamptonshire, descended from that *Catesbie* who had been a special Counsellor of King Richard the third, to whose family the Divine Providence had now ordained to give a disastrous period. This *Catesbie* not able to perform the work himself alone, draws in many to assist him, as namely, *Thomas Percy*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Grant*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *John Wright*, *Francis Tresham*, *Guydo Fawkes*, and at last *Sir Everard Digby*, all earnest Papists, and all bound by Oath, and by receiving the Sacrament to be secret; For effecting of this plot, they hired a house close adjoining to the Upper House of Parliament, where they were to dig through a Wall, for the fit placing of their Powder. About Candlemasse they had wrought the Wall half through: when suddenly they heard a noise in the next room, which made them fear they had been discovered: but sending *Guy Fawkes* (who went now under the name of *John Johnson*, as Master *Percies* man) to see what the matter was, he brought word, that it was a Cellar where Sea-coles had been laid, and were now a selling, and the room offered to be let for a yearly rent. This room therefore as most fit for their purpose, being right under the Parliament House, Master *Percy* presently went and hired, laying into it twenty barrels of powder, which they covered with Billets and Faggots, for being discovered. Thus the first part of the plot was put in a good readinesse. It now remained to consider what was to be done, when the blow should be given: for though the King and Prince might be slain, yet the Duke of York and the Lady *Elizabeth* should still be E safe, and so they should be no nearer their end then now they were. This work therefore for surprizing the Duke of York, *Percy* undertook, and for surprizing the Lady *Elizabeth*, they agreed upon a match of hunting near to Duncburch, under colour whereof they would draw company together, and surprize her at the Lord *Harington* house in Warwickshire, where she then lay, and then proclaim her Queen, and so be sure to have all things done, as they would themselves. Thus far their bloody plot went fairly on, and had perhaps gone on so still, if they had continued only bloody; but now a tendernesse of heart took some of them, lest their friends should perish together with the rest, and this tendernesse overthrows them; for to prevent such promiscuous slaughter, a Letter was framed, and sent to Lord *Monteagle*, son and heir to the Lord *Morley*, brought him by one of his Foot-men, which he received from an unknown man F in the street: The Letter was this: My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would wish you, as you tender your life, to forbear your attendance at this Parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickednesse of this time: And think not slightly of this Advertisement: for though there be no appearance of any stir; yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned; because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt this Letter; and I hope you will make good use of it.

By what means first discovered.

My Lord having read the Letter, though much perplexed, yet went presently to the Court at White-hall, (the King being then a hunting at Royston) and delivered it to the Earl of Salisbury, principal Secretary of State, and the Earl having read it, acquainted first the Lord Chamberlain G with it, and then the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Worcester and Northampton, who as soon as the King was returned from Hunting, acquainted him with it: the Earl of Salisbury telling him, that he thought it must be written either by a fool, or by a mad man, because of those words, (for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter) for if the danger were so soon past, what needed any warning? But the King considering it more deeply, apprehended presently some violent motion; and that it must be some sudden danger by blowing up with powder, and thereupon commanded, that diligent search should be made in the Parliament House, and

A and all other rooms and lodgings near adjoining: which search was made by the Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord Mounteagle, who entering the Cellar under the upper Houle, found there great store of Faggots and Billets; which was answered to be for Mr. Percie's own provision: but then (it being considered why such store should be laid in for Mr. Percie, who used to make but little stay in Town) and thereupon more diligent search being made, there was found under the Billets one of the Barrells of powder: and after that all the rest, being six and thirty; together with other instruments fit for their purpose, and then spying the said *Fawks* to stand suspiciously, they apprehended him, and found in his pocket a piece of Touch-wood; a Tynder-box to light the Touch-wood, and a Watch, which Mr. Percie had bought the day before, to try the short and long burning of the Touch-wood, which he had prepared to give fire to the train of powder. The plot being thus discovered, yet the most of the confederates met at *Dunchurch*, as they had agreed; where they divulged many deceitable untruths against the King and State: signifying withall, that they were there met for advancement of the Catholick cause; hoping thereby to have drawn many to joyn with them in their Rebellion: but this availed them nothing: for first Sir *Richard Verney* high Sheriffe of *Warwickshire* chased them from thence; and then Sir *Richard Welsh*, Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, knowing them to be entred into *Matter Littletons* house at *Walbach*, beset them round, where *Catesbie* and *Percie* issuing forth, were both slain with one shot of a Musquet; and after them, both the *Wrights*, *John* and *Christopher*, were likewise slain outright; *Thomas Winter* was taken alive: all which time, *Francis Wresham* remained still about the Court, offering his service for their suppression: but being suspected, was examined, and sent to the Tower, where he confest all, and within a few days after dyed of the Strangurie. On the seven and twentieth of *January* following, a Commission was directed to divers Lords and Judges of both Benches, for tryal of the rest of the Confederates: namely, of *Thomas Winter*, *Guyus Fawks*, *Robert Keyes*, *Thomas Bates*, *Robert Winter*, late of *Hoodington* in *Warwickshire* Esquire, *John Grams*, late of *Torthbrook*, in the County of *Warwick* Esquire, *Ambrose Rookwood*, late of *Stanisfield* in *Suffolk* Esquire, Sir *Everard Digby*, late of *Gottburst* in *Buckinghamshire*, Knight, who were all condemned, and had Judgement to dye, and on the Thursday following Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *Grams* and *Bates*, were accordingly drawn, hanged and quartered, at the West end of *Pauls Church* in *London*, and on the Friday, the other four; namely, *Thomas Winter*, *Keyes*, *Rookwood*, and *Fawks* were executed in the Parliament yard at *Westminster*.

D Of all whom, none was so much lamented as Sir *Everard Digby*, and indeed worthily; for he was a goodly personage, and of excellent parts, and had it seems been cunningly drawn in, and bound to secrecy by Oath, when he little thought of any such Treason. The seventh of *November* the Earl of *Northumberland*, upon suspition of being acquainted with the plots, was first commanded to his house, and after a while committed to the Tower. And thus was this great plot discovered, and the Plotters punished; to the great rejoycing of all people: insomuch, that even the King of *Spain's* and Arch-dukes Embassadors made Bonfires, and threw money among the people in token of joy. And at this time, on the fourth of *January*, the *Spanish* Embassadour delivered a Present to the King from the King his Master: namely six Jennets of *Andalusia*, with saddles very richly imbroydered, and saddle-clothes of cloth of *Tissue*: One of which Jennets was snow white, and had a main which reached to the ground. But this was a present sent before any knowledg had of the Powder Treason: but as soon as that was known, there was presently another Present sent from the Queen of *Spain* to the Queen of *England*, of purpose to congratulate the Kings happy deliverance from the intended Powder Treason; and the Present was brought by *Don John de Mendoza*, which was a Roab of *Murrie Sattain*, imbroydered all over with Amber leather; and upon the leather, in every seam and skirt twice imbroydered about with gold; the fore-part whereof were set with eight and forty tagges three inches long of beaten gold, hollow within, and filled with Amber-greece, also two large Chains of Amber-greece; Two Carkanets of Amber-greece, a Velvet Cap with gold Buttons, curiously enameled; and a girdle futable to the Buttons; all which were presented together in a large vessel of gold, in form of a *Bason*; so as it seems there was none rejoyced more for the overthrow of this plot for the Catholick cause, then the Catholick King himself. And now King *James*, not to be unmindeful to the Lord *Monteagle*, for being the means of discovering this Treason, he gave unto him in Fee Farm of Crown land 200*l.* to him and his heirs, and 500*l.* a year besides, during his life: and not to be unthankful to God for the deliverance, he caused the fifth of *November*, being the day of the discovery, to be kept holy, with Prayer and Thanksgiving to God, which was then solemnly performed, and hath been since, and is likely for ever to be continued.

But in the midst of this great joy, there was suddenly spread a rumour of greater sorrow, for on Saturday the two and twentieth of *March*, news was brought to the Court for certain, that the King was slain at *Oking*, twenty miles from *London*, stabbed with an invenomed knife; whereupon the Court gates were presently shut, and double guard set in all places about *London*, and all mens mindes were infinitely distracted; but within two houres all these clouds were slain disperfed, and the Sun began to shine out again; and it was certainly known, that the King was safe, and in perfect health: for which a Proclamation was presently sent forth to signifie it to the people; and that afternoon the King came himself to *White-hall*, where thousands of people, ravished with joy, came flocking to see him; and so general was the rejoycing, that the *Spanish* Embassadour gave Sir *Lewis Lewknor*, Master of the Ceremonies, a chain of gold of good value for bringing him the news: Though afterward it was thought by some, that this rumour was

Fawks first apprehended.

Catesbie and *Percie* slain.

The rest of the Confederates arraigned, condemned and executed.

The Earl of *Northumberland* committed to the Tower, and why.

A Present from the K. of *Spain* to K. *James*.

Another from the Queen of *Spain* to the Q. of *England*.

The Lord *Monteagle's* reward for being a means of discovering the Treason.

The fifth of *November* kept holy in thankfulness for this deliverance.

A rumour spread that the King was slain at *Oking*, but false: and the joy upon bearing the truth.

but politickly devised to make the Parliament and people more tender of the Kings safety, and by making them more sensible what a treasure they had of his life, to make them more willing to part with their treasure for his living, as indeed this Parliament they did, giving more Subsidies then are usual.

Henry Garnet
a Jesuite executed, and why.

The eight and twentieth of *March* following, *Henry Garnet* Provincial of the *English* Jesuites, was straigned in *Guilt-hall*, for concealing the foresaid treason, where he had Judgement to be hang'd, drawn, and quartered, and accordingly on the third of *May*, was drawn from the Tower to the West end of *Pauls Church*, and there executed. At his death, he confessed his fault, asked forgiveness, and exhorted all Catholics never to attempt any treason against the King or State, as a course which God would never prosper.

On Tuesday the twentieth of *May*, were entailed at *Windsor* Knights of the Garter, *Robert Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Thomas Howard* Viscount *Byndon*; both of them honourably attended, but the Earl of *Salisbury* beyond ordinary proportion.

Henry L. Mor-
dant, and Edw.
Lord Sturton
fined, and why.

There was yet a Fag end of the late Powder treason behind to be examined: whereupon two Barons of the Realm; namely, *Henry Lord Mordant*, and *Edward Lord Sturton*, were brought from the Tower, to the Star-chamber: and there, not charged indeed with any point of the treason, but only reflectingly, because they neglected to appear at the Parliament, according to their summons, for which neglect only, without any further charge, they were fined to pay to the King, the Lord *Mordant* ten thousand Marks, and the Lord *Sturton* six thousand, and to be prisoners during the Kings pleasure. But on the 27. of *June*, *Henry Earl of Northumberland* was likewise brought from the Tower to the Star-chamber, and more directly charged with circumstances concerning the Treason, specially in regard of *Thomas Percy*, whom he had admitted to be one of the Kings Gentlemen Pensioners, without ministring unto him the Oath of Supremacy, knowing him to be a Recusant; for which, and some misprisions, he was fined to pay to the King thirty thousand pounds, to forfeit all his Offices, and to be kept prisoner during the Kings pleasure, as indeed he continued many years, and at last released, was yet confined.

Henry Earl of
Northumberland
fined, and why.

Christianus K.
of Denmark the
Queens Brother
comes into
England, and
of his entertain-
ment.

It was now the fourth year of King *James* his Reign, and was a time of Princely visitation; for this Summer, the 17. of *July*, *Christianus* King of *Denmark*, brother to the Queen, having been long expected, with eight ships came into the River of *Thames*, and anchored before *Graves-end*; to whom the next day, King *James*, with Prince *Henry*, and divers of his Lords went by Barge, and conducted him to *London*, where he stayed till the twelfth of *August* following: in which time, he was entertained with all the Magnificence that could be devised; the King and he riding in great state through the City; where Pageants in many places were erected; and after he had been shewed the chief places about *London*: as namely the old *Exchange*, the Tower, the Monuments at *Westminster*, and had gone up to the top of *Pauls*, had been feasted by the King, by the Earl of *Salisbury* four days together at *Theobalds*, had seen Tilting, Fencing, Wrestling, and many other pastimes, on the twelfth of *August*, conducted by the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many other great Lords, he departed to his ships, and in eight days arrived at home: A happy thing when Princes can converse together like private persons, and are not kept asunder with jealousies of State.

Francis Prince
of Vandemount
comes into
England, with
what great
train, and of
his entertain-
ment.

After the King of *Denmark* departure, on the 23. of *September*, arrived at *London* *Francis Prince* of *Vandemount*, third Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, accompanied with seven Earls, ten Barons, forty Gentlemen of quality, and sixscore common persons; who all the five and twentieth of *September* went by Coach to the King at *Hampton-Court*, where fourteen days together they were feasted and royally entertained, and then returned.

An Insurrec-
tion in Northam-
ptonshire and
Warwickshire
about Inclo-
sures by Cap-
tain Pouch, and
how suppressed.

But these Festivals were followed with a little disturbance; for in *May*, the year after, great Assemblies were gathered together in *Northamptonshire*, *Warwickshire*, and *Leicestershire*, throwing down Inclosures, at first, without any particular head: but at last rose up a base fellow, called *John Reynolds*, whom they named Captain *Pouch*, because he had a great leather Pouch hanging by his side, who affirmed to the Company, that in that Pouch he had sufficient to defend them against all commers: but when he was afterward apprehended, and his Pouch searched, there was nothing found in it but a piece of green cheese. Proclamation was made, commanding them to surcease their disorder: But this prevailed nothing, till the King sent *Henry Earl of Huntington*, *Thomas Earl of Exceter*, *Edward Lord Zouch*, and *Sir Edw. Cook* Lord chief Justice of *England*, to suppress them by force of Arms, and to punish the Levellers according to the nature of their offences; some by death, as for Treason; some by Fines, as for Routs: but Captain *Pouch* was made exemplar.

The King is
made free of
the Cloth-
workers.

On Fryday the twelfth of *June*, his Majesty attended with divers Lords, dined with the Lord Maior, *Sir John Watt*, who after dinner presented him with a purse full of Gold, and humbly besought his Majesty, that he would be pleased to be free of his Company the *Cloth-workers*: To which, the King graciously condescended; and thereupon called to *Sir William Stone*, Master of the Company, and said, *Stone* give me thy hand; and now I am a *Cloth-worker*: And in token of my special favour to this Fraternity, I do here give to this Company a brace of Bucks yearly for ever, against the time of the Election of the Master and Wardens: at which time also many Lords and Gentlemen were made Free of the *Cloth-workers*.

The Prince is
made Free of
the Merchants
Taylors, and a
list of great
personages that
had been of
that Company.

On Thursday the 16 of *July*, the King and Prince with many Lords, dined at Merchant-Taylors Hall, where the Master and Warden of that Society, presented the King with a purse of gold, giving him humble thanks for gracing their Fraternity with his Royal Presence; and therewithal shewed him a Roll, wherein were registred the names of 7 Kings, 1 Queen, 17 Princes and Dukes, 2 Dut-
cheffes,

A chesses, one Archbishop, one and thirty Earls, threescore and six Barons, seven Abbots, seven Priors, with a great number of Knights and Esquires, who had been free of that Company; which His Majesty graciously accepted, but told them, that he himself was already Free of another Company: but the Prince his Son should be free of theirs, and that he would see the Garland put on his head: whereupon the Master presented the Prince also with a purse of Gold, which he graciously accepted, and said, that not only himself would be free of the Merchant-Tailors, but the Lords also that were with him should do the like, all which was performed with great solemnity.

The fourth of July this year, Sir Thomas Knevit was called by Writ to the Parliament by the name of Baron of Estrict, the next day Sir Julius Caesar, Chancellor of the Exchequer was sworn a Privy Counsellor; and the sixteenth of November following Sir Jervis Clifton Knight, was called to the Parliament by Writ, by the name and title of Baron of Layton Bramesfold, whose only Daughter and Heir, was soon after married to Eysme Steward, Baron of Aubigny in France, sole Brother of the Duke of Lenox; whom he afterward succeeded in that Dignity.

About this time, Hugh Earl of Tir-Oen, most ungrateful and utterly forgetful of the Kings great clemency to him, together with Terconell, Hugh Baron of Dungaunon, and divers other Irish Lords, fled into the parts beyond Sea, with a purpose to sollicite forain Princes against the King, and to offer the Kingdom of Ireland to the Pope, which was presently signified to the Realm by Proclamation.

On the eleventh of April this year, George Jervis, a Seminary Priest, and the three and twentieth of June following, Thomas Garnet a Jesuit, were both executed at Tyburn; Thomas Garnet having the favour offered him to be pardoned, if he would but take the Oath of Allegiance, which he refused.

The nineteenth of April at Whitehal, dyed Thomas Earl of Dorset Lord Treasurer, (whose death because he dyed suddenly as he sat at the Councel Table) was by some untowardly interpreted; but being dead, and his head opened, there were found in it certain little bags of water, which whether by the straining of his study the night before, in which he sat up till eleven a clock, or otherwise by their own maturity, suddenly breaking and falling upon his brain, caused his sudden death. So certain it is that death comes not always by determinate steps, but sometimes *per saltum*, and we all carry about us the causes of sudden death, though unsensible of them till we be unsensible. This Lord was of excellent parts, and in his place exceeding industrious, and I have heard many Checker men say, there never was a better Treasurer, both for the Kings profit and the good of the subject.

The twentieth of May at Windsor, were made two Knights of the Garter, George Earl of Dunbar, and Philip Earl of Montgomery; but the Earl of Dunbarre, within a year or two after left both his honour and his life; but not his life without honour, having been a faithful servant, and a wise Counsellor to the King, and was honourably interred in the Church at Westminster.

About this time were many famous English Pirats that stuck not some of them to turn Turke, and lived in great state at Tunis, of whom the chief were Ward, Bishop, Sir Francis Vernay, and Glanville, whom after many depredations and outrageous acts at Sea, partly the King of Spain suppressed, and partly the K. of England, and 19 of their associates being taken, were hanged at Wapping.

Also at this time, in the Strand on the North side of Durban house, where stood an old long stable: Robert Earl of Salisbury now Lord Treasurer of England, caused to be erected a stately building; which upon Tuesday the tenth of April, in the year 1609. was begun to be richly furnished with wares; and the next day after, the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many great Lords and Ladies came to see it: and then the King gave it the name of Britains Burie.

On the eighth of May this year, the King by Proclamation prohibited all forein Nations, that after August they should not fish upon any of the Coasts of England, Scotland, or Ireland, nor the Isles adjacent, without the special licence from the Commissioners in that behalf ordained.

At this time the making of Alum, which heretofore with great charges had been fetched from forein parts, was by divers that laboured in it, and now lastly by Sir John Bourcbier, brought to perfection in England, and thereupon the King prohibited upon pain of confiscation, any Alum to be brought from beyond the Seas, and took the whole traffique thereof to himself.

And now the King according to an ancient custum, had aid of his Subjects through England, for making his eldest Son Prince Henry Knight, which yet was levied with great moderation, and the Prince to shew himself worthy of it, performed his first Feats of Arms at Barriers, with wonderful skill and courage: being not yet full sixteen years of age.

It was now the eighth year of King James his Reign, being the year 1610, when Prince Henry being come to the age of seventeen years, it was thought fit he should be Initiated into Royalty: and thereupon the thirtieth of May this year, he was Created Prince of Wales in most solemn manner; which was thus, Garter King at Arms, bore the Letters Patents, the Earl of Suffex the Robes of Purple Velvet, the Earl of Huntington the Train, the Earl of Cumberland the Sword, the Earl of Rutland the Ring, the Earl of Darby the Rod, the Earl of Shrewsbury the Cape and Coronet, the Earl of Nottingham and Northampton supported the Prince, being in his Surcoat only and bare-headed: and in this manner being conducted to the King, attended on by the Knights of the Bathe, five and twenty in number, all great men, and great mens sons, the Earl of Salisbury principal Secretary, read the Letters Patents: the Prince kneeling all the while before the King: and at the words accustomed, the King put on him the Robe, the Sword, the Cape and the Coronet, the Rod and the Ring, and then kissed him on the cheek, and so the solemnity ended.

Sir Tho. Knevet and Sir Jervis Clifton made Barons by calling them to the Parliament.

The Earl of Tir-Oen flies beyond Sea, to sollicite Princes against the King.

George Jervis a Seminary Priest, and Tho. Garnet a Jesuit executed, and why.

The Earl of Dorset Lord Treasurer of England dies suddenly.

Divers English Pirats turn Turkes.

The new Exchange in the Strand builded.

Fishing upon the English Coast forbidden to strangers. Alum first made in England, and by whom.

The King bath aid of his Subjects for making Prince Henry Knight. An. Reg. 8. The Prince is created Prince of Wales, and the solemn manner of his creating.

He keeps Court by himself, and who were his great Officers,

Seminaries and Jesuits commanded to avoid the Realm, and why.

The East-India Company made a Corporation, with large Privileges.

They build a ship of twelve hundred Tun, called *The Trades increase*, which was cast away in the Red Sea.

Thereupon the King builds a ship of 1400 tun called *The Prince*, and gives it to the Prince.

The King dissolves a Parliament under the Great Seal of England.

Sir Robert Carr comes into the Kings favour, and of the many honours heaped suddenly upon him. His falling into disgrace, and why.

Sir Thomas Overbury Poisoned.

Sir Jervis Yelvis Lieutenant of the Tower executed. The Earl of Somerset and his Lady condemned, but their lives spared.

After this, it was thought fit, he should keep his Court by himself: and thereupon Sir Thomas A Chamberlain, a learned Gentleman, who had before been his Governour, was now made his Lord Chamberlain, Sir Edward Philips his Chancellor, and all other Officers assigned him, belonging to a Princes Court: wherein he shewed himself so early ripe for Majesty, that he seemed to be a King, while he was yet but Prince: and all mens eyes began to fix upon him.

King James had long since shut up the Gates of Janus, and was in Peace with all Princes abroad; his only care now was how to keep Peace at home; and to this end, the three first days of June, in his own Person he heard the differences between the Ecclesiastical and the Temporal Judges, argued, touching Protections out of the Kings Bench and Common Pleas; to this end, the eighth, ninth, and tenth of June, he heard the manifold complaints of the abuses of the Victuallers, and other Officers of his Navy Royal; to this end, the fourth of June, 1610, he once again by Proclamation, commanded all Roman Priests, Seminaries and Jesuits, as being the chief Incendiaries of troubles, to depart this Kingdom by the fifth of July next, and not to return upon pain of severity of the Law: also all Recufants, to return home to their dwellings, and not to remain in London, nor to come within ten miles of the Court, without special License. After which Proclamation, the Oath of Allegiance was presently ministred to all sorts of people, and their names certified to the Lords of the Council, that refused to take it; and this he the rather did out of consideration of the bloody fact, committed lately by one Ravillack, upon the person of the renowned King of France, Henry the fourth: and whereas Queen Elizabeth in her 43 years, had granted her Letters Patents to continue for 15 years to the East-India Merchants, now upon their humble Petition, the King was pleased to enlarge their Patents, giving them a charter to continue for ever, enabling them thereby to be a body Corporate and Politick, which so encouraged the Merchants, that they built a ship of twelve hundred tun, the greatest that was ever made in this Kingdom by Merchants; which the King and Prince honoured with going to *Debitford* to see it; and then named it, *The Trades increase*: and at this time gave to Sir Thomas Smith, (Governor of that Company) a fair chain of Gold, with a Jewel, wherein was his Picture. But this great Ship having been in the Red Sea, and returning to *Bantam*, was there lost and most of her men cast away. But then the King himself builded the goodliest ship of War, that was ever built in England, being of the burthen of 1400 Tun, and carrying threescore and four pieces of great Ordinance, which he gave to his Son Prince Henry, who named it after his own dignity, *The Prince*.

And now whereas a Parliament had been holden this year, and was prorogued to a certain day; the King perhaps not finding it to comply with his designs, or for some other cause known to himself on the last day of December, under the great Seal of England dissolved it.

Before this time one Sir Robert Carr, a Gentleman of Scotland, or of the Borders, at a time of Tilting before the King, chanced with a fall off his Horse to break his leg; upon which mischance, he was forced for some days to keep his bed, in which time the King was sometime pleased to come and visit him: and then it was first perceived that the King had begun to cast an eye of favour upon him: and indeed from that time forward (as he was a very fine Gentleman and very wise) many great favours were heaped upon him: So as on Easter Munday, in the year 1611, he was Created Viscount Rochester. On the two and twentieth of April, 1612, was sworn a privy Counsellor. On the fourth of November 1613, was created Earl of Somerset, and the tenth of July following, made Lord Chamberlain.

But this Sun-shine of Fortune lasted not long; yet not by any inconstancy in the King, but by the Earls own undeserving, which thus fell out: The Right Honourable Robert Earl of Essex, had before this time married the beautiful Lady Francis Howard, Daughter of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, who upon causes judicially heard, were afterward Divorced and left free to marry any other. After which Divorce, this great favorite (the Earl of Somerset) takes her for wife; the King gracing their marriage with all demonstrations of love and favour; and the Lords gracing it with a stately Masque that night, and a few days after, the Bride and Bridegroom, accompanied with most of the Nobility of the Kingdom, were Feasted at Merchant-Taylors Hall, by the Lord Maior and Aldermen. But see how soon this fair weather was overcast: For it happened, that one Sir Thomas Overbury, a very ingenious Gentleman, and the Earls special friend, who had written a witty Treatise of a Wife: and it seems not thinking the Lady in all points answerable to his description, had been an earnest dissuader of the Match, and to strengthen his dissuasion, laid perhaps some unjust imputation upon the Ladies fame, which so incensed them both against him, that a lesse revenge could not give them satisfaction, then to take away his life: So true is that saying:

Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogit?

Upon this, they finde pretences to have the said Sir Thomas committed to the Tower, and there by their Instruments effect their revenge: some say by a poisoned Tansey sent him to eat, some by a poisoned Glyster ministred unto him, but howsoever effected it was, for which fact Sir Jervis Yelvis then Lieutenant of the Tower, and three or four other of inferiour condition were put to death, the Lady and Earl themselves were arraigned and condemned: but through the Kings great clemency had their lives spared, but in such a sort spared, as was to them no lesse grievous then death itself, being never after suffered to see the Kings face, nor to come neer his Court.

This

A This Favorite being thus out of favour, there was place made for entertaining another; for indeed King James was of so sociable and loving a nature, that he could not be long without an *Alter idem*; a bosome friend with whom to communicate his *Internos sensus*, and upon whose shoulders he might sometimes lay a burthen, which he was not willing to bear himself; and this new friend was Mr. George Villers, a Gentleman of a good House, but younger brother, but of so delicate a composure of body, and withal of so excellent parts of minde, as if nature had framed him on purpose to be a Kings Favorite. And indeed never any man was partaker of the Royal influence like to him, made first a Knight and Gentleman of the Kings Bed-chamber, soon after made a Viscount and Master of the Horse; a while after created Earl of Buckingham, then Marquess of Buckingham, and made Lord Admiral: Lastly, made Duke of Buckingham, the greatest Title of Honour that a Subject is capable of, and yet this Title not greater then his Power: for all matters of Grace passed from the King by him, and to grace him the more, his Mother (who after his Fathers death, had marryed a younger Son of the Lord Comptons) was created Countesse of Buckingham, his Sister who had marryed a Gentleman of no extraordinary Family, had her husband made Earl of Denbigh, his two Brothers were made, one of them Viscount Purbach, the other Earl of Anglesey; besides many other of his friends and kindred highly advanced; For this Lord affected not an advancement that should be only personal, but rather be in common to all his Family, and was not of the disposition of some, who like to great Oaks, love to keep all that are neer them underwood; though it be in truth both against Nature and Policy to stand alone, when they would be lesse subject to the violence of windes, if more stood together. And though never any man had juster cause to be envyed then he, yet never any man was lesse envyed; because though his honours made him great, yet they made him not swell, but he retained the like temper of affable carriage after his advancement, as he had done before.

Mr. George Villers comes into the Kings favour, and of the many honours heaped suddenly upon him.

B But before all these favours were heaped upon him, many other great passages had intervened; for first, after the death of Thomas Earl of Dorset, Robert Earl of Salisbury had been Lord Treasurer, and after him Thomas Earl of Suffolk. But this Lord, though of a most noble disposition, yet as having had his training up another way, seemed lesse ready in discharging the place, and whether for this, or for his Ladies taking too much upon her by his indulgence; the staffe was soon after taken from him; after whom there came in, such a sequence of Treasurers as no Age before had ever seen; all wise and able men indeed; but yet in whom the Office seemed an imployment, rather to ennoble the Officer then to enrich the King. For first Sir Henry Montague was taken from the Kings Bench: and on the fourth of December, 1620. made Lord Treasurer, and presently upon it Earl of Manchester, and before the year went about put off. After whom Sir Lionel Cranfield, from Master of the Wards was made Lord Treasurer, and shortly after Earl of Middlesex: and then not only put off, but fined to pay the King fifty thousand pounds: After him, Sir James Lee from chief Justice of the Kings Bench was made Lord Treasurer, and soon after Earl of Marleborough; and then having made a good return of his Place, put it off himself. After him Sir Richard Weston, from Chancellor of the Exchequer was made Lord Treasurer, and soon after Earl of Portland: so as within the compasse of little more then four years, four Treasurers in a row were made four Earls; enough to make a prescription for all Treasurers hereafter; to claim a right of being made Earls, which yet I speak not as derogating from those worthy men, whose memories I reverence, but as observing, *Fatale fortuneque Virum*; so rare as that there was never any Precedent of the like.

Thomas Earl of Suffolk Lord Treasurer bath the Staffe taken from him.

Four Lord Treasurers made in four years.

E Also the five and twentieth of June, 1612. the Lord Sanquer, a Nobleman of Scotland, having in a private revenge suborned Robert Carlile, to murder John Turner a Master of Fence, thought by his greatnesse to have born it out; but the King respecting nothing so much as Justice, would not suffer Nobility to be a shelter for villany, but according to the Law, on the nine and twentieth of June, the said Lord Sanquer having been arraigned and condemned by the name of Robert Creighton, Esquire, was before Westminster Hall gate executed, where he dyed very penitent.

The Lord Sanquer of Scotland hanged, and why.

F About this time, the King in special favour for the present Plantation of English Colonies in Virginia granted a Lottery to be held at the West end of Pauls; whereof one Thomas Sharplys a Taylor of London had the chief Prize, which was four thousand Crowns in fair Plate.

A Lottery granted for the Plantation of Virginia.

At this time also the Corps of Mary late Queen of Scotland, the Kings Mother, was translated from Peterborough, to St. Peters Church in Westminster, and from thence was carryed to the Chappel Royal there; where it was interred in a Royal Tombe, which the King had erected for her.

G About this time also Sir Robert Sherley, third son of Sir Thomas Sherley of Suffex Knight, who sixteen years past had betaken himself to travel, and had served divers Christian Princes for the space of five years; but chiefly Rodolphus the Roman Emperour; who for his service, made him an Earl of the Empire: he afterward went into Persia, and served the Persian ten years, who made him General of the Artillery; and held him in so great account, that he gave him the Lady Terefta in marriage, whose sister was one of the Queens of Persia, after which the Persian employed him to sundry Princes of Europe; and sent him in special Embassage into England to King James, to whom he delivered his Letters, and shewed his Commission; all which signified the Persians great love and affection to his Majesty: with frank offer of free Commerce to all his Highnesse Subjects through all the Persians Dominions: After a years stay here, in which time his Lady lay in of a son, to whom the Queen was God-mother, and Prince Henry God-father; he left the child here in England, and then with his Lady departed into Persia.

Sir Robert Sherley comes into England Embassadour from the King of Persia.

An. Reg. 10.
Frederick
Prince Pala-
tine of the
Rhine comes
into England.

Prince Henry
falls sick and
dies.

The Count
Palatine is be-
trothed to the
Lady Eliza-
beth.
Is married to
her: and the
solemnity of
the marriage.

They take their
leave and de-
part.

The extent and
largeness of
the Palgrave's
Country.

The order of
Baronets cre-
ated: and why.

It was now the year 1612. and the tenth of King James his Reign, when the Illustrious Prince A
Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine; with whom a Treaty of marriage had been before, with
the Lady Elizabeth: on the sixteenth of October arrived at Gravesend; to whom the Duke of Lenox
and divers other Lords were sent by the King, who conducted him to White-hall, and from thence
into the great Banqueting house, where the King, the Queen, Prince Henry, and the Lady Eliza-
beth entertained him in all kinde manner, and after by Barge conducted him to Essex House, ap-
pointed for his lodging. It was many years since any Kings Daughter had been married in
England; which now happening, and to so Illustrious a Prince, was just cause of Triumph and
rejoycing; but see the misery of Humane Affairs; joy can no sooner be setting forth, but sor-
row will be sure to follow her at the heels, as now indeed it happened: for on the nine and
twentieth of October, the Prince Palatine, with all the great Lords of the Kingdom, in most jovial B
manner dining at Guild-hall: Prince Henry who was also invited and expected, could not come be-
ing newly fallen exceeding sick of a popular malignant Feaver, which reigned that year in most
parts of this Land: whereof on the sixth of November, between seven and eight a Clock at
night, at his Court of St. James he dyed: But he being infinitely beloved of the people, and one
that had given great hope of proving an Heroick Prince, it caused suspicion in many mens heads,
that his death was not without violence offered to Nature; some said, by bunches of Grapes given
him to eat: some by Gloves of a poysoned perfume, given him for a present: but these were but
idle rumours and conceits: It seems the Divine Providence had ordained it should be said of
him; *Hunc tantum terris ostendent Fata, nec ultra esse sinent*: whose death would have given a
great blow to the happinesse of this Kingdom, if there had not been another Prince left, of a mil- C
der Spirit perhaps, but so accomplished with all excellent endowments, that there could be no great
want of Prince Henry, as long as there was left Prince Charles. The Corps of Prince Henry; who
dyed at the age of eighteen years, eight moneths, and seventeen days, was drawn in a Chariot to the
Abbey Church at Westminster, and there interred in the Chappel Royal, on the seventh of December
following.

This Accident something appalled the general joy, but yet triumphs went on. Upon Saint
Thomas day, the Palsgrave and Grave Maurice were Elected Knights of the Garter; and the seven
and twentieth of December, the Palsgrave was betrothed to the Lady Elizabeth. On Sunday, the
seventh of February, the Palsgrave in person was entailed Knight of the Garter at Windsor, and D
at the same time was Grave Maurice entailed by his Deputy, Count Lodowick of Nassau. On the four-
teenth of February, being Shrove-Sunday, and Saint Valentines day, this happy marriage of the
Palsgrave with the Lady Elizabeth was solemnized in the Chappel at White-hall: The Bride was led
to Church by two Batchellors, her Brother Prince Charles, and the Earl of Northampton, Lord
Privie Seal: she was attired all in white, having a rich Crown of Gold upon her head, her hair
hanging down at length, curiously beset with Pearls and precious Stones, her Train supported
by twelve young Ladies in white garments: The King gave her in marriage, the Archbishop of
Canterbury married them, the Bishop of Bath and Wells preached the Bridal Sermon: which end-
ed, the Bride was led home by two married men, the Duke of Lenox, and the Earl of Notting-
ham, Lord Admiral. This marriage was solemnized the first night with a stately Masque of Lords
and Ladies: the second night with a magnificent Masque of the Gentlemen of the Middle- E
Temple, and Lincolns-Inne: The third night with a sumptuous Masque of the Gentlemen of the
Inner-Temple, and Grays-Inne, provided indeed then, but was not performed till Saturday night
following, by reason the concourse of people was so great, it would have hindered the Show.
After this the Lord Maior and Aldermen gave the Bride a Chain of Oriental Pearl, valued at two
thousand pounds: and now when all things had been done for honouring their Marriage, which
either love and observance could devise, or art magnificence and could perform, on the
tenth of April, the Bridegroom with his Bride took leave of the King and the Queen at Roche-
ster, (who had by Barge conducted them thither) and there taking ship on the nine and twentieth
of April they arrived at Flushing; from whence the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Arundel, the
Viscount Lisle, and the Lord Harington waited upon them to their chief City of Heydelburgh, in F
all places as they passed, being received with all state and magnificence: but then on the four-
teenth of June, the English Lords returning home, the Lord Harington dyed by the way at Wormes,
whose Corps was brought over, and buried in England. And here it will not be amisse, to
shew of what extent and largeness the Palsgrave's Countrey is, because of the iniquity of some
that seek to disgrace it. It is in length about two hundred English miles, taking the lower and
upper Countrey. In the lower he hath six and twenty walled Towns, besides an infinite
number of fair Villages, and two and twenty houses of residence. In the upper, not so many
walled Towns, and houses, but those that are generally fairer then in the lower, especially Amberg,
and New market.

But it is now time to look home; in the year 1609. the King having care for the quietnesse G
of Ireland, had granted to the City of London the present possession and Plantation in the Pro-
vince of Ulster: whereupon afterward in the year 1612. they sent thither about three hundred
persons, of all sorts of handy-crafts men, chiefly to inhabit the two Cities of London-Derric
and Coleraigne: where they ordained Alderman Cockain for the first Governour. And for
their advancing of this, or the like Plantation in Ireland, King James about this time began a
new Order of Knights, which are called Baronets, because they take place next to Barons
younger sons; and he appointed certain Laws, to make them capable that should be admitted.

First

- A First that they should maintain the number of thirty foot Souldiers in *Ireland*, for three years, after the rate of eight pence a day, and to pay the wages of one whole year, upon the passing of their Patent: Then that they should be Gentlemen of Bloud of three Descents; and lastly, should have land of Inheritance, in possession or immediate Reversion, to the value of a thousand pounds *per annum*: And to keep the Order from swarming, he stinted it within the number of only 200. and as the issue should fail the Order to cease. But he that will look, how well the end of the Institution, and the Laws of it have been observed, shall perhaps find it to be here, as it was in the Order of St. Michael in *France*, into which at first, there were none admitted, but Princes and eminent persons: but afterward, all sorts of men, without any difference, were admitted, that it came almost to be doubted, whether the Dignity of the Order did more grace
- B the persons, or the meannesse of the persons disgrace the Order: and indeed, when the Laws of an Institution are not in some measure observed, it seems to make a kinde of nullity in the collation.

About this time, on Sunday the 24. of *October*, an exemplar penance was imposed upon Sir Pecksal Brockes Knight, which was to stand at *Pauls Crosse* in a white sheet, holding a stick in his hand, having been formerly convicted before the high Commissioners, for many notorious Adulteries with divers women.

Sir Pecksal Brockes stands in a white sheet at *Pauls*, and why.

Christianus King of Denmark comes the second time into England: and how entertained.

- This year 1614 in the moneth of *July* Christianus King of Denmark, (out of his love to his Sister, and King James) came the second time into England; but as being now secure of himself, privately, and with a small company, so as he came to the Queen at *Somerset house* unexpected, and before any knowledge was had of his coming; but King James being then in progresse in *Bedfordshire*, and hearing of it, came presently back, and after he had entertained him here, with Hunting, Hawking, running at Ring, Bear-baiting, Plays, Fire-works, and Fencing, on the first of *August* Prince Charles brought him aboard his Ship, who then took his leave, and returned home.

In *October* this year was a call of Serjeants at Law, being 11. in number, namely, George Wilds, William Towes, Richard Bawtrie, Henry Finch, Thomas Chamberland, Francis Moore, Thomas Atrow, John Moore, Francis Harvey, Charles Chibburn, and Thomas Richardson; and in *Trinity Term* before there had two other been called, namely, Sir Randal Crew of *Lincolns Inne*, and Sir Robert Hitcham of *Grays Inne*, Knights.

A call of Serjeants at Law.

- D About this time an Embassador came from the young Emperor of *Russia* to King James, desiring his continual love and amity, and to be a means of making atonement, between him and the King of *Swethland*, and withall presented him with a rich present of Furs: which was no small honour to the King of great Britain to have so great a Potentate as the Emperor of *Russia* sollicite him to be his mediator.

Though King James out of a natural goodnesse was addicted to peace, yet out of providence he neglected not to be prepared for war, and thereupon in the year 1610. had granted priviledges to a society called of the Military Garden; and this year 1614. caused a Muster of men to be presented before him; which was performed to his great liking, and to the great commendation of the City.

The Military Garden first erected.

- E About this time a memorable Act was performed by M. Hugh Middleton, Citizen and Goldsmith of *London*, and born in *Denbighshire*, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrant, with infinite cost and indefatigable labour, brought water to the City of *London*, from the two great Springs of *Chadwell* and *Amwell* in *Hartfordshire*, having cut a Channel from thence to a place neer *Istington*, whither he conveyed it, to a large Pond, and from thence in pipes of young Elms to all places of the City, for as the Poet saith:

Water brought to *London* from *Chadwell* in *Hartfordshire*, by Sir Hugh Middleton.

Aetior ubi idus.

Nothing is so commodious for the life of man, as water.

- F Another memorable act was about this time done on the North side of *London*, called *Moorfields*, which being before invironed with deep stinking ditches and noysome common shoars, was now, not only made fair and sweet, but so levelled into walks and set with trees, that it is the pleasantest place of all the City.

Moor-Fields made into walks.

The next year being 1615, another memorable act, for the benefit and beauty of the City of *London*, was performed; for *Smithfield*, which was before a rude dirty place, was now paved all over, and strong rails sequestering the middle part of it, were set up, to make it a fair walking place, and fit for Market or any other use.

Smith-field first paved all over.

- The Lady *Arbella* a near kinswoman of the Kings, had sometime before, without the Kings privacy, secretly married Master William Seymour, younger Son of the Earl of *Hartford*, now Earl of *Hartford* himself; for which they were both committed to the Towers and now this year on the seven and twentieth day of *September* she ended her life there, and was buried in the Chappel Royal at *Westminster*.

The Lady *Arbella* secretly marries Mr. William Seymour.

She dyes in the Tower.

This year also in *July* were enstalled Knights of the Garter, Francis Earl of *Rutland*, Sir George Villers Master of the Horse, and Sir Robert Sidney, Viscount *Lisle*, and in another kinde of Honour, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Carew*, and Doctor Andrews Bishop of *Ely*, were sworn Privy Counfellours.

Wales

Prince Charles
is created
Prince of
Wales,

Wales by the death of Prince Henry, had been a good while without a Prince, and now to supply that place, Prince Charles is created Prince of Wales: In joy whereof, the Town of Ludlow in Shropshire, and the City of London, performed great Triumphs: and the more to honor his Creation, there were made five and twenty Knights of the Bath; all of them Lords or Barons sons: and yet more to honour it, there were forty selected Gentlemen of the Innes of Court, that performed a solemn Jufts at Barryers, with great magnificence.

Sir Edw. Coke,
the L. Egerton
and Sir Henry
Yelverton, put
from their
places.

This year was a Censure of divers great Delinquents, for first Sir Edward Coke, was upon displeasure discharged from being Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench; and two days after his discharge, Sir Henry Montague the Kings Serjeant at Law, was placed in his room: Next to him the Lord Egerton, whether disabled by sicknesse or age, to exercise the place, or upon displeasure also, had the Seal taken from him, which was delivered to Sir Francis Bacon the King's Attorney; he made first Lord Keeper; and the Lord Egerton dying soon after, Lord Chancellor. Not long after him Sir Henry Yelverton the Kings Attorney, for adding new privileges to the Londoners Charter, without the Kings privity, was in displeasure put from his place; and in his room was placed Sir Thomas Coventry, the Kings Solicitor. But a while after, Sir Henry Yelverton, was made a puny Judge of the Common Pleas; having indeed the reputation of an excellent Lawyer.

Sir John Bennet
Judge of the
Prerogative
Court put from
his place, and
why,

And yet this work of Censuring stayed not here, for much about this time, Thomas Earl of Suffolk Lord Treasurer of England, had the staffe of his Office taken from him; which was soon after delivered to Sir Henry Montague Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench. If Sir John Bennet, Judge of the Prerogative Court, had made a little more haste, he might have made one in this number of Delinquents: but he came short three or four years, and then being charged by his own servant with bribery, he was put from his place and censured in the Star-chamber to pay twenty thousand pounds: and in his room was placed Sir William Byrde a man of more integrity.

The King
makes a jour-
ney into Scot-
land: where
he stays six
moneths.

Though King James upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, came to reside in England, yet he forgot not that Scotland was his native Countrey; and therefore after he had spent some years in England, to acquaint himself with the State of the Kingdom, in March this year one thousand six hundred and sixteenth, he made a Journey into Scotland: for though he had left very able men to sit at the Helm there in his absence, yet he knew, that as it is the Masters Eye, that makes the Horse fat: so it is the Princes presence sometimes that keeps out many distempers in a State, that would otherwise creep in; and now, when in his staying six Moneths there, he had seen all things well settled, both in the Ecclesiastical State and in the Temporal, and made it appear that he resided not in England out of any neglect of Scotland; but to the end, he might be in the place of most conveniency to both Kingdoms: on the fifteenth of September, he returned to London, not more to the grief of the Scots to leave him, then to the joy of the English to receive him, so much was King James as a just and wise Prince, beloved of both the Nations.

Sir Walter
Rawleigh is
set at liberty, to
fetch gold
from Guyana.

The 14 of February 1617. in the fifteenth year of this King Francis Ashley of the middle Temple London Esquire, where he had been Reader the year before, was by a writ called to be Serjeant at Law, *solum Serviens ad legem electus*, and the first of July following was Knighted, and about that time was Steward of the Marshalsey of the Kings house; and by King Charles, the fifth of May, in the first year of his Reign was by letters Patents made one of the Kings Serjeants at Law; and so continued unto his death; which happened by the will of God the 28 of November, 1635. at Serjeants Inne in Fleetstreet: and was Recorder of Doncaster in Dorsetshire, where together with his Lady in the great Church he lies Involved: leaving Dorothy his only Daughter and heir (by the Lady Anne his wife, the eldest Daughter and Coheir of Bernard Samways of Dorsetshire Esquire) married unto the Honourable Denzell Holles Esquire, whose only issue is Francis Holles of Winterborne St. Martin in the County of Dorset Esquire.

He sacks and
pillageth the
Town of
Saint Thome.

This Fact
Gundamore
aggravateb
against him.

Now comes to be related a matter of special observation; Sir Walter Rawleigh had lived a condemned man many years in the Tower, and now his Destiny brought him to his end by liberty, which it could not do by imprisonment; for out of a longing for liberty, he propounded a project to the King, upon which (as he was a well spoken man, and of a great capacity) he set such colours of probability; especially gilding it over, with the Gold he would fetch from a Mine in Guyana; and that without any wrong at all to the King of Spain (if he might be allowed to go the Journey) that the King, if he gave not credit that he could perform it, at least gave way that he should undertake it: and thereupon with divers ships accompanied with many Knights & Gentlemen of quality, he set forward on the Voyage; but when after long search or shew of search, no such place of Treasure, or no such Treasure could be found, whether it were, that he thought it a shame, to return home with doing nothing: or that his *malin Genius* thrust him upon the Design: he fell upon Saint Thome, a Town belonging to the King of Spain: sacked it, pillaged it, and burnt it: and here was the first part of his Tragical Voyage acted, in the death of his eldest son: the last part was acted in his own death at his return: For Gundamore the Spanish Lieger, did so aggravate this fact of his to the King, against him; that it seemed nothing would give satisfaction but Rawleighs head, without which he doubted there would follow a breach of the League between the two Nations. Rawleigh excused it, by saying that he was urged to it by the Spaniards first assaulting of him; and besides, that he could not come at the Myne, without winning this Town: but Gundamore was too strong an adversary for him; and the King preferring the publique Peace, before the life of one man, already condemned, gave way

A way to have the Sentence of his former Condemnation executed upon him; and thereupon, brought to the Kings Bench Bar, he was not newly Arraigned or Indicted, as being already *Mortuum in Lege*, but only hath the former Sentence averred against him, and so carryed to the Gatehouse, and from thence the next morning to the Parliament Yard: a Scaffold was there erected, upon which after fourteen years reprivall, his head was cut off: at which time, such abundance of blood issued from his veins, that shewed he had stock of Nature enough left to have continued him many years in life, though now above threescore years old, if it had not been taken away by the hand of Violence.

For which he is beheaded.

And this was the end of the great Sir *Walter Rawleigh*: great sometimes in the favour of Queen Elizabeth, and next to *Drake* the great scourge and hate of the Spaniard, who had many things to be commended in his life; but none more, then his constancy at his death, which he took with so undaunted a resolution, that one might perceive, he had a certain expectation of a better life after it: so far he was from holding those Atheistical opinions; an aspersions whereof some traducing persons had cast upon him.

About this time King James made a progresse to the University of Cambridge, where delighted with the Disputations and other Scholastical exercises, he stayed three whole days, and could have been content to have stayed as many years: for next being a King, he was made to be a Scholar.

The King makes a progresse to Cambridge; where he stays three dayes.

In the year 1619. being the seventeenth year of King James his reign, that knot of love which above twenty years had been tyed, between him and his Queen, was by death dissolved: for on Tuesday this year the second of March, Queen Anne dyed at Hampton Court, whose Corps was brought to Denmark house, and from thence conveyed to Westminster: where in the Royal Chapel with great solemnity it was interred: a Princess very memorable for her vertue, and not a little for her Fortune, who besides being a Queen, was so happy as to be Mother of such admired children, as she brought into the World. But the dissolving of this knot cast the King into an extreme sicknesse; and after some recovery, into a Relapse: from which notwithstanding, it pleased God to deliver him, as having yet some great work to do.

An. Reg. 17. Queen Anne dies.

This year on Munday the 3 of May, one Mr. Williams a Barrister of the Middle Temple, was arraigned at the Kings Bench, for libelling, and for writing Books against the King: and upon Wednesday following was hanged and quartered at Charing Crosse.

But an action of another nature was performed this year, the seventeenth of July, not unworthy the relating, which was this; that one Bernard Calvert of Andover, rode from St. Georges Church in Southwark to Dover, from thence passed by Barge to Callice in France, and from thence returned back to Saint Georges Church the same day, setting out about three a clock in the morning, and returned about eight a clock in the Evening, fresh and lusty.

Bernard Calvert his speedy journey from Southwark to Callice and back again in one day.

In the year 1621. a Parliament was holden at Westminster; wherein two great examples of Justice were shewed; which for future terror are not unfit to be here related: One upon Sir Giles Montpelion, a Gentleman otherwise of good parts; but for practising sundry abuses in erecting and setting up new Innes and Alehouses, and exacting great sums of money of people, by pretence of Letters Patents granted to him for that purpose, was sentenced to be degraded, and disabled to bear any office in the Common-wealth, though he avoided the execution by flying the land; but upon Sir Francis Michell, a Justice of Peace of Middlesex, and one of his chief Agents, the sentence of Degradation was executed, and he made to ride with his face to the Horse-tail through the City of London. The other example was of Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, Lord Chancellor of England, who for bribery was put from his place, and committed to the Tower: but after some few days enlarged: in whose place Doctor Williams Dean of Westminster was made Lord Keeper.

Sir Giles Montpelion is sentenced to be degraded, and why. Sir Francis Michell is degraded, and in what manner. Sir Francis Bacon Lord Chancellor put from his place for bribery.

The Count Palatine being now strengthened with the alliance of the King of Great Britain, was thought a fit man to be King of Bohemia, and accordingly was elected, by the States of that Kingdom, but he was no sooner invested in the Crown; but the Emperor with great Forces assaulted him in Prague, and not only drove him with his wife and children from thence; but took from him also his own Patrimony the Palatinate: so as though now a King, he was faine to fly to the States of the Low-Countries for a place of residence. King James though he had never given his consent to the Palgraves taking upon him that Kingdom, as fore-seeing in his great judgement what the event would be: yet in this distresse, he could not forbear to take care of his Daughter, and thereupon sent Sir Richard Weston, the same that was after Lord Treasurer, in Embassage to the Emperour to sollicite the restoring of the Palatinate to the Palgrave; but he returning without successe, the King had then conference with Count Gundomar the King of Spains Legier in England, what course might be taken to procure the restoring it: who made him answer, there could be no better course then to make a marriage between his Son the Prince of Wales, and the Infant of Spain, which he said would easily be effected, if the Prince might have leave to make a Journey into Spain. King James though he considered the inveterate grudges between Spain and England, and how dangerous it might be to put the heir of the Kingdom into the Spaniards hands, yet grounding himself upon the saying, *Fidelem si putaveris, facies*: and drawn on by the insinuating speeches of Count Gundomar, not perhaps without some inclination in the Marquess of Buckingham, was contented at last the Prince should go. And so Prince Charles sending his ships about, and taking along with him only the Marquess of Buckingham (who in the time of his being in Spain was created Duke of Buckingham) Eudymion Porter,

The Palgrave is chosen King of Bohemia, but is soon driven out, and his Palatinate seized on. The King hath conference with Gundomar how the Palatinate might be restored. Gundomar advieth by making a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Infant of Spain. Hereupon the Prince is sent into Spain, and how accompanied.

Porter, and Mr. Francis Cottington: (two that were well acquainted with the language and affairs of Spain) he took his journey by the way of France, went to Paris, and secretly in disguise to the Court there, where he had the sight of that Lady, that might well have stayed him from going further, but yet on he went.

Gundomar gets much money of Ladies by perswading them of the certainty of the match.

In the mean time Gundomar a cunning man, and one that besides his Master's had ends of his own, and could play his game no lesse for his own profit then his Masters Honour; as he had perswaded the King of the facility of the Match with Spain, so he perswaded a certainty of it, especially amongst Catholick Ladies, by which means he brought no small store of Grist to his own Mill, receiving from one Lady three hundred pounds to be made Groom of the Stool, when the Spanish Princeesse should come; of another a good round sum to be Mother of the Maids, and of divers other the like for other places.

The Princes entertainment in Spain.

But the Prince being arrived in Spain, was received indeed with all the demonstrations of love and kindnesse that could be devised, so as the charge of his entertainment was said to stand the King of Spain in nine and forty thousand Duckats; but yet his acquaintance with the Lady was much restrained, for in all the time of his staying in Spain, (which was no lesse then eight moneths, being from February to October) he saw her but very seldom, and that at good distances, never spake with her but twice, and that before company, besides that his speeches were limited, how much and what he should say, far from any means of tying the knot between them which was pretended. What the cause should be was much in obscurity; some thought that a difference between the Duke of Buckingham, and the Count Olivares, the King of Spain's great Favorite, was a great hindrance of the proceeding, but other, and more likely, that the Spaniards indeed never really intended the Match at all, but had drawn the Prince into Spain for other ends: but what those ends were, was no lesse uncertain; one thought it was done to hold the Prince in a Treaty of marriage with a Daughter of Spain, till the Daughters of France should be bestowed, thereby to keep him from that alliance: but others and more likely, that the King of Spain entertained this Treaty with the King of great Britain, meaning to spin it out till he had compassed some designs in the Low-Countries, and the Palatinate, at least to make King James lesse vigilant for those parts.

What hindered the proceeding of the match.

The King sends for the Prince to return home.

But when much time had been spent in protracting, upon pretence of difficulties in obtaining the Popes dispensation, King James partly wearied with delay, but chiefly angry with delusion, sent to the Prince, with all speed to return into England; which the Prince presently signified to the King of Spain, and had his leave to depart; but upon promise to continue the Treaty of the marriage still. Though it was said, the Prince was gone but a few days on his journey, when a Post was sent to have stayed him, if he had been overtaken. But whether it was so or no, it was Gods Providence that he came safely to his ships, and in them safely into England; arriving at Portsmouth, where he was beheld of the people, with no lesse gladnesse, then the Sun after a long Eclipse: and now his safe returning did both justifie King James his judgment in suffering him to go, and the King of Spains justice, in suffering him to come back: and was cause, that the people began to have a better opinion of the Spanish faith, then they had before. But now it presently breaks out, that this match with Spain could never take effect: for King James having received Declarations of the Articles touching the marriage, found many very strict and large for exercise of the Catholick Religion: but none at all for restitution of the Palatinate; which made him so much discontented, that he presently brake off all Treaty of the marriage, and signified as much, not only to the King of Spain, but to divers other Princes of Christendom: Upon which breach two great Points were presently had in consultation: One for preparing Forces, for recovering the Palatinate by way of Arms, which could not be done by a way of friendship: and for this purpose, a Council of war was called, and a proposition resolved on both of men and money, for undertaking the enterprise: as also a great contribution by way of benevolence was collected; towards which, the compiler of this work, gave himself fifty pounds: as many other far greater sums, though the collection went not through the whole Land; by reason there was hope given of a peaceable reconciliation: so as many that were not over-hasty in their payments escaped without contributing at all. The other point was for providing a fit Wife for the Prince, in some other place. It was said the States of Holland offered a very great portion in marriage to the Prince, if he would match with some Lady of that Countrey, but matches are made in Heaven, and there was a young Lady of France destined to his bed: and for this purpose, the Earl of Carlisle, and the Earl of Holland were sent into France, to treat of a marriage with the younger Daughter of the great Henry the fourth, King of France deceased, and Sister to the present King Lewis; which marriage afterward took effect, but was not accomplished in King James his dayes; who dyed soon after the agreement.

A consultation had, to recover the Palatinate by Arms.

A Treaty of marriage with a younger daughter of the King of France which afterwards took effect.

A Call of fifteen Serjeants Law.

It was now the year 1623. in which in Michaelmas Term, there was a Call of fifteen Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast in the Middle Temple Hall.

Two things in this Kings days grew to lose their Lustre. One the exercise of Tilting; which in Queen Elizabeths time, was so much used, that no year passed without a special solemnity in that kinde. The other, the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners and Yeomen of the Guard: which in her time consisted of the choycest persons both for stature and other good parts throughout the Realm; and was so great a grace to her Court, that no Prince of Christendom could shew the like: but King James was so intentive to Realities, that he little regarded shews: and thereby both these in his time came utterly to be neglected: No solemnity

A solemnity of Arms but very rare, no regard had what persons were admitted into the other places.

We may here observe, how the Surname of the Kings of England, hath at sundry times been changed. From *William* the Conqueror, to King *Henry* the second, what surname they had, or wheth rthey had any or no, is most uncertain: but then King *Henry* the second brought in the French surname of *Plantagenet*: which continued in all the succeeding Kings, till King *Henry* the seventh; and he brought in the Welsh surname of *Teuther*, which continued the surname of all the succeeding Princes; till King *James* the sixth of Scotland: and he brought in the Scottish surname of *Steward*: in which it is likely to continue, (and God grant it may do so) to the worlds end.

B Some passages of small moment I confess are omitted by me, in this Reign of King James, as whereof, for want of knowing the particulars, I dare not venture upon making the Relation: which if some men would have done, the truth of our Chronicles should not have been mingled with so many falsities.

Of his Taxations.

IN his second year, in the moneth of September, he sent Privy Seals, to the wealthiest Citizens of London, for moneys to be borrowed of them: and in October following, the customs of Merchandises, both outward and inward, were raised, and then were letten out to Farm. In a Parliament holden at Westminster, the third year of his Reign, there were given him three entire Subsidies, and six fifteens by the Temporality, and by the Clergy four entire Subsidies. This year also Henry Lord Mordant, convicted in the Star-chamber, for divers misprisions, was fined to pay ten thousand Marks, and Edward Lord Starston for the like offence to pay six thousand Marks, and Henry Earl of Northumberland for offences laid to his charge, to pay thirty thousand pounds, and some years after Sir John Bennet, Judge of the Prerogative Court was fined to pay twenty thousand pounds. In his fourth year he repayed threescore thousand pounds to the Citizens of London, which the Londoners had lent to Queen Elizabeth, three years before her death; an act by which he got more love, then he payed money. In his seventh year he had aid throughout England, for making his eldest Son Prince Henry Knight: which though levied with great moderation, brought him in great sums of money. In his eighteenth year, in a Parliament holden at Westminster, the Temporality gave him two Subsidies, and the Clergy three: and in another Parliament, in the year 1623. the Temporality gave him three Subsidies: and three fifteens; the Clergy four Subsidies. Besides these Subsidies he sent abroad many Great Privy Seals, and had also a Benevolence throughout the Realm: not without some grudging, but without any just cause; for it should have been remembered, that he took it not out of covetousness to gather wealth, but out of very necessity to supply wants: For by his employing many Embassadors in Ordinary, many Extraordinary, by his necessary bounty to his followers, and by his charge of keeping several Courts; none of all which he could avoid: his expences were far greater then any of his Predecessors had ever been.

The Customs of Merchandise raised.

Privy Seals sent out, and also a Benevolence.

The cause of the Kings great expences.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

THE day of his removing from Charter house, at his first coming into England, he caused Proclamation to be made, that all Monopolies and Protections should cease; as likewise all oppressions done by Salt-Peter men, by Purveyers, and Carters. On the 26. of May following he set forth a Proclamation, restraining all persons under great penalties from killing of Deer, or any kinde of Fowl used for Hawking. The seventh of May, Proclamation was made against Robberies on the borders: and on the nineteenth of May, a nother for uniting the people inhabiting about the borders of England and Scotland, to live in love and quietnesse. In this first year, in a Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, that neither Archbishop, nor Bishop should Alienate, Grant, or Demise, or in any sort convey, no not to the King himself any of the Honors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, being parcel of the possession of his Archbishop, or Bishoprick: and if any were, it should be utterly void, and of no effect, notwithstanding any former Law, Act, or Ordinance to the contrary. He then also caused himself by Proclamation to be enstiled King of Great Britain, that the division of England and Scotland might be no more remembered. In his second year, by his Letters Patents he incorporated the Felt-makers of London, by the name of Masters, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Art or Myserie of the Felt-makers, granting them divers privileges and liberties for their good government of their Corporation. In November, of his second year, were Proclaimed in London certain new pieces of coyn, both of gold and silver, with the true valuation and weights of them, according to the Mint of both Nations, English and Scottish. In a Parliament holden the third year of his Reign, the Oath of Allegiance was devised and ordained, and soon after ministred to all sorts of people.

Killing of Deer, or Fowl restrained.

No Bishop to alienate any Lands, nor to the King himself.

He is enstiled King of Great Britain.

The Felt-makers made a Corporation.

The Oath of Allegiance first devised and ordained.

Flags how to be born in Ships.

This year also he made Proclamation to redresse the misemployment of Lands, or goods given to charitable uses. Also this year, he set forth a Proclamation for bearing of Flags in Ships to be in this manner, that from thenceforth all the Subjects of great Britain should bear in their

Inmates forbidden, and new buildings restrained.
The Forefronts to be made of brick.
An order for planting of Mulberry Trees, for encrease of Silk-worms.
Coyns of gold raised.
The Apothecaries made a Corporation.
Duels and single combats restrained.

main top, the *Red Crosse* commonly called *Saint Georges Crosse*, and the *White Crosse*, commonly called *St. Andrews Crosse* joyned together, and the Subjects of *South Britain* should carry in their Foretop only the *Red Crosse* as they were wont; and the Subjects of *North Britain* only the *White Crosse*. In this fourth year on the tenth of *June* he set forth a Proclamation, commanding all Jesuits, Seminary Priests and Fryers to depart the Realm before the first of *August* following: and never to return upon pain of death, according to divers Statutes in that behalf provided. In his second year he had set forth a Proclamation against inmates and increase of new buildings, which being little regarded, now in his fourth year he renewed the said Proclamation, adding withall that the Forefronts and windows of all new buildings should be either of Brick or Stone; for disobeying whereof, many were called in the Star-chamber, and there fined. In his fifth year, he gave order for planting of Mulberry Trees, and breeding of Silk-worms, that *England* might be a Countrey as well of Silk as Cloth. In his eleventh year, he instituted the Order of the Baronets, which hath much degenerated since his Institution, and thereby having been devised for the benefit of *Ireland*, hath caused but little contentment unto *England*. This year also the King himself in person came to the Star-chamber, where he had appointed the Mint-men to meet, and there, for the better keeping of Coyns of Gold within the Realm, he raised the prizes of them; ordaining the price called the Unity, which went before but for twenty shillings, to be current now for two and twenty, the double Crown and all other pieces to encrease in the like proportion. In his fifteenth year, he granted to the Apothecaries of *London* to be a Corporation for themselves, and their successors for ever; and by Letters Patents made them a Body Politick, and Corporate. In his time by his appointment a strict decree passed in the Star-chamber against Duels and single Combats, and a strict Law was made in Parliament against stabbing with a dagger or knife, making it to be a wilful Murther,

Affairs of the Church in his time.

A conference in matters of Religion is held before the King at Hampton Court, and how the matter proceeded.

THE King as a Religious Prince, desiring nothing so much as to settle Peace in the Church, and hearing of some dissensions of his Divines in point of Religion, in the very first year of his Reign, appointed a Conference to be holden before himself at *Hampton Court*, to which were called divers Bishops, Deans, and Doctors of one side, and of the other four eminent Divines; namely Doctor *Reynolds*, Doctor *Sparkes*, Mr. *Knewstubs*, and Mr. *Chadderton*: who all meeting before the King the 14 day of *January*: the King first signified the cause of his calling them together, and then told them he was there ready to hear, what they could object or say against the present Government of the Church: whereupon Dr. *Reynolds* being their Foreman, reduced all matters disliked, or questioned to these four Heads.

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserved in purity, according to Gods Word.
2. That good Pastors might be planted in all Churches to preach the same.
3. That the Church Government might be sincerely administred, according to the Word of God.
4. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more encrease of Piety.

Out of these Heads, he drew and moved divers points: One that Confirmation might not be by Bishops only, but that every Pastor in his Parish might Confirm: but this was thought to trench too much upon the Jurisdictions of Bishops, and to be a step to bring in a Presbyterian Government, which the King much disliked; and the Bishop of *Worcester* challenged Dr. *Reynolds* with all his learning to shew, where ever he had read, that Confirmation was at all used in ancient times, by any other then by Bishops. Another motion of Dr. *Reynolds* was; That there might be a new Translation of the Bible, because the present Translations were corrupt, and not answerable to the truth of the Original; whereof he alleaged divers Examples; particularly, that in the 105. *Psal.* 28. v. where it is said, *They were not Obedient*, when in the Original it is, *They were not Disobedient*: To this it was agreed, that a new Translation should be made: and accordingly soon after was performed by the most learned Divines of the Kingdom; and is that, which is now used. After many other points moved by Doctor *Reynolds*, he came at last to subscription: Intreating it might not be exacted, as heretofore; which many good men refused for these reasons. First, because the Apocryphal Books are by the Common Prayer Book appointed to be read; albeit in some of them there are manifest errors, directly repugnant to the Scriptures. To this, the King himself answered, that as he would not wish all Canonieal Books to be read in the Church, unlesse there were one to Interpret; so he would wish no Apocryphal to be read wherein was any error: but for the other which were clear and correspondent to the Scriptures he would have them read; seeing there was good use of them, to make up the story of the Persecution of the *Jews*; but withall he would have the people be taught, they were not to teach a man, either to sacrifice to the dead, or to kill himself. The next scruple against subscription was, That in the Common Prayer Book, it is twice set down *Jesus said to his Disciples*, when by the Original Text it is plain *He spake to the Pharisees*. To which it was answered, that for any thing could be gathered by the place, he might speak aswell to the one as to the other: But the King, for more plainnesse sake, willed, that the word *Disciples*, should be omitted, and only the words, *Jesus said*, to be printed in a different letter, that it might appear, to be no part of the Text.

Another

A Another scruple was, concerning the Crosse in Baptism, which Doctor *Reynolds* confessed to have ever been used since the Apostles time, at going abroad, or entering into the Church, or at their Prayers and Benedictions; but doubted of the ancient use of it in Baptism: to which the Bishop of *Winchester* answered, that in *Constantine's* time it was used in Baptism, and the Dean of *Westminster* shewed out of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen* and others, that in their time it was used in *Immortali lavacro*: which could be nothing but Baptism: and this the King judged to be antiquity enough to warrant the continuance of it still. At last Master *Knewstubs* moved, how far an Ordinance of the Church was to binde them, without impeachment of their Christian liberty? At which the King seemed much moved, and told him, he would not argue that point with him, but answer therein as Kings are wont to speak in Parliament *Le Roy s'avisera*; and therefore, I charge you (said he) never
 B speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey, when the Church hath once ordained it. Doctor *Reynolds* added; that the Crosse should be abandoned, because in the time of Popery it had been superstitiously abused. To which his Majesty answered, that his very reason was an inducement to him to have it retained still: For in as much as it was abused (so you say) to superstition in time of Popery, it doth plainly imply, that it was well used before Popery.

Concerning
the Crosse in
Baptism.

The next thing objected, was the wearing of the Surplice: to which the King answered, that seeing it appeared out of Antiquity, that in the celebration of Divine Service, a different habit appertained to the Ministry, and principally of the white Linnen; he saw no reason, but that in this Church, as it had been, for comeliness and order sake, it might be still continued.

Concerning
the wearing of
the Surplice.

At last of all, Master *Chadderton*, and Master *Knewstubs* requested, that in regard of some tender
 C Consciences, the Surplice and Crosse in Baptism, might not be urged: To which the King himself answered, If after the Gospels preaching five and forty years amongst you, there be any yet in these points unsatisfied, I doubt it proceeds rather out of stubbornness of opinion, then out of tenderness of Conscience; and therefore let them conform themselves, or else they shall hear further of it.

It was now observed, that in all their Objections, there was not a word spoken against Bishops, nor against the Ring in Marriage; for Dr. *Reynolds* himself confessed that the Ring was a very meer Ceremony; and the King affirmed he should not think himself rightly married, if he had not been married with a Ring: And as for Bishops, he declared himself to be verily perswaded, they were Divine Ordinations, and most necessary to Monarchy; and would often say, *No Bishop, no King*. Many other points were handled, as about Predestination, Absolution, and Remission of

Concerning
the Ring in
marriage, and
Bishops.

D sins, Baptizing by women, about the words in Marriage, *With my body I thee worship*, the Oath *ex Officio*, the high Commission and some other; in all which the King gave so good satisfaction, that they all joyntly promised to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be his mind to have it so: and the King was so admired for his excellent Resolutions and Answers, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* said, undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the special assistance of Gods Spirit. After this Conference, the King in his second year set forth a Proclamation, to confirm the Ecclesiastical Government, and Book of Common Prayer, in the form and estate as Queen *Elizabeth* left them.

The Book of
Common
Prayer confirmed
by the
King.

After this, he sent divers learned Divines into *Scotland*, to have a Conference with the Divines there; and if it might be to reduce the two Kingdoms to an uniformity of Religion, as he brought them to an union of Possession. And now entering into consideration of this Title, of being
 E Defender of the Faith: he conceived it might extend not only to his own Dominions, but in some sort to Neighbouring Countries: if not in Authority, at least in care: and hereupon hearing that the States of the *Low-Countries* were determined to entertain one *Vorstius* to be publick Professor of Divinity in *Leyden*, and knowing him, though otherwise a learned man, yet tainted with many erroneous opinions, concerning the Essence and Substance of God, making him to be *Quale & quantum*, changing Eternity into Eviternity: teaching Eternity to consist of a number of Ages, and denying God to be *Purum actum*, but to have in some sort *aliquid Diversitatis, & Multiplicitatis in seipso; etiam Principium cujusdam mutabilitatis*; He earnestly solicited the States, both by his own Letters, and
 F by his Lieger Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by no means to admit the said *Vorstius* into that place: lest his doctrine having once infected their Country, might soon after spread it self into his Dominions. Which request of his, after much soliciting, the States at length granted, and expelled *Vorstius* from amongst them.

The King solicits the
States of the
Low-Countries
not to admit
Vorstius, and
why.

At this time a Synod was assembled at *Dort* in *Holland*, consisting of learned Divines, sent from the Count Palatin of the *Rhine*, from *Hassia*, from *Zuiterland*, from the Church of *Geneva*, from *Bern*, *Emden*, *Holland*, *Zeeland*, *Virecht*, *Friseland* and other Provinces: Some also sent from *England*, as namely, *George Bishop* of *Landaffe*, *John Davenant* Professor of Divinity in the University of *Cambridge*, *Samuel Ward*, Master of *Sidney College* in *Cambridge*, *The Good Dr.* of Divinity, and *Walter Belcanquell*, a Scottish man Bachelor of Divinity: Which Synod was Assembled to examine and determine the Doctrine of *Arminius*; first concerning Gods Predestination, Election, and Reprobation; then concerning Christs death and Mans redemption by it; then concerning Mans corruption and conversion to God; then concerning the perseverance of the Saints: In all which points the doctrine of *Arminius* was rejected, as also of *Vorstius*, and the true Doctrine by a general consent, together with the Approbation of the Lords the States; which yet the Papists made so little reckoning of, that one of them in scorn, made Echo to censure it in this Distich:

A Synod held
at *Dort*, to examine
the errors
of *Arminius*,
to which Synod
many English
Divines went.

Dordraci Synodus? Nodus. Eborum integer? eger.

Convectus? Ventus. Sessio Stramen? Amen.

Q q 2

But

But who knows not, that ill will never spake well, and that nothing is so obvious in the mouth of an adversary, as scandals and invectives?

Antonius de Dominis Archbishop of *Spalato* comes into England, and sets forth Books for the Protestant Religion.

After five years stay here he retracted all, and went to Rome, but dyed there in prison.

John Trask for holding divers Judaical opinions is censured, and after three years recants. *George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by misfortune killing a man is Censured.

In the year 1616, *Mar. Antonius de Dominis*, Archbishop of *Spalato*, in the Territory of *Venice*, came into England, leaving his Countrey (as he affirmed) for Religion; whereof he set forth in writing many reasons, and being thereupon entertained by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was afterward made Dean of *Windsor*, and Master of the *Savoy*; in which time he preached publicly divers times before divers Lords of the Council, printed in *London* the first four of his ten Books, Intituled *Of the Common-wealth of the Church*: wherein with great earnestnesse he maintained the Doctrine and Discipline of the Protestants: But after all this, whether all he had done was but dissembling from the beginning, or whether out of remorse of conscience, he repented him of that he had done: after five years staying here, he retracted all he had said or written before: which so incensed King *James*, that he commanded him (within three days at his perill) to depart the Realm: who thereupon went to *Rome*, and there inveighed as bitterly against the Protestants, as he had done in *England* against the Papists; hoping at least for Pardon, if not for Preferment: but, notwithstanding his Recantation; according to the Law of the Inquisition, having once Revolted, (though now Returned) he suffered the death of an Heretick, though not the shame; had the punishment of a Martyr, but not the honour; and was publicly burnt at *Rome*, yet not burnt alive, but dying in prison and then buried, it is said, his body was afterwards taken up and burned.

In the Kings tenth year, two obstinate *Arian* Hereticks, *Bartholomew Legat*, and *Edw. Wightman*, were burnt for Heresie, *Legat* in *Smithfield*, and *Wightman* at *Lichfield*.

In his sixteenth year, one *John Trask*, a pretended Minister, was Censured in the *Star-chamber*, for depraving the Ecclesiastical Government, and for holding divers Judaical Opinions; as, that it was not lawful to do any thing forbidden in the old Law, nor to keep the Christian Sabbath; for which he was set on the Pillory at *Westminster*, and from thence whipt to the *Fleet*, and there to remain prisoner: but three years after he writ a Recantation of all his former Heresies and Schismatical Opinions.

In this Kings time, *George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being a hunting in a Park, and shooting at a Deer; his arrow by mischance glaunced and kill'd a man: upon which fact, it was much debated, Whether by it he were not become irregular, and ought to be deprived of his Archiepiscopal Function as having his hands imbrued (though against his will) in blood: but *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester* standing much in his defence; as likewise *Sir Henry Martin*, the Kings advocate, gave such reasons in mitigation of the Fact, that he was cleared from all imputation of crime; and thereupon adjudged Regular, and in state to continue his Archiepiscopal charge: yet himself (out of a religious tenderesse of minde) kept the day of the year, in which the mischance happen'd, with a solemn Fast, all his life after.

Works of Piety done by this King, or by other in his time.

Structures of Piety King *James* made none at all, nor many of magnificence, only the great Banqueting House at *White-hall*; a wall of Brick about his Park at *Greenwich*, another at *Theobalds*, and some little buildings at *Roydon*, and such like. His greatest charity was expressed by largesses and Pensions: as first where the Gentlemen of his Chappel, being 33 in number, had each of them but 30 pounds a year fee, he made it up 40. Then he encreased the Pensions of his Alms Knights of *Windsor*, being 13 in number, from twelve pence a day to two shillings. Then as he encreased his number of the Yeomen of the Guard, from sevenscore to two hundred, so he encreased their Pensions, from two shillings a day, for three moneths in the Summer, to seven groats a day for six moneths in the Summer. Then, where at his coming, he found but only four Judges in the Courts of Law at *Westminster*, he added a fifth, with the like allowance as the former had; besides many other Pensions of like nature. But the works of Piety done by others in his time, were very many: whereof we may justly set in the first place, the repairing of *Pauls* Church, begun in his time, though not finished till many years after; a work of as great cost and labour, as the first founding of it: towards the furtherance whereof though many well devoted persons contributed liberally, yet none was more industrious, then the learned Doctor *Land*, first Bishop of *London*, and after Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who also was a bountiful Benefactor to the Colledge of *Saint Johns* in *Oxford*, where he had his Education. Next to him his Predecessor next before him, the worthy *George Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a fair Almshouse at *Guilford* in *Surry* where he was born, as likewise *Robert* the second Earl of *Dorset*, founded another in *Suffex*; to the maintenance whereof, he gave Lands to the value of three hundred pounds a year. But of all the Almshouses that were ever founded in Christendom, there is none I think can parallel that of *Thomas Sutton* Esquire. This man born at *Snayb* in *Lincolnshire*, having always lived a Batchelor, and by sundry employments, and parcimony, being grown to great wealth, bought of the right Honourable, *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, his Mansion house, called the *Charter-house*, near to *Smithfield* in *London*, and out of a pious minde converted it into an Almshouse, by the name of *Suttons Hospital*, endowing the same with above three thousand pounds of yearly rent: wherein are maintained fourscore poor men, with convenient lodging, diet, and allowance of money for apparel: also forty poor children with the like provision,

The number of the Yeomen of the Guard encreased, and also their pay. Five Judges in every Court. The repairing of *Pauls* Church begun.

Suttons Hospital founded.

A provision, and a Grammar School, with a Master and Usher to teach them: over all whom, he ordained a learned man to be Master of the household, and to be chosen by the Governours, whom he appointed for the present, by the Authority of the Kings Letters Patents, to be George Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Lord Elsmore Lord Chancellor, Robert Earl of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, John Bishop of London, Lancelot Bishop of Ely, Sir Edward Cook, chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Thomas Foster, a Judge of the Common Pleas; Sir Henry Hubbard, the Kings Attorney General, Doctor Overall Dean of Pauls, Doctor Mountain Dean of Westminster, Henry Thursby Esquire, Master of the Chancery, Richard Sutton Esquire, Auditor of the Impreits, Jeffery Nightingall Esquire, John Low Gentleman, Thomas Brown Gentleman, and Master of the Household for the time being, to be always one: and as any of these sixteen Governours should die, the Sur-

B vivers to make present addition of others. Next to this was a fair College in Oxford founded by Nicholas Wilbe Esquire, and called after his name. About this time also Edward Allen of Dulwich in Surry, founded a fair Hospital at Dulwich for six poor men, and six poor women, and for twelve poor children, from the age of four or six years, to be there maintained and taught till the age of fourteen or sixteen, and to have a Schoolmaster with dyet, and a convenient stipend. This man may be an example, who having gotten his wealth by Stage-playing converted it to this pious use, not without a kinde of reputation to the Society of Players. In this Kings time also, William Cambden, King at Arms, founded an History professor in Oxford, to which he gave the Manor of Bexley in Kent, which some years expired, will be worth four hundred pounds a year. In his tenth year, Sir Baptist Hicks, one of the Justices of Peace in Middlesex, who was

An Hospital founded at Dulwich by Edward Allen sometimes a Player.

A History Professor in Oxford erected, and by whom.

Hicks-hall in St. Johns Street built, and by whom.

C afterward made Viscount Cambden, built a fair Sessions house of Brick and Stone in St. Johns street, which by the Justices was called after his name, Hicks Hall, a great convenience for the Justices; who late before in a common Inne, called the Castle. He also founded a fair Hospital of Free stone at Cambden in Gloucestershire, for six men and six women, allowing each them of a yearly Gown, and two shillings six pence a week, with two rooms and a Garden. In this Kings time, George Patyn Citizen and Grocer of London, gave to good uses, three thousand and six hundred pounds, whereof twelve hundred pounds to the two Universities, nine hundred pounds for an Almshouse, and a certain sum of money to buy two Bells, and make a Chime in Bow Church. Also Thomas Teafdale of Glympton in the County of Oxford Gentleman, gave five thousand pounds to purchase lands, for perpetual maintenance of seven Fellows, and six Scholars, to be placed

D at Baylyoll in Oxford, and to be chosen thither from time to time, out of the Free School of Abington in Berkshire: to which School he also gave lands for the maintenance of an Usher. In this Kings time also, Sir Marmaduke Darrell, being Lord of Fulmer, being a Town in Buckinghamshire, where was an old ruinous Church, standing a mile distant from the Town, pulled down that old Church, and at his own charge builded a fair new one in the Town, and furnished it with a Font, a Pulpit, and all Ornaments necessary. Also Thomas Watson of Halstead, in the County of Kent, Esquire, new builded a fair Chappel on the North side of the Parish Church of Halstead, of Freestone from the ground, and gave to the Church four new Bells, and two Pulpits. In his time also Doctor Aylmer Bishop of London, and Elizabeth Countesse Dowager of Shrewsbury, gave certain sum: of money towards the better maintenance of Sermons at

E Pauls Crosse: As likewise Thomas Russell Draper gave ten pounds a year for ever, to be given to unbeneficed Ministers, that should preach there: and to the same use, George Bishop Stationer of London, gave ten pounds a year more. In this Kings time also, the Citizens of London new builded Algate, where pulling down the old Gate, they found many ancient Roman Coyns. John Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury, founded a fair Almshouse in Croydon.

Algate in London new builded.

Henry Earl of Northampton dies, who founded three Hospitals; and where.

On the fifteenth of June, 1614. dyed Henry Earl of Northampton, who built from the ground a house near Charing-Crosse; and dying, was buried in the ancient Chappel of Dover Castle, who in his life time founded three fair Hospitals, and endowed them with large maintenance for ever, one at Ryding in Norfolk for twelve poor women and a Governesse, a second at Clun in Shropshire, for twelve poor men and a Governor: The third at Greenwich in Kent, for a Governor and

F twenty poor Almshouses. In this Kings time also, Master Robert Dows of London Merchant-Taylor, gave a competent maintenance for ever, unto Sepulchers Parish, for the tolling of the great Bell, and for finding some Divine to come to the prison of Newgate, the midnight before Execution, and there to ring a hand Bell, and to put the prisoners in mind of their approaching death, with a Christian remembrance and exhortation; and the next morning to toll the great Bell, from six a clock till ten, and then to ring it out when the Execution should be past. He also established a free singing School, in Christs Hospital: for the better education of the poor children there: besides many other good deeds of Alms. About the same time Robert Peake of London Goldsmith, gave to Sepulchers Church a Communion Table of two yards long, and three quarters and a half broad, richly guilded over, and at every corner imbossed with plates

G of silver. In this Kings fourteenth year, William Jones of London Merchant, gave about eight thousand pounds to found a Free School in Wales, where he was born, with Almshouses and Pensioners in London: and a hundred pound a year for ever to a learned Preacher in London, ordaining all things to be ordered by the Company of Haberdashers, whereof himself was free. This year also the old ruinous gate called Aldersgate was taken quite down, and new builded from the foundation, towards the building whereof, William Parker, Merchant-Taylor of London, gave a thousand pounds. In this Kings time also, was erected a building near to Chelsey, with a purpose to be a College for Divines to study the controversies of Religion, but upon second thoughts, the

Aldersgate in London, new builded, and by whom.

Cage indeed stands finished, but no Birds have ever yet been brought to sing in it; and per haps A never will. If any other deeds of Alms, or publick benefit were done in this Kings time, as perhaps there were many, the Reader may be pleased both here and in other Kings Reigns, to adde them, as he meets with them: for partly to this end, I have digested this Chronicle into such several Heads and Chapters.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

A great Plague
in London.

A murther
discovered by
a Dream.

A Porpus taken,
and a
Whale seen
neer London.

A great Inun-
dation in So-
mersetshire and
Gloucestershire.

A Frost that
continued
from December
till April.

A monstrous
child born.

A man and his
child lying in
bed burned to
death with
Lightning.

Two Play-
houses burnt.

A blazing Star
seen.

IN his first year, on the seven and twentieth of *April*, thirteen persons were slain by mis-fortune with Gun-powder, at the Gun-powder Mill in *Redriffe*, and much other hurt done in divers B places. This year also, the Plague in *London* was so great, that from the three and twentieth of *December*, 1602. to the two and twentieth of *December* following, there dyed in *London*, and the Liberties, eight and thirty thousand; two hundred and four and forty, where of the Plague thirty thousand, five hundred threescore and eighteen, of them in one week three thousand fourscore and ten, where the next year after, though the City were increased with great number of strangers, yet there dyed that year of all diseases, within *London* and the Liberties, but only four thousand, two hundred threescore and three persons. In the second year of his reign, a strange accident happened, to the terrour of all bloody Murtherers, which was this; one *Anne Waters* enticed by a lover of hers, consented to have her husband strangled, and then buried him secretly under the dung-hill in a Cow-house; whereupon the man being missing by his neighbours, and the wife C making shew of a wondering what was become of him; It pleased God, that one of the Inhabitants of the Town, dreamed one night, that his neighbour *Waters* was strangled, and buried under the dung-hill in a Cow-house; and upon declaring his dream, search being made by the Constable, the dead body was found as he had dreamed: and thereupon the wife was apprehended, and upon examination, confessing the fact, was burned. And now what hope can murtherers have of being concealed, when they are subject to be discovered by any mans dream? The nineteenth of *January* in his third year, a great Porpus was taken at *Weslham*, in a small Creek, a mile and a half within the Land: and within few days after a Whale came up within eight miles of *London*, whose body was seen divers times above water, and judged to exceed the length of the largest ship in the River: but when she tasted the fresh water, and scented the Land, she returned into the Sea. In his D fourth year, being the year 1607. a mighty West winde brought in the Sea into the River of *Severn*, with such violence, that in some places of *Somersetshire* and *Gloucestershire*, the waters in divers Towns and Villages, grew higher then the tops of their houses; so as (notwithstanding all courses that could be taken) there were drowned in *Somersetshire* 80. persons, and damages done to the value of twenty thousand pounds. At *Coventry* also, the seventh of *April*, so sudden a flood came into the Suburbs and City, that in one hour it rose in some places above three yards in height, to the great damage and hurt of many; and that which is as much strange, as it suddenly came, so it suddenly abated: so as in four hours and a half, it both came and went away. In his 6 year, being 1608. a frost began in *December*, which continued till *April* following, with such violence, that not only the *Thames* was so frozen, that Carts loaden were driven over it as on dry land, but many E Fowls and Birds perished, as also much herbage in gardens, especially Artichoaks and Rosemary were destroyed. This year also the 11. of *April* a Malt-house in the the Town of *St. Edmundsbury* being by chance set on fire, continued burning till it had consumed 160. houses: but by the Kings bountifullnesse, (giving 500. loads of timber) and the City of *London* relief, the Town was forthwith new builded, in a fairer manner then it was before. In the year 1613. on the seventeenth of *April*, in the parish of *Standish* in *Lancashire*, a maiden child was born, having four legs, four arms, two bellies joyned to one back: one head with two faces, the one before, the other behinde, like the picture of *Janus*.

This year also the 26 of *June*, in the Parish of *Christ Church* in *Hampshire*, one *John Hitchel* a Carpenter, lying in bed with his wife and a young childe by them, was himself and the childe both F burned to death with a sudden lightning, no fire appearing outwardly upon him, and yet lay burning for the space of almost three days, till he was quite consumed to ashes. This year also on the seventh of *August*, the Town of *Dorchester* was quite consumed with fire, begun in the house of a Tallow Chandler, destroying all the houses, except a few neer the Church, and all their wares and goods, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds, yet not any man or woman perished. About the same time also the Play-house called the Globe upon the Banks side near *London*, was quite consumed with fire by discharging a piece of Ordinance. and yet no man hurt: and about four years after, a new built Play-house, near *Golding-lane* called the *Fortune*, was by negligence of a candle, clean burnt down to the ground. In the year 1614. the Town of *Stratford upon Avon*, was burned. And lest the water should be behinde in doing of mischief, so great Inundations were at this time in *Norfolk* and *Lincolnshire*, that the Sea entred twelve miles into the Land. In the year 1612. on the 18. of *November* a blazing Star began to be seen in the South-east about five a clock in the morning, the flame or stream whereof, enclined towards the West. This comet, in the opinion of *D. Bembridge*, the great Mathematician of *Oxford*, was as far above the Moon, as the Moon is above the Earth: what it portended is only known to God; but the sequel of it was, that infinite slaughters and devastations followed upon it, both in *Germany* and other Countries. In the year 1623. on Fryday the 24. of *October*. a Roman Catholick Priest preached in the afternoon, at *Hunsdon* house in the *Black-Fryers*

A Fryers in London, in an upper chamber, where there were assembled above 300 men and women, when about the middle of the Sermon, a great part of the Floor brake, and fell down with such violence, that it brake down the next floor under it: in the fall whereof, were slain the Preacher, and almost 100 of his Auditors, besides as many more hurt. In this Kings time course paper, commonly called white brown paper was first made in England, specially in Surrey, and about Windsor.

White brown
Paper first
made in Eng-
land.

Of his Wife and Children.

B HE married Anne, the Daughter of Frederick, the second King of Denmark, whose marriage was there solemnized in the year 1589. By whom he had born in Scotland, two Sons, Henry who dyed before him, and Charles who succeeded him in the Crown; and one Daughter named Elizabeth, married to Frederick the fifth of that name, Count Palatine of the Rhein, by whom she had many children, both Sons and Daughters. King James had also by his Wife Queen Anne, two other Daughters born in England, the Lady Mary, and the Lady Sophia, who both dyed young, the Lady Mary at about three years old, the Lady Sophia the next day after she was born; and were both of them buried with great solemnity, in the Chappel Royal at Westminster.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

C HE was of stature somewhat higher then ordinary, of a well compacted body, of an auburn hair, of a full and pleasing visage; in his latter days inclining to be fat and burley; of bodily exercises, he took most delight in hunting; which yet (some thought) he used rather as a retiring himself from the importunity of State affairs, then for any great pleasure he took in it. It is said, that he had such a fashion in riding, that it could not so properly be said he rid, as that his Horse carried him; for he made but little use of his Bridle, and would say, a Horse never stumbled, but when he was reined. He was of an admirable pregnancy of wit, and that pregnancy much improved by continual study from his childhood: by which, he had gotten such a promptness in expressing his minde, that his extemporal speeches were little inferior to his premeditated writings. Many, no doubt, had read as much, and perhaps more then he; but scarce ever any concocted his reading into judgement as he did: by which he became so judicious, that though he could not Prophecy, yet he could preface; and his Conjectures were little lesse then Oracles. In all the Liberal Sciences, he was (we may say) a Master of Arts: but in Divinity, a Doctor, as he made appear in the Conference at Hampton Court, and is seen still by the learned Writings he hath left behinde him. And as for that part of the Politicks, which concerns Monarchy, *Regere Imperio populos*, which himself used to call King Craft: in this he excelled. He knew how to take the inclinations of the people at their first bound, and never suffer them to rise higher, then he could well reach them: nor to grow stronger, then he could either alter or divert them. He would be sure to keep his Subjects in a temper of contentment; which if he could not do by preventives, he would by lenitives. He was so wise, that he could dissemble, without seeming a Dissembler: be free in opening his mind, and yet keep counsel. He was a provident Pilot, that in a calm would provide for a storm: and you should never find him committing the fault of *Non putaram*. He was both *Marti & Mercurio*; but not *tam Marti quam Mercurio*, as being of his temper who said, *Cedant Arma Toge*: and indeed seeing peace is the end of both, it were not wisdom to seek it by Arms, if it may be had by the Gown, as it is in the *Aphorism*, *Consilio omnia experiri prius, quam Armis sapientem decet*. That which was bounty in him being a King, would have been frugality, if he had been a private person, there being of both one radical reason. Of all the Moral virtues, he was eminent for chastity; in which the Poet seems to include all vertue: where he saith;

His prompt-
ness in ex-
pressing his
minde.

His Learning,
specially in
Divinity.

His wisdom.

His chastity.

Nalli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen.

F By *nulli casto*, meaning no vertuous person; it was a manifest argument of his being an excellent Prince, that coming next to the admirable Queen Elizabeth, which was in a manner to compare them together: yet there appeared no inequality, that it might not untruly be said, King James was but the continuation of Queen Elizabeth: the same vertue, though different sexes: And now to expresse his Character in a word, which worthily might be matter for many volumes: He was to his Wife a most loyal Husband, to his children a most loving Father, to his servants a most bountiful Master, to his Subjects a most just Prince, to all Princes near him a most peaceable neighbour; that more justly it may be said of him, then of whom it was said, *Que te tam laeta tulitum secula?*

G A Prince after Plato's own heart, for his learning, and which is infinitely more worth, after Gods own heart, for his Religiousnesse and Piety.

Of his Death and Buriall.

OF his death, there were many scandalous rumors spread, and some were so impudent, as to write that he was poysoned, as the Duke of Richmond, and the Marquess Hamilton had been before: but King James being dead, and his body opened, there was found no sign at all of poyson, his inward parts being all sound, but that his Spleen was a little faulty, which might be cause enough to cast him into an Ague: the ordinary high way, especially in old bodies, to a natural death: of this Ague after a moneths languishing, notwithstanding all the remedies that could be applyed, he departed this life at Theobalds, on the 27. of March, in the year 1625. in B the 59. of his age, when he had Reigned two and twenty years compleat; His body for the greater State, was conveyed by Torch light, from Theobalds to Denmark house, who having rested from the 23. of Aprill, to the 7. of May, it was carryed to Westminster, and there interred in the Chappel Royal with great solemnity, but with greater lamentation: there being scarce any of the infinite multitude that was present, of whom it might not be said,

Multa gemens, largoque humectat flumine vultum.

Of Men of note in his time.

Two eminent
Souldiers, Sir
Francis Vere,
and Sir Horatio
Vere.

Two eminent
Scholars D.
Andrews, and
D. Reynolds.

Two eminent
Lawyers, Sir
Edward Coke,
and Sir Francis
Bacon.

Two eminent
Wits, D Dunne,
and Sir Henry
Wootton.

Military Men of Note, in a time of Peace, as the whole Reign of King James was, we have no reason to expect; yet if we look amongst the Voluntaries that went to the School of War in the Low-Countries; we shall finde a pair of brothers, that may stand in comparifon, with the greatest souldiers in the most Martial times, Sir Francis Vere, who as another Hannibal, with his one eye, could see more in the Martial Discipline, then common men can do with two; and Sir Horatio Vere, who as another Philopamen, contained in a very little body, a very great both skill and courage. But for men of Note in Learning, as being in the time of a most learned Prince, there was never greater store; of whom these for example. In curiosnesse of Preaching, there was Doctor Andrews Bishop of Winchester; who hath left to posterity, a Century of such golden Sermons, that shews, he as well deserved the name of Chrysostom, as he that had it. In multiplicity of Reading, there was Doctor Reynolds of Corpus Christi College in Oxford; who seemed as it were, a living Library; and one would have thought his Memory to be a perfect Index of all the Books had ever been written. In knowledge of Law there was Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice of the Kings Bench; who hath written such excellent Commentaries of the Law, that he seems as another Bartholus or Baldus amongst us. In Elegancy of writing, there was Sir Francis Bacon Viscount Saint Albans, who besides his profounder Books of *Novum Organum*, hath written the Reign of King Henry the Seventh, in so sweet a style, that like *Mamma*, it pleaseth the tast of all palats. In the skill of Antiquities, there was William Camden, King at Arms; who hath set forth the Description of Britain, and the life of Queen Elizabeth in so lively colours, that he seems to have brought Britain out of darknesse into light, and to keep Queen Elizabeth alive after death. And to speak it in a word, the Trojan Horse was not fuller of Herodick Grecians, then King James his Reign was full of men excellent in all kindes of Learning. And here I desire the Reader leave to remember two of my own old acquaintance, the one was Mr. John Dunne, who leaving Oxford, lived at the Innes of Court, not dissolute, but very neat; a great Visiter of Ladies, a great frequenter of Playes, a great writer of conceited Verses; until such time as King James taking notice of the pregnancy of his Wit, was a means that he betook him to the study of Divinity, and thereupon proceeding Doctor, was made Dean of Pauls; and became so rare a Preacher, that he was not only commended, but even admired by all that heard him. The other was Henry Wootton, (mine old acquaintance also, as having been fellow pupils, and chamber fellows in Oxford divers years together.) This Gentleman was employed by King James in Embassage to Venice; and indeed the Kingdom afforded not a fitter man, for matching the Capriciousnesse of the Italian Wits: a man of so able dexterity with his Pen, that he hath done himself much wrong, and the Kingdom more, in leaving no more of his Writings behinde him.

Of the English Plantations in the Indies, that were in King JAMES his time.

AND now we are come to a time, wherein we may very near say as much of King James, as was laid of Augustus Caesar: *Super & Garamantas & Indos proferet Imperium*. In this betwixt that where Augustus did it by the violent way of Arm, King James did it by the civill way of Plantations: for in his days began the great plantation of the English in the Indies; and must be acknowledged the proper effect of his peaceable Government. The first Plantation

of

A of the *English* in the *Indies*; was that which is now called *Virginia*, in memory of the Virgin Queen *Elizabeth*: but called before *Wingandacoa*. It was first discovered by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in the year 1584; to whom the first Letters Patents were granted for making a Plantation there: but yet no Colony was sent thither, till the year 1606. It is a Countrey in *America*, between the degrees of 34, and 45, of the North Latitude: but that part of it which is planted by the *English*, is under the Degrees of 37, 38, and 39. It is no Island, as many have imagined, but a part of the Continent adjoining to *Florida*. The first and chief Town made here by the *English*, is called *James Town*, in honour of the Kings most excellent Majesty. It is a Countrey abounding with all sorts of Fish and Fowl; so fruitful, that it yeelds thirty and sometimes forty Bushels of Corn upon an Acre: and that, (which to us is more strange) hath three harvests in a year, the Corn being sowed, ripe and reaped, in little more then two moneths. Many plantations had been attempted here before, but came to nothing: the first to any purpose was in the year 1607. under the conduct of Captain *Gosnoll*, *John Smith*, and Mr. *Edward Maria Winkfield*, who carryed a Colony thither of a hundred persons; but of these, many dying of sicknesse, or slain by the Savages, a new supply came in the year 1608. of a hundred and twenty persons, under the conduct of Captain *Nelson*. After which, was sent another supply of threescore and ten persons; and in the year 1609. a third supply came of five hundred persons, under a Patent granted to Sir *Thomas West*, Lord de la *Ware*, but conducted thither by Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and others. In the year 1611. was a fourth supply of three hundred men under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Gates*. In the year 1612. two other supplies were sent of forty men in each; and now was the Lottery spoken of before granted by the King, for further supplies of this Plantation. After this Master *Samuel Argall* being appointed Governour in the year 1618. the Lord de la *Ware* came thither with a supply of two hundred people; but in his stay there, dyed: After this, in the year 1620. were sent thither eleven Ships, with twelve hundred and sixteen persons, and now they founded themselves into Corporations: In the year 1621. Sir *Francis Wiat* was sent thither Governour, with thirteen hundred men, women, and children, and now they founded Schools, and Courts of Justice; and the Plantation was extended a hundred and forty miles up, on the River of both sides. But now when the *English* were secure, and thought of nothing but peace, the Savages came suddenly upon them, and slew of them three hundred and seven and forty men, women, and children. For repairing of which losse, the City of *London* sent presently over a supply of a hundred men. This massacre happened, by reason they had built their Plantations remote from one another, in above thirty several places, which made them now upon consultation, to reduce them all to five or six places, whereby they may better assist each other: since which time, they have always lived in good security. And thus much for *Virginia*.

The first Plantation of *Virginia*: and what Countrey it is, and abounding with what commodities.

Upon their security, 300 of them slain by the savages.

The Plantation of the *Bermudas*: why called *Somers Isles*.

Amber-greece in great quantity found in the Island.

The Plantation of *New-England*: and the commodities of the Countrey.

Next was the Plantation of the Island called *Bermudas*, so called of a *Spanish* Ship, called *Bermudas* which was there cast away, carrying Hogs to the *West-Indies*, that swam a shoar, and there increased. The first *English* man that entred this Isle, was one *Henry May*, in the year 1591. but in the year 1610. Sir *George Somers* was sent thither, who dying there, in memory of his name, the Isles have ever since been called *Somers Isles*. In the year 1612. one Mr. *Moore* landed there with 60 persons, and then builded the chief Town there called *S. Georges*, together with 8 or 9 Forts. The same year a supply of 30 more persons was sent thither, and the year after 60 more, under one Mr. *Bartlet*; with a shew to survey the land; but with a purpose indeed to get from thence a great lump of *Amber-greece*, and no lesse then 80 pound weight, that had been found and taken up in the Island some few years before, and was there still retained. A while after this came a ship called the *Blessing*, with a 100 passengers; and two days after came the *Star*, with a 180 more; and within 14 days after that again came thither the *Margaret* and two Frigats, with 130 passengers: So as now they began to divide the Countrey into Tribes, and the Tribes into shares. In the year 1616. Captain *Daniel Tucker* was sent from *Virginia* to be Governor there, and now it began indeed to be a Plantation; for now they began to build them houses: and now was sent from thence into *England*, a Ship freighted with 30000 weight of Tobacco, valued there but at 2 s. 6 d. the pound, though sold here oftentimes for *Verino's* at great rates. In the year 1619, Captain *Nathaniel Butler* was sent Governour, with new supplies, in whose time they build them a Church; held Assizes for Criminal causes, twice a year; and began to have Parliaments as in *England*: and now in the Ship called the *Magazin*, came divers Gentlemen of good fashion, with their wives and families: so as now their number was no fewer then fifteen hundred people: Dispersed twenty miles in length. In the year 1622, came Governour M. *John Bernard*, bringing with him a supply of a 140 persons; but he and his wife dying presently upon their coming, M. *John Harrison* in the year 1623. was chosen Governour. These Isles of *Bermudas* are in 32 degrees of Northern latitude: so as they are distant from *Virginia*, at least 500 leagues, and from *England* above three thousand three hundred. This Countrey is of a most healthful air, abounding with all sorts of Fowls, Birds and Fish; and where great pieces of *Amber-greece* are oftentimes found, which is valued there at no lesse then three pounds an ounce. And thus much concerning the state of *Bermudas*, till the year 1624.

Next comes the Plantation of *New-England*; concerning which, we must first know, that King *James* in the year 1606, granted two Letters Patents for Plantations in *Virginia*, one to the City of *London*; another to the City of *Bristow*, *Excester* and *Plimmouth*; with power to plant Colonies any where between the Degrees of 38 and 44, provided there should be at least a 100 miles distance between the two Colonies. So as the first Colony was from the City of *London*

London, and is that which is called *Virginia*; The second Colony was from *Bristow* and the other Towns, and is that which is now called *New-England*, and is situate between the degrees of 41 and 45: the very mean betwixt the North Pole and the Line. And now to speak a little of the Countrey, there are on the Sea coast, 25 excellent good Harbours, in some whereof there is Anchorage for 500 sail of Ships of any burthen. The Earth is fruitful, and the Air as healthful, as any part of the World: abounding with all sorts of Grain, Fowls and Fish: Many of such kindes as are to us unknown, yet excellent meat: Many Voyages had been made for the perfect discovery of the Countrey: Many attempts for setting a Plantation there: Many Miscarriages and Disasters in making the attempts: but all at last came to this, that in the year 1624 (which is the limit of our Narration) there was a Plantation settled, though but a small one: but a few years after (by the sending forth of new supplies) encreased to so many thousands, that if God continue to prosper it, as he hath begun, the *New-England* in a few ages may prove as populous as the *Old*; and the King of *England* likely to have as many and greater Crowns in the *Indies* then he had in his Realms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. But seeing of these and all other *English* Plantations in the *Indies*, whereof there are many; large discourses are written by divers Authors; it should be more then superfluous to speak more of them in this place: It is sufficient to have shewed that King *James* had the honour, to have them settled in his time, and under the influence of his peaceable Government.

Of the Earls and Barons made by King JAMES.

IN former Kings Reigns, the making of Earls and Barons was but rare, and therefore they are fitly set down, at the several times of their making; but in King *James* his Reign, there were so many made, that it may not be unfit, to set them down in a Catalogue together.

In his first year were made four Earls and nine Barons: namely, *Henry Howard*, younger brother of the last Duke of *Norfolk*, was made Earl of *Northampton*: *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurst*, was made Earl of *Dorset*; and shortly after *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mounjoy*, was made Earl of *Devonshire*, and *Thomas Howard* Baron of *Walden*, was made Earl of *Suffolk*: *Henry Grey* was made Lord *Grey of Groby*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Stanford*) *Henry Danvers* was made Baron of *Danby*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Danby*) Sir *John Peter of Essex*, was made Baron of *Writtle*: Sir *William Russel* was made Baron of *Thornough*: Sir *Thomas Gerard* was made Baron of *Gerards Bromley* in *Staffordshire*: Sir *Robert Spencer* was made Baron of *Wormelayton* in the County of *Warwick*: Sir *Thomas Egerton* was made Baron of *Elmeston*: and Sir *Robert Cecil* was created Baron of *Henden* in *Rutlandshire*: and Sir *John Harington* was made Baron of *Exton*.

In his second year on the 20 of *May* were made four Barons and one Viscount: Sir *Robert Sidney* was made Baron of *Penhurst*: Sir *William Knowles*, Baron of *Graves*: Sir *Edward Wootton* Baron of *Marley*: and *Mildmay Fane*, Lord *de Spencer*; and in *August* the same year, Sir *Robert Cecil* Baron of *Essenden*, was created Viscount *Cranburn*.

In his third year on the 4 of *May*, were created three Earls, and one Viscount, and four Barons; namely, Sir *Robert Cecil* Viscount *Cranburn*, was created Earl of *Salisbury*: Sir *Thomas Cecil* his elder brother Lord *Furghley*, was created Earl of *Exeter*; and Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, was created Earl of *Montgomery*: *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurst*, was created Viscount of *Lisle*: Sir *John Stanhope*, was made Baron of *Harington*: Sir *George Carew*, Baron of *Clopton*: Mr. *Thomas Arundell* of *Devonshire*, Baron of *Warder*; and Mr. *William Cavendish*, Baron of *Hardwick*.

In his fourth year, on the fourth of *July*, Sir *Thomas Knevet*, was called by writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of *Estrick*, and was thereby Baron of that Title; and on the seventh of *September*, Sir *Jervis Clifton* was likewise called by writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of *Layton Brumfensfold*, and was thereby Baron of that Title.

In his ninth year, upon *Easter munday*, Sir *Robert Carr* was created Viscount *Rochester*: and

In his tenth year, on the fourth of *November*, was created Earl of *Somerset*.

In his eleventh year, *Lewis Steward* Duke of *Lenox*, was made Earl of *Richmond*, and after, Duke of *Richmond*.

In his thirteenth year, on the 29 of *June*, Sir *James Hay* of *Scotland* was created Baron of *Sawley*, and about three years after, was made Viscount *Doncaster*, and Sir *Robert Dormer* was created Baron of *Wyng*, (afterward by King *Charles* was made Earl of *Carnarvan*.)

In his fourteenth year, on the 9 of *July*, Sir *John Hollys* Knight, was created *Haughton* of *Haughton* in the County of *Nottingham*, and Sir *John Roper* of *Kent*, was made Baron of *Tenham*: and on the 17 of *August*, Sir *George Villiers* was created Baron of *Whadden*, and Viscount *Villiers*, and on the 7 of *November*, *Thomas Egerton* Lord *Elmeston*, was created Viscount *Brackley*, and he dying soon after, his Son *John* was created Earl of *Bridgewater*; *William* Lord *Knowles* was created Viscount *Wallingford*; and Sir *Philip Stanhope* was created Baron of *Shelford*: On the 5 of *Jan.* the Viscount *Villiers* was created Earl of *Buckingham*, and on the third of *March*, Sir *Edw. Noell* of *Rutlandshire*, was made Baron of *Ryddlington*.

In his fifteenth year, on *New years day*, Sir *George Villiers* Earl of *Buckingham*, was created Marquess of

A of Buckingham, and on the 12. of July, Sir Francis Bacon Lord Chancellor of England, was created Baron of Verulam, and not long after Viscount Saint Albans. Also in the Summer of this year, the King created four Earls and one Countesse: namely the Viscount Lisle was made Earl of Leicester, the Lord Compton was made Earl of Northampton, the Lord Rich was made Earl of Warwick, the Lord Cavendish was made Earl of Devonshire, and the Lady Compton wife to Sir Thomas Compton, and mother of the Marquesse of Buckingham was created Countesse of Buckingham.

In his sixteenth year, on the 25 of November, Sir John Digby Vicechamberlain to the King was created Baron of Sherbourn, by Patent to him and his heirs Males.

B In his seventeenth year, in the moneth of June, Esme Steward Lord d' Aubigny, younger brother to the Duke of Lenox, was created Earl of March; James Marquesse Hamilton was created Earl of Cambridge, and Sir John Villiers brother to the Marquesse of Buckingham was created Baron of Stock and Viscount Purbeck.

In his eighteenth year, William Cavendish was created Viscount Mansfield; (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Newcastle) and on Munday the fourth of December, Sir Henry Montague, being first made Lord Treasurer, was created Baron of Kimbolton, and Viscount Mandevile, and not long after, Earl of Manchester, and Sir John Ramsay Viscount Haddington of Scotland was created Earl of Holderness, and William Fielding was created Baron of Newenham, and Viscount Fielding.

C In his nineteenth year, Henry Cary was made Lord Cary of Leppington, (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Munmouth) Sir Edward Montague elder brother to the Viscount Mandevile was made Baron of Boulton, the Lord Darcie of Essex, was created Viscount Colchester, (afterward by King Charles made Earl Rivers) the Lord Hunston was created Viscount Rockford, (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Dover) Sir Lyonell Cranfield, Master of the Wards, was created Baron Cranfield in Bedfordshire; and Sir Thomas Howard, second son to Thomas Earl of Suffolk, was created Baron of Charleton, and Viscount Andover, (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Barkshire.)

In his twentieth year, in the moneth of September, the Viscount Doncaster, was created Earl of Carlisle, the Viscount Fielding was created Earl of Denbigh, the Lord Digby was made Earl of Bristow, the Lord Cranfield was created Earl of Middlesex, and Sir Henry Rich was made Baron of Kensington.

D In his one and twentieth year, the Marquesse of Buckingham, being then in Spain with Prince Charles, had his Patent sent him to be Duke of Buckingham; William Grey was created Baron of Wark, Elizabeth the widow of Sir Moyle Finch of Kent, was created Viscountesse Maidstone, (afterward by King Charles made Countesse of Winchelsey.)

E In his two and twentieth year, the Earl of Clanriccard of Ireland, was created Viscount Tunbridge in Kent, (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Saint Albans.) Sir John Holles Knight, Baron Haughton of Haughton was created Earl of Clare, Sir Henry Rich Baron of Kensington was created Earl of Holland, the Lord Fines, Baron of Say and Seale, was made Viscount Say and Seale: Sir Francis Fane was created Earl of Westmerland, Oliver Lord St. John of Bleisbo, was made Earl of Bullinbrook, Sir Christopher Villiers brother to the Duke of Buckingham, was made Earl of Anglesey, and Sir James Ley was made Lord Lee (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Mariborough.) Also this year, Sir Francis Leake was made Baron of Deincourt, and Sir Richard Roberts was made Lord Roberts of Truro in Cornwall.

F And this was the number of all the Earls and Barons made by King James; but in his time also began another sort of Nobility to be made in England, which had none of the privileges of English Barons, but had only Title to be called Lords, of some place either in England or Ireland, although they possessed not a foot of Land in either: Of which sort, the number being great; I forbear to rehearse them, lest I should be tedious, or otherwise be thought to encroach too much upon the Heralds office. It is sufficient to have shewed, that King James advanced so many in honor, that in a kinde it might be said of him, as was said of Augustus Caesar, That he left Rome of Marble, which he found but of Brick.

Maiors and Sheriffs of London in his Reign.

In his first year,
Sir Thomas Benet was Maior.
Sir William Rumney, Sir Tho. Middleton, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir Thomas Low was Maior.
Sir Thomas Hayes, Sir Roger Jones, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir Leonard Hollyday was Maior.
Sir Clement Scudamor, Sir Jolles, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir John Wats was Maior.
William Walball, John Lemon, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir Henry Row was Maior.
Geoffery Elwes, Nicholas Style, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir Humphry Weld was Maior.
George Bolles, Richard Farrington, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir Thomas Carnell was Maior.
Sebastian Harvey, William Cockaine, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir William Craven was Maior.
Richard Pyat, Francis Jones, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir James Pemberton was Maior.
Edward Barkham, John Smithes, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir John Swinnerton was Maior.
Edward Rotheram, Alexander Prescot, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir Thomas Middleton was Maior.
Thomas Bennet, Henry Jaye, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir Thomas Hayes was Maior.
Peter Proby, Martin Lumley, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir John Joller was Maior.
William Goare, John Goate, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir John Leman was Maior.
Allen Cotten, Culbert Hack, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Sir George Bolles was Maior.
William Hollyday, Robert Johnson, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Sir Sebastian Harvie was Maior.
Richard Hearne, Hugh Hamersley, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Sir William Cockain was Maior.
Richard Deans, James Cambell, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir Francis Jones was Maior.
Edward Allen, Robert Ducie, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir Edward Barkham was Maior.
George Whitmore, Nicholas Rainton, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Sir Peter Proby was Maior.
John Hodges, Sir Humphry Hanford, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,
Sir Martin Lumley was Maior.
Ralph Freeman, Thomas Moulson, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,
Sir John Goare was Maior.
Rowland Heilin, Robert Parkburff, Sheriffs.

THE



THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES.

KING James being deceased on the 27 day of March in the Forenoon, the same day in the Afternoon, Charles, Prince of Wales, his only Son then living, was proclaimed King of Great Britains France, and Ireland, with the generall Acclamation of all sorts of People, as being a Prince of admirable Endowments both of Mind and Body. He was now about the Age of 25 years, whereof, the most part of one he had spent in Spain; where, although he was frustrated of the end for which he went, yet it gave him a tincture of Travell and Experience, more worth perhaps, then the end he went for: For by this means he attained to a greater degree of that, which made *Ulysses* so famous.

Quod mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes.

The first thing he did after his Coronation, and the Ceremonies of his Fathers Funerall (in which he himself in person followed as chief Mourner, immediately after the Hearse, having his Train of black Velvet borne up by twelve Peers of the Realm; and at his right hand the Earl of *Arundel*, at his left the Earl of *Pembroke*.) Was to proceed in the Marriage agreed upon in his Fathers time, with the beautifull and vertuous Lady *Henrieta Maria*, younger Daughter of the Great *Henry* the Fourth, King of France: After which Marriage, we have only to say, that he was happy in the Wife of his Bosome, happy in his hopefull Issue, happy in the Love of his People, happy in the Peace and Tranquillity of his Kingdomes, and happy in the continuance of all these Happineses, for fifteen years together, and might have so continued still, if it had not been for

Discordia demens,

Viperum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

But of that which happened afterward, I dare not take upon me to be a Register; Neither is it indeed safe to begin a Narration, which I must be fain to break off in amazement, as having nothing left me to say, but, *Omnia in malum ruere*: and so far from any appearance of humane remedy, that our only Anchor must be this; *In te Domine speramus, non confundamur in aeternum*: *Quid enim nisi vota supersunt?* Yet our hope is, It will be but a fit, and the storm once past, fair Weather again, and fairer perhaps then it was before, and then with Joy we shall resume our Stile,

Latumque choro Peana canemus.

In the mean time, comforting our selves with the words of the Prophet *David*; *Many are the troubles of the Righteous, but the Lord delivers him out of them all.*

Carolus en Rex magnus in armis, major inermis.

Quid mirum? Imperio magnus, amore magis.

THUS far Sir *Richard Baker* an elegant and acute Writer hath deduc'd the History of England, from the very first beginning of the Romans Government in this Nation; having brought us to the very Threshold or Entrance of King *Charles* his Reign, and there left us; though intending, as it seems, had the success of things been answerable to his expectation, and the storm blowing over, been followed, by a Calm and Halcion Season, to have proceeded unto the end thereof.

R r

and

and it were to be wisht, that he who with so happy a Career had travel'd through a History so full of variety, and fraught with so many great and memorable passages, had also brought it down to the very close, and finish'd the Catastrophe of this Tragedy: but if the lowering Menaces of the Storm he speaks of, induc'd him to *break off in amazement*, expecting the return of fair Weather, and better Daies; no wonder if the sad and fatall Effects it afterwards produc'd, forc'd him to abandon all thoughts of *resuming his Stile*. This Task therefore I rather by others solicitation, then my own choice, have undertaken, though not without some reluctance, as both distrustful of my Ability to keep up the Reputation of the History, coming after so judicious and well receiv'd an Author, and toucht with the same sense of the deplorable and unhappy passages I shall come at last to deliver, *Infandum adigor renovare dolorem*: but since it is necessary, that all Occurrences should be equally known and transmitted to Posterity, as well those which have the smiling Aspect of Prosperity, as those which bear the rugged form of adverse Fortune: I here recommend to the generall View, a faithfull account of what ever hapned observable in this Kings Reign, which I may safely say, affords no less variety and wonder, then the Reign of any former King, either of this, or of any other Nation: and what ever I may haply want of our Authors Stile, and prudent Conduct; I hope I shall not be thought to come far short in Truth and Impartiality of the Relation, intending neither on the one hand, out of a fawning Assentation, to cry up all that hath been acted by the prevailing power, insulting over the Calamities of a deprest and unfortunate Party; nor on the other, to cast any severe and satyricall reflections upon the Miscarriages that may be judg'd to have been committed by either Side, since nothing could have been done, but by the permission of All-over-ruling Providence; nor is it to be accounted any strange or unheard of matter, that a verteous man, be he Prince, or private person, should be brought to an unfortunate and untimely end.

The Introduction to the History you have already had from Sir Richard Baker himself; of that which next immediately follows, you may now, Bonis Avibus, proceed to the perusal.

IN prosecution of the Marriage, the King having sent over an Emisarry to Lewis the Thirteenth, then King of France (as he did to other Princes in Amity with him) to give notice of his Fathers deceale; he ordered also Letters of Procuracion or Proxy, to the Duke of Cheveraux, of the House of Guise, his neer Kinsman, as being lineally descended from Claudius of Loraine, Father-in-law to James the Fifth of Scotland.

The Duke of Cheveraux as King Charles's Proxy Espoused the Queen in France.

The Duke of Cheveraux therefore as King Charles's Proxy, Espoused her on Sunday, May the first, according to our stile; the Espousals were performed by Cardinal Richelieu, notwithstanding that the Office was desir'd and claim'd by the Arch-bishop of Paris, from whose Pallace the young Queen was conducted in solemn Pomp, by the King, Queen and Nobles of France (the Duke of Cheveraux in a rich black Suit, lin'd with Cloath of Gold, and beset with Diamonds, being attended on each hand by the King of Englands Ambassadors, the Earls of Carlisle, and Holland, both attir'd in beaver Silver) to the Church of Notre Dame, before the Frontispiece of which, was erected a Theater, where, under a Canopie of State, the Queen of England was delivered up to the Duke of Cheveraux, in behalf of King Charles; by her two Brothers, the King of France, and the Monsieur Gaston, Duke of Orleans: thence they went to the Church, where their Service was performed; after which the English Ambassadors came to the Door of the Quire, and took their places: then the whole Company, in the same order they came, return'd back to the great Hall of the Archbishops Palace; where a splendid Entertainment was prepared for them at the middle of the Table; under a Canopy sate the King of France, at his left hand the Queen of Great Britain, at his right, the Queen-Mother, next the Queen of England, sate the Duke of Cheveraux, and next him the Earls of Carlisle, and Holland.

She prepares for England.

As soon as the Nuptiall Solemnities were past, her Majesty prepared for England; for whose more honourable conveyance, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earls of Carlisle, Holland, and Montgomery, cross'd the Seas and came to Paris: hence after a convenient stay for interchanging of reciprocall Adieus, the royall Bride, accompanied with her Mother, younger Brother, Duke and Dutcheß of Cheveraux, and other Persons of eminent Quality, besides the fore-mentioned English Attendants, set forwards for Amiens, where for a Fortnights space she received Princely Entertainment, and then took leave of her Mother, who was there attacked with a violent sickness, which stopp'd her further journeying. From Amiens the Queen with the rest of her Company pass'd on to Boloigne (for Calais was then infected) at which place she found ready for her reception the Royall Fleet of 21 ships sent from her Spouse with a noble Convoy of the Countess of Buckingham, and an honourable Train of Ladies. It will be needles to relate what Careßes the old Countess did there receive for her Sons sake, as, A personall Visit from the Monsieur at her own Lodging, and the precedence forced upon her by a too civill Complement of the great Dutcheß of Cheveraux: And now Monsieur takes leave of his Sister, who presently set Sail for England, and arriv'd safe at Dover, notwithstanding the tempestuous turbulence of the Sea, which then seem'd to portend her future Infelicity.

The

A The King himself was come thither from *Canterbury*, to greet his long desired Consort, at which meeting, both Parties were wonderfully surpris'd: he to find his Queens Beauty and Stature (to his joy) incredibly amended since his first view of her at *Paris*; she, to see her self (hitherto free) now in the power and subjection of another. But these Resentments once over their Majesties began to think of their Journey to *Canterbury*, where their Nuptials were in most stately manner accomplished: And the Duke of *Cheveraux* in his Sovereigns Name surrendered up his Charge to the British Monarch. From *Canterbury* the pair Royall passed in Coach to *Gravesend*, with the Acclamations of millions of people (who had placed themselves all along the way to behold them) and there took water in the Barge of State, for *Somerset House*, being rowed through the Navy Royall, which was disposed on each side of the shoars; B and in order Vollied the Princely Passengers till their Landing: where, three dayes after, the King and Queen shewed themselves on magnificent Thrones to the Nobility, and had their Marriage solemnly proclaimed; which being performed, their Majesties removed to *Hampton-Court*, by reason that *London* was infected with the Plague, as it had also been in the first year of King *James*.

King *Charles* now taking Truce with his Affections, called a Parliament, about the business of the Palatinates, which Assembled on the Eighteenth of *June*; And Sir *Thomas Crew* was Speaker of the House of Commons: It was observed, that the precedent Kings (the last only excepted) usually transmitted their Minds to Parliaments by their Chancellors; but King *Charles* himself saluted these Senators with a short, yet pithy Speech.

C *Wherein he represented unto them the urgent necessity of raising a Subsidy; seeing, That it would not agree with his Kingly Honour to shrink from a War which his Father, upon solid Considerations, had by consent of both Houses undertaken, although prevented by Death from putting it in Execution.*

That Moneys, the Sinews of War, must be levied, without which, neither Army, nor Fleet could move, former Contributions being already disbursed to D *a Penny.*

That he should seem ridiculous to all Europe, if he did not now at length proceed to Action.

That it was his first Enterprize, the Success whereof would be influentiall upon his following Reign.

That it concerned their own Reputations, herein to assist him effectually, least the World should judge them to have betrayed their King.

E *That Celerity was requisite, because of Winter then approaching, a Season prejudiciall to Martiall Attempts; the Pestilence at that time Regnant in the City, which in all probability might cause a sudden dissolution of their Meeting.*

All which Arguments, if duly considered, did evidently demonstrate, That it was most Honourable, Opportune, and Safe, to use Expedition in the Business.

As for his Religion, and manner of Government, he determined to tread in his Fathers steps, hoping that his former Life had ministred no just Grounds of any contrary Suspicion. It is reported of an *Asian King*, that he told his Son; If he knew the ponderous burthensomness F of a Crown, he would not take it up, though lying at his Feet: And certainly King *Charles* at this present found his Brows so oppressed with the weight of the massie Gold, and pretious Stones of his Crown, that for the ease of them he was then forced to move it with his hand; and afterwards complained of the pain received by it: whose ensuing Reign did irrefragably prove it to grow like the Child upon *St. Christophers Back*, each hour more heavy and burthensome then other; And even then did give occasion to some curious and criticall Wits to make many ominous Prefages thereupon. The motion of the Parliament was as heavy as the Crown, who acknowledged the fore-mentioned Incitements for a Subsidy to be very rationally; yet would not suddenly resolve upon it, untill they had first presented their two Petitions concerning reasons of Religion, and Complaints of their Sufferings; which Points had been offered to his Father in the close of his last Parliament, and by his death left hitherto unanswered.

G In both which receiving competent satisfaction, as also an account of the disbursement of his Land, and Navall Forces, with an Audit of the future Charges and Expences of the *Spanish War*: He obtained of the Layity absolutely and freely two Subsidies from Protestants, four from Papists, and of the Clergy three. In this Parliament Doctor *Montague* the Kings Chaplain was questioned for certain Tenents in his Answer to the *Romish Gagger*, and his Defence thereof, filed, *Apello Casarem*; being brought to the Bar, the Speaker declared the pleasure of the House, That they would refer his Censure to the next Meeting; and in the mean time he should stand

committed to the Serjeants Ward, untill two thousand pounds Bail could be procured for his appearance next Sessions; and although the King took him into his protection, as being his Servant, yet his Bail-Bond remained uncanceled. In this Parliament were Laws Enacted;

Against Abuses committed on Sundayes.

For the King to make Leases of Lands, parcell of his Highness Dutchy of Cornwall, or annexed to the same.

For the ease of obtaining Licenses of Alienation, and in the pleading of Alienations with license; or of pardon of Alienations without license in the Court of Exchequer, or elsewhere.

For the further restraint of Tipling, and such like mis-behaviour in Innes, Ale-houses, and other Victualling Houses.

That this Session shall not determine by the Kings assent to these Acts.

There passed also in the House of Commons, *A Bill of Tonnage and Poundage*: but this was foundred in the House of Lords, because the House of Commons had limited it to a year: (whereas former Grants to the Kings Predecessors were for term of life) out of a design to reduce those Customs to the Rate settled in Queen *Maries* Reign. During this Session, the Lord *Mordant* a Papist, and his Wife a Protestant, desirous of one anothers Conversion, put their Cause upon a Disputation between the Archbishop of *Armagh*, and one *Rookwood* a Jesuit, calling himself *Beaumont*; wherein the Learned Primate so foiled his Adversary, at *Draiton* in *Northamptonshire*, about the points of Transubstantiation, Invocation to Saints, Images, and Visibility of the Church: That the Lord *Mordant* was convinced and converted, and his Lady confirmed.

On the Eleventh of *July* this year, the Parliament by reason of the Sickness Adjourned till the First of *August*; when they met again at *Oxford*, the Commons in the Divinity School, and the Lords in the Gallery above: shortly after which, the King calling them together at *Christs Church Hall*, urged to them (first by a Speech delivered to them himself; next by the two Secretaries, the Lord *Conway*, and Sir *John Cook*, who succeeded Sir *Albertus Morton*) His necessities of setting forth a Fleet for the recovery of the Palatinate. Moreover, the Lord Treasurer instanc'd the severall summs which King *James* died indebted to the City of *London*. These things produced high Debates among the Commons, who alledged;

That evill Counsels guided the Kings Designs.

That the Treasury was mis-employed.

That our Necessities arose through Improvidence.

That it would be necessary to Petition the King for a streight Hand, and better Councell to mannage his Affairs.

That though a former Parliament engaged the King in a War, yet, if things were mannag'd by contrary Designs, and the Treasure mis-employed, this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in Designs not guided by sound Councell.

That it was not usuall to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies in one Parliament, and no Grievances redress'd.

With severall other passages of the like Nature; they had also many Reflections upon the Dukes Mis-carriages: but in conclusion, they promis'd to take the Kings Desires into Consideration, and presented him a Petition against Recusants, Describing their Ends, ascribing their growth to certain Causes, and prescribing certain Remedies: Whereunto a plausible Answer was returned. And thereupon ensued a Debate in the House concerning Supplies; Some would Contribute presently, Others demurred, as disliking the Enterprize in hand, and inclining more to Sir *Robert Mansell's* Project, hitherto concealed, which was also approved by the Lord *Chichester*, but rejected by the Councel of War. Finally, The Major part agreed not to give, and growing incensed against the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord Admirall (as chief Opposer of *Mansell's* Plot) began to think of divesting him of his Admiralty, and other Offices, and Revenues; and to demand an Account of those publike Moneys wherewith he had been intrusted. All which they concluded to couch into an humble Remonstrance: to prevent which, the King determined to dissolve the Parliament, and accordingly the Usher of the black Rod, was sent from the House of Lords with that Message to the Commons, who were then resolved into a Grand Committee, and understanding the Kings Mind, caused the Speaker then in the Chair to keep his Seat, while they agreed upon this Protestation: To give his Majesty thanks for his gracious Answer to their Petition for Religion, and for his care of their Health, in giving them leave to depart this dangerous time of Sickness; And upon a durifull Declaration of their Affection and Loyalty, and purpose to supply him in a Parliamentary way, in a fitting and convenient time.

The Grounds of the *Spanish* War were these; 1. The recovery of the Palatinate. 2. A fear of the subversion of our civill Estate: Upon which Considerations, a Resolution pass the Council

A Council, for the Fleet to put speedily to Sea, and to conserve strict Amity with *France, Denmark*, and the united Provinces: with these last the King had entered a League, Offensive and Defensive, against the House of *Austria*, and promised to assist them in soliciting other Princes to the like confederation; conditionally, that they should bear a fourth part of the Charge of the Fleet. Now were the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Holland* dispatched to the *Hague*; who, meeting with the Ambassadors of *France* and *Denmark*, concluded a League for restoring the Liberties of *Germany*; the two last being no further Impowred from their Supreams.

Since in this History we meet with frequent mention of the Palatinate which had no small Influence upon the most weighty Transactions of this Nation, by reason of the great Zeal which the King of *England* had for the Restitution of Prince *Frederick*, allyed to him by Marriage;
B It will very much conduce to the better understanding of severall passages which herein often occur, to know the Originall Causes and Grounds of that War, which, to be brief, thus hapned.

The *Hussites* of *Bohemia* (for so those of the Reformation were call'd from *Joh. Huss*, one of the first of those that preacht among them a Defection from Romish Superstition) were desirous to build them a Church for the free exercise of their Religion, of which they layd the Foundation at a Town call'd *Brunaw*, and began another at *Clostergrabe*; hereat the Emperour *Matthias* taking distast, in regard these places were not under the Jurisdiction of any of the Reformed States, but belong'd, one of them to the Abbot of *Brunaw*, the other to the Archbishop of *Prague*; sent an Express to the Promoters of this Work to desist, which they refusing,
C and still going on in their intended Design, they were forcibly interrupted by the Emperours Order, their new-raised Walls raz'd to the ground, and divers of the Townsmen of *Brunaw* committed to Prison, for contempt of the Imperial Orders. This was hainously resented by the principal men, and gave occasion of great Uproars; for the people, gathering together into a numerous Company, demanding their just Priviledges, and the Liberty of their Imprison'd Citizens, made toward the Tower of *Prague*, where divers of the Emperours chief Ministers of State were sitting in Council; *Adam a Sternbergh* Burgrave of the Kingdome, *William Stabata* President of the *Bohemian* Chamber, *Jorusslaus Borzita*, Count *Martinitz*, *Baro Popelius* great Prior of *St. Maries*, and *Philip Fabricius* the Secretary: to these the people made their Complaint, and urg'd the Concession of their Demands; but not satisfied with the Answers they receiv'd, and still continuing Importunate, the Matter at length came to that height of provocation,
D that they seiz'd upon three of the Councillors (those that were most violent in opposing their Demands) and threw them out of the highest Window of the Tower, banisht and proscrib'd the Jesuits, set the Imprison'd *Brunovians* at liberty, and created thirty *Directors*, or *Administrators* of the Affairs of the Kingdome. The Emperour having sought in vain by faire means to allay these Commotions, dispatcht Letters immediatly to *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, *John George* Duke of *Saxony*, and the rest of the Electors; Also to the *Free Citys*, and to all his Friends and Allies, to stir them up against the *Bohemian* Confederates, and sent himself against them a considerable Army, under *Henry* Count *Tampier*, and *Charles Longeval* Count *Buquoy*, with other Forces, from *Albert* Governour of the *Low-countries*, under the Command
E of *Henry Julius* of *Lauenburg*, *Balthazar Marrade* Commander of *Malta*, Count *Buchem*, *Colalton*, and others.

In the midst of these Warlike Preparations, the Emperour *Matthias* dying without Issue, his Coin *Ferdinand* the Second, who had before been Crown'd King of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, was by the common consent of the Electors chosen to the Empire; which he no sooner attained, but he prosecuted the War begun by his Predecessor; nor were the *Bohemians* backward in the getting together of a powerfull Army; whereof their principall Leaders were *Ernest*, Count *Mansfield*, and *Henry Matthieu* Count *de la Tour*; to whom were joyn'd the *Moravians*, and *Silesians*: *Pilsa* was taken by *Mansfield*, and the Count *de la Tour* having won *Lipnit*, *Olmütz*, and other Towns of *Moravia*, invaded lower *Austria*, and brought his Army up to the very
F Walls of *Vienna*; but he was soon call'd away by the *Directors* to defend *Bohemia* from the Inroads of *Buquoy*, by whom *Mansfield*, as he was going to the Assistance of *de la Tour*, was met with, and absolutely Defeated, he himself having much ado to escape. In the mean time, the Reformed States and *Directors* at *Prague*, renouncing all Obedience to the Emperour *Ferdinand* their King, as not having allowed of his Election; consulted what Prince they should make choice of to offer the Kingdome of *Bohemia* unto, and at length they resolv'd upon Prince *Frederick*, Elector Palatine of the *Rhene*, who Married *Elizabeth* the Daughter of King *James* of Great Britain. *Frederick* was easily perswaded to accept of the Kingdome, and was created supream Captain of the *Evangelick Union*; but long he enjoy'd not these new conferred Honours; for not only all *Bohemia* was suddenly reduc'd to the Emperours Obedience by that memorable Battell at *Prague*; in which the Princes of the *Union* were overthrowen by *John Tserclas* Count of *Tilly*, but also his own Territory of the Palatinate was subdued by the Marquess of *Spinola*, sent for out of the *Low-countries*, and confer'd upon the Duke of *Bavaria*, together with the Electorall Dignity. For the restitution of this Prince, not only the King of *England*, and the States of *Holland*, earnestly laboured by frequent Embassies to the Emperour; but *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, made it one of his chief Pretences for the Invasion of *Germany*; of his success wherein, we shall hereafter have occasion to make mention in this History: and also *Christiern* King of *Denmark* took up Armes, though with less Fortune then

was hop'd for in the same Cause. This was that Grand Business which was made by King *James*, one of the main Conditions of the Match with *Spain*; and the not performance of which, was the cause of the breaking off that Match: and this was that in which his Son King *Charles* was so earnest and sollicitous, that his continuall craving of Supplies from the Parliament, very much layd open his Necessities, and the lowness of his Exchequer, and was in all probability the very originall Source of those Misfortunes and Calamities that afterwards befell him.

Soon after the dissolution of the Parliament, the King set forth a Proclamation, Commanding the return, by a prefixed time, of all Children of Noble Men, and others of his Subjects as had been sent to be Educated in Seminaries and Schools, where the Popish Religion was profest and taught: That none who had received Orders from the See of *Rome*, should presume to B confer Orders, or exercise Ecclesiasticall Functions in any of his Dominions. Also that the Statute should be put in execution for the departure of Priests and Jesuits out of his Dominions. Moreover his Majesty, by the advice of his privy Council, streightly commanded all those of his Subjects that were under the pay of the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and the Archdutchess, to return speedily to their Native Countries, to be employed as occasion should serve.

The Act of Subsidies being prevented by the dissolution of the Parliament; the King necessitated to take up Money upon Loan, of such persons as were of Ability to lend, directed his Letters to the Lord-Lieutenants of the severall Counties; *To return the Names of those Men whom they thought most sufficient, the places of their Habitations, and what Summs each of them might be judg'd able to lend.* And to those persons whose Names were returned by the Lord-Lieutenants; Letters were issued forth in the Kings Name, under the privy Seal, by the Lord Controller of his Majesties Household, in manner and form following.

Trusty and well Beloved, &c.

HAVING observed in the Presidents and Customes of former times, that all the Kings and Queens of this Realm, upon extraordinary Occasions, have used either to resort to those Contributions which arise from the generality of Subjects, or to the private helps of some well affected in particular, by way of Loan. In the former of which Courses, as we have no doubt in the Love and Affection of our People, when they shall again Assemble in Parliament; So for the present we are inforced to proceed in the latter Course, for supply of some Portions of Treasure, for divers publick Services, which without manifold Inconveniences to Us and our Kingdomes cannot be defer'd. And therefore this being the first time that we have required any thing in this kind, we doubt not, but we shall receive such a Testimony of good Affection from you amongst other of our Subjects, and that with such Alacrity and Readiness, as may make the same so much the more acceptable; especially since we require but that Summ, which few Men would deny a Friend, and have a Mind Resolved to expose all our Earthly Fortune for Preservation of the Generall. The sum which we require of you by these Presents, is, ——— which we do promise in the Name of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to repay to you, or your Assigns, within eighteen Months after the payment thereof unto the Collector: The Person whom we have appointed, is, ——— to whose hands we do require you to send it within twelve dayes after that you have received this Privy Seal, which together with the Collectors Acquittance, shall be sufficient Warrant to the Officers of our Reeceit, for the re-payment thereof at the time limited.

Given at, &c.

The Collectors of this Loan were ordered to pay the Summs received into the Exchequer, and to return the Names of such as went about to delay, or excuse the payment of the Summs required.

Upon

A Upon the Eighth of *October*, the Fleet set to Sea (under the Command of *Edward Cecil*, Viscount *Wimbleton*, second Son to *Thomas Earl of Exeter*, Generall for Land-War, and the Earl of *Essex*, Vice-admirall at Sea) and were encountered with so violent a Storm, that the greatest part of the Navy, which in all made up eighty Ships (some Dutch) was dissipated and scattered for seven daies together; and a gallant Ship, called the *Long Robert* of *Ipswich*, which one hundred and seventy persons in it, were utterly lost; the rest meeting again at the Southern Cape, where they consulted so long about the place of Landing, that the whole Coast Alarm'd by their discovery, had opportunity to prepare for Defence, and render their Shorning much more difficult and dangerous. The Earl of *Essex*, as we have sayd, was Vice-admiral; who out of a desire to equall his Fathers Glory gotten at *Cadix*, insisted earnestly upon the assailing of those Ships which lay in that Harbor: But *Puntall Castle* adjoyning, must first be won, before any good could be done; wherefore twenty English Ships, and five Dutch were ordered to advance against it, which with much ado they did, and came off again after they had, to no purpose, spent two thousand great Shot upon it. This not succeeding, the Generall resolved to try what might be done by Land; to which end Sir *John Burroughs* a *Veterane* Commander, was sent with a select Regiment of Foot to force it: against him some *Spanish* Forces which were come thither for the defence of that part of the Country, drew up: in which Engagement, they were so foyled by the *English*, that those within the Castle despairing of their own Ability to hold out, hung out a white Flag, and after a short Parley resigned the Fort, with fifteen Barrells of Powder, and eight pieces of Ordnance. And now the Earl of *Essex's* design of firing the Ships in the Harbour, began to appear more feasible; And Sir *Samuel Argall* was sent to manage that Business, and the Land-men were ordered to come ashore to refresh themselves, and to take in fresh Water and Forrage the Countries, and to guard those who were otherwise employed. Here the *Spaniard* might have made good work with them; for they finding the Cellars well provided of that Wine which was more rare with them in their own Country, Congratulated their own Felicities with such large Carowses of Sack, as if the least Intelligence had been stirring, they might have been easily surprized: which the Generall fearing, speedily re-embarked his drunken Soldiers, and put to Sea again in quest of the Plate-Fleet, then expected from the *West-Indies*. *Argall's* purpose of firing the Ships was also frustrated, by drawing up the best of them under *Port-Royal*, and sinking others in the Channell for obstruction.

D Twenty dayes they resolved to ply about the *Southern Cape*, in hopes of exployting something upon the Plate-Fleet: but the Contagion encreasing, made such a Massacre among them, that they soon wanted Hail-men for the Sails. And whereas some Ships had a greater number of infected persons, then others had: to remedy this, a most preposterous course was taken that every Ship should entertain by lot two sick, in exchange for so many sound; which propagated the Pestilence, and enforced the Generall to an untimely return homewards but four dayes before the Plate-Fleet came. Vicount *Wimbleton* was presently examined about the whole, and prohibited the Kings presence for many Months after; whereof he complains to the Duke (lately returned from his Negotiation at the *Hague*) Apologizing for himself, and accusing the Stubborness of others; particularly the Earl of *Essex*, who might (if he would) have detroyed the *Spanish* Ships.

Sir *Robert Mansell* a stout and expert Sea-man, was the man generally lookt upon as fittest to have Commanded in this Expedition; in which, his being neglected, was a thing that gave much discontent to the Mariners; and both that and other miscarriages in this Design, were imputed to the Dukes ill mannagement of Affairs, of which, what the common Censure was, appears by this following Letter of the Lord *Cromwells* to the Duke himself.

F They offer to lay Wagers the Fleet goes not this year; And that of necessity a Parliament must be: which when it comes, sure it will much discontent you. It is wondered at, that since the King did give such great Gifts to the Dutchess of Chevreux, and those that then went, how now a small summe in the Parliament should be called for at such an unseasonable time: and let the Parliament sit when it will, begin they will where they ended. They say, the Lords of the Council knew nothing of Count *Mansfield's* Journey, or this Fleet, which discontents even the best sort, if not all. They say it is a very great Burthen your Grace takes upon you, since none knows anything but you: Is it concern'd, that not letting others bear part of the Burthen you now bear, it may ruine you (which Heaven forbid.) Much discourse there is of your Lordship here, and there, as I passed home, and back; and nothing is more wonder'd at, then that one grave man is not known to have your Ear, except my good and noble Lord *Conway*. All men say, if you go not with the Fleet, you will suffer in it; because if it prosper, it will be thought no Act of yours, and if it succeed ill, they say, it might have been better, had not you guided the King. They say, your undertakings in the Kingdome will much prejudice your Grace; and if God blefs you not in Goodness, as to accept kindly what in Duty and Love I here offer,

offer; questionless my freedom in letting you know the Discourse of the World, may A much prejudice me; but if I must lose your Favour, I had rather lose it for striving to do you good, in letting you know the talk of the wicked World, then for any thing else: So much I heartily desire your prosperity, and to see you trample the ignorant Multitude under foot.

All I have said is the Discourse of the World, and when I am able to judge of Actions, I will freely tell your Lordship my mind: which when it shall not alwaies incline to serve you, may all noble Thoughts forsake me.

THe Coronation now drew on, which was to be on the second of February; at what time the King passed not in usuall State through the streets to the Tower, but went by Water from Whitehall to Westminster, for fear of the danger of popular Concourse, by reason that, although the Plague was indeed decreased, yet some Dregs of it still remained. The Bishop of Lincoln as Dean of Westminster, should have performed a main part of this Ceremony, but he being then under displeasure, Doctor Laud Bishop of St. Davids, supplied his place; and the old form of Prayer heretofore layd aside, ever since the time of Henry the Sixth, was again resumed; Viz.

Let him obtain Favour for this People, like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elizeus in the Waters, Zacharias in the Temple, give him Peters Key, and Pauls Doctrine.

The Ceremony of the Coronation was thus ordered; As the King went from Westminster Hall toward the Abbey, there went first before, the Aldermen of the City of London, usher'd by a Herald; next the Knights of the Bath in their Robes, each of them attended by his Equire, and Page: after them the Judges, the Serjeants at Law, the Kings Attorney-Generall, and the Masters of Request; then the privy Councillors, and the chief Officers of the Kings Household; next the Barons in their Parliament Robes, with Swords by their sides, and bare headed; after the Barons came the Bishops also bare headed, in their Scarlet Gowns and Lawn Sleeves; next them the Viccounts and Earls in their Coronation Robes, and Coronetted Caps; in the last place went the Officers of State for the day; Viz. The Lord Privy Seal, the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Earl of Dorset carrying the first Sword, the Earl of Essex the second Sword, the Earl of Kent the third; the Spurs were carried by the Earl of Montgomery; the Globe with the Cross on it, by the Earl of Suffolk; the Golden Cup and Plate for the Communion by the Bishops of London and Winchester: the Scepter was carried by the Earl of Rutland; the Sword of State naked by the Marquis of Hamilton, the Crown by the Earl of Pembroke; among the Serjeants at Armes, went the Lord Mayor in a Crimson Velvet Gown, each of them carrying a short Scepter; next, immediatly before the King, went the Earl of Arundel, as Earl Marshall of England, and the Duke of Buckingham as Lord High-Constable for that day. The King entered into the Abbey Church, at the West-Gate, under a rich Canopy of State, carried by the Barons of the Cinque Ports, and was himself supported on the one hand by Doctor Neile, Bishop of Durham, on the other hand by Doctor Lake Bishop of Bath and Wells: His Train which contained six Yards of Purple Velvet was held up by the Lord Compton, Master of the Robes, and the Lord Viscount Doncaster, Master of the Wardrobe: he was met by Bishop Laud (who supplied the Deans place) and the Prebends of Westminster in their rich Copes; who delivered into his hands the Staff of King Edward the Confessor, with which he walked up to the THRONE, which was framed from the Quire to the Altar. There were appointed for the King three Chais: 1. The Chair of Repose. 2. The ancient Chair of Coronation. 3. The Chair of State, which was placed upon a square Ascent of six steps. The King, after he had Reposed himself awhile, was by the Archbishop of Canterbury presented bare headed to the Lords and Commons, East, West, North, South; of whom the Archbishop demanded, If they consented to the Coronation of King Charles their lawfull Sovereign? To which after they had exprest their readines by an Acclamation made four severall times, the King betooke himself again to his Chair of Repose, during the time of Sermon; which ended, the King, going to the Communion Table, and kneeling down, the Archbishop askt his Majesty, If he was willing to take the Oath usually taken by his Predecessors? To which he made Answer, That he was willing, arose, and went to the Altar, where severall Interrogations were tendered to him by the Archbishop, to each of which distinctly the King gave his Affirmative Answer.

Archbishop, Sir, Will you grant and keep, and by your Oath confirm to the people of England, the Laws and Customes to them granted by the Kings of England, your lawfull and Religious Predecessors; And namely, The Laws, Customs, and Franchises granted to the Clergie, by the Glorious King St. Edward your Predecessor,

A 'Predecessor, according to the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel establishment in this Kingdome, agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the ancient Customes of the Realm?

'KING, I grant and promise to keep them.

'A. SIR, Will you keep Peace and godly Agreement (according to your power, both to God, the holy Church, the Clergie, and the People?

B 'K. I will keep it.

'A. SIR, Will you to your power cause Law, Justice, and Discretion, to Mercy and Truth to be executed to your Judgment?

'K. I will.

'A. SIR, Will you grant to hold and keep the Laws and rightfull Customes which the Commonalty of this your Kingdome have? And will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God so much as in you lyeth?

'K. I grant and promise so to do.

'Then one of the Bishops with a loud Voice before the People read to the King this following Admonition.

Our Lord and King, We beseech you to pardon, and to grant, and preserve unto us and to the Churches committed to your Charge, all Canonically Priviledges, and to do Law and Justice; And that you would protect and defend us, as every good King to his Kingdomes ought to be PROTECTOR, and DEFENDER of the Bishops, and the Churches under their Government.

The King answereth with a willing and devout Heart.

E I promise and grant my Pardon; and that I will preserve and maintain to You, and the Churches committed to your Charge, All Canonically Priviledges, and due Law and Justice: And that I will be your PROTECTOR, and DEFENDER to my power, by the Assistance of God, as every good King in his Kingdome in right ought to Protect and Defend the Bishops and Churches under their Government.

F 'Then the King arising was led to the Communion Table, where laying his Hand upon the BIBLE, He, in the sight of all the People made a solemn Oath (to observe the Premises) which was as followeth;

The Things which I have here promised, I shall perform and keep; So help Me God, and the Contents of this Book.

G 'Afterwards his Robes being taken off, and offered at the Altar, the King stood for a while stripped to his Dublet and Hose, of white Sattin; then led by the Archbishop, and the Bishop of St. Davids, He was placed in the Chair of Coronation, having a close Canopy spread over him, and while the Archbishop Anointed his Head, Shoulders, Armes, and Hands with a costly Oyntment, the Quire sung an Anthem of these words;

Zadock the Priest Annoynted King Solomon. —

‘Thence in his Doublet and Hose, with a white Coif on his Head, he was led back again to the Communion-table, where Doctor *Land* the Bishop of *St. Davids*, who supplied the Dean of *Westminsters* place, Vested him with the ancient Habilliments of King *Edward* the Confessor, and conducting him back to the Chair of Coronation, presented him with King *Edwards* Crown, which the Archbishop put upon his Head, and in the mean time the Quire sung this Anthem;

Thou shalt put a Crown of pure Gold upon his Head.

‘After which, the Earls and Vis-counts put on their Coronetted Caps of Crimson Velvet; then every Bishop came severally to the King, and gave him their Benediction, and he rising from his Chair bowed to each of them apart. Next King *Edwards* Sword was girt about him, which he took off himself, and offer’d at the Communion-table, with two Swords more, in relation to *Ireland* and *Scotland*: His Spurs were put on by the Duke of *Buckingham*, as Master of the Horse; which done, he offer’d first Gold and Silver, then Bread and Wine, to be used at the Communion.

‘Thus compleatly Crown’d, the King was conducted by the Nobility to the THRONE, where he receiv’d the Oath of Homage, (the Quire in the mean time singing *TE DEUM*) from the Duke of *Buckingham*, as Lord High-constable for that Day, who also swore the rest of the Nobility at the Kings Knee, to be Homagers to his Majesty; then the Earls and Barons layd their Hands upon the Crown, as it was upon the Kings Head, making a solemn Protestation to spend their Blood to maintain it to him, and his Posterity: the Bishops took no Oath, but kneeling down the King kissed each of them; then the King taking out of his Bosom a Scrowl of Parchment, the Effect of which was, A promise of Pardon under his broad Seal to all that accept it; gave the Scrowl to the Lord Keeper, who read it four times, *East, West, North, and South*. From the Throne the King went to the Communion-table, and after Prayers had been read by the Archbishop, the *Nicene Creed* sung by the Quire; and the *Epistle* and *Gospel* read by the Bishops of *Landaff*, and *Norwich*; his Majesty receiv’d the Communion, the Bread from the Archbishop, the Wine from the Bishop of *St. Davids*: and at the same time, *GLORIA PATRI* was sung; which being ended, the Archbishop reading certain Prayers, concluded the Ceremony. After which, the King dis-robed himself in King *Edwards* Chappell, and came forth girt in a short Robe of red Velvet, lin’d with *Ermins*, and a lesser Crown upon his Head set with pretious Stones, and taking Barge with all his Train of Nobles at *Westminster* Stairs, He returned to *Whitehall*.

Great Forces had been lately raised both for Sea and Land; for whose better Disciplining, an hundred and fifty old Soldiers were commanded home from the *Netherlands*, by whose Industry the Forces were brought into some good Order, against the sitting of the ensuing Parliament, which Assembled the sixth of *February*: And Sir *Henage Finch* was Speaker of the House of Commons; who having made his Excuses, such as are usuall upon the like occasions, addrest himself in a Speech to the King.

In which,

First, He humbly gave thanks to his Majesty for his Favour towards him in approving the Choice which the House had made of him for their Speaker. Next he expressed himself in the praise of Monarchy in generall, but much more largely and particularly of the Happiness of this Nation under the present King, and his Government; speaking also against the Pride and Tyranny of the Spanish Monarchy, and the unjust Invasion of the Palatinate. Lastly, He crav’d leave of his Majesty to present him these four Petitions in behalf of the whole House.

I. That they, and their necessary Attendants might be free both in their Persons and Goods, from all Arrests and Troubles, according to their ancient Priviledges.

II. That

A II. That his Majesty would vouchsafe them liberty and freedom of Speech, so long as nothing should be therein contain'd contrary to their Duty and Loyalty.

III. That when important Occasions requir'd, he would grant them free Access to his Royall Person.

IV. That their Proceedings might be free from mis-constructions, and receive a favourable interpretation at his hands.

B The first thing done in this Convention, was, The rendring of thanks to the King for his gracious Answer to their late Petition for Religion. Next they fell into Debate of publick Grievances; The mis-carrying of the Fleet to *Cadiz*: The evill Counsellors about the King: Mis-employment of the Kings Revenue: An Account of the Subsidies, and three Fifteens, granted in the twenty first of King *James*; and in the Committee for Grievances these four Heads were delivered.

Proceeding in Parliament.

Four Heads delivered in the Committee for Grievances.

I. The State of the King in the constant Revenue of the Crown.

C Wherein they considered how much it was abated, from what it had been formerly by, Gifts of Lands, *Ex mero motu*, by large Grants of Pensions, by encrease of Household, and of Purveyors, by fruitless Embassies, by treble encrease of the privy Purse, by double encrease of the Treasury of the Chamber, and great Wardrobe.

II. The Condition of the Subject in his Freedom.

Wherein were considered the bringing in of new Impositions; the multiplying of Monopolies, and selling them by Grants; the levying of Tonnage and Poundage without any Act of Parliament, and the mis-employment or wast of the Treasure.

D III. The cause of the Nations good Successes in former Times.

Whereby it was fear'd, Victorious, and Renown'd abroad, which, they judg'd, was to be attributed to the Wisdome and Gravity of Councell, who order'd nothing but by publick Debate, from whence there arose a readines in the People to assist their Sovereign in Purse and Person.

IV. The present Condition of the Nation.

E Wherein was represented the loss of its wonted Reputation, through the ill success at *Algier*, in the Palatinate, in Count *Mansfields* Expedition, and at *Cadiz*: and this was imputed to the want of such Councels as were heretofore us'd, forasmuch as men through a diffidence in the success, were backward to adventure either their Persons, or Purse.

In the Committee concerning Religion, and the growth of Popery, Mr. *Richard Mountague's* two Books: *Viz. His Answer to the Romish Gagger, and his Appeal to Caesar*; were again brought into question, and severall Articles exhibited against him, whereby he was tax'd of divers passages in the aforesaid Books, tending to the encouragement of Popery, and the drawing away of his Majesties Subjects from the true Religion establish'd, unto Errour and Superstition; with other passages dishonourable to the late King, and full of injurious and railing Language to other persons: As also, that he endeavour'd to raise Factions in the Common-wealth,

Mr. Richard Mountague's Gagger & Appeal to Caesar, again question'd.

F by casting the scandalous Name of Puritans upon such of his Majesties Subjects as conform'd themselves to the Doctrine of the Church of England; whereupon the House of Commons gave their Censure: That he ought to be brought to exemplary punishment, and to have his Books burnt; Nor do we find, that he ever made any Defence, or Answer to these Articles that were brought against him.¹² It is observable, that a little before the meeting of the Parliament, Doctor *Land* understanding from the Duke, that the King intended to leave Mr. *Mountague* to a Tryall, was heard to utter these words: *I seem to see a Cloud arising and threatening the Church of England, God in his mercy dissipate it.* Not long after, the Commons sending for the Earl of *Totnes*, the Lords, *Vere*, *Brook*, and *Grandison*, Sir *Robert Mansell*, and Sir *John Oyle*, who were of the Council of War, that sat upon the Affairs of the Palatinate, question'd them concerning the management of that business; but the rest of them making their severall excuses, Sir *Robert Mansell* was he only who declared himself ready to render a cleer account of it.

The Palatinate Affairs called into question. Complaint of the Scotch and Irish Nobility, for claiming Precedency of the Peers of England. *Matravers* marries the Duke of *Lennox's* eldest Daughter.

G Complaint was also made in the House of severall persons; who by reason of some late created Dignities in Scotland and Ireland, claimed Precedency of the Peers of England: To this Redress was promised, wherewith the House of Lords were for the present satisfied, though soon after, much more dissatisfied by another Occurrent: The Lord *Matravers's* eldest Son and Heir to the Earl of *Arundell*, had married the eldest Daughter of the late Duke of *Lennox*, contrary to the Kings mind; who intended her for the Lord *Lorne's* Argiles Heir: the King hereat offended,

The Earl of Arundel committed to the Tower.

Sir Richard Weston sent by the King to demand supply for the English and Irish Forces.

Six Quarries by Dr. Turner thereupon.

offended, commits the Earl of Arundell to the Tower, which caused a Petition from the Peers; A wherein they pleaded, That no Peer sitting in Parliament is to be Imprisoned without order from the House of Lords, unless for Felony, Treason, or denial of Security for the Peace. This was disputed for the space of two Months, and then the Earl set at liberty. The Commons were busied in the mean time about searching the Signet Office, for the Originall of a Letter under the Signet, written to the Mayor of York, for relieving certain Jesuits, Priests, and other Recusants, and reported by Mr. Pim Chair-man to the Committee for Religion; but their proceeding was interrupted by a Message from the King, brought by Sir Richard Weston, Chancellour of the Exchequer, demanding supply for the English and Irish Forces. This was so dis-relished, that Mr. Clement Cook one of the Commons, openly protested, That it was better to die by a forrein Enemy, then to be destroyed at home; whom Doctor Turner a Physician seconded with these six Quarries.

1. Whether the King hath not lost the Regality of the Narrow Seas, since the Duke became Admirall?

2. Whether his going as Admirall in this last Fleet, was not the cause of the ill Success, for the Fleet was lately returned again without any considerable performance?

3. Whether the Kings Revenue hath not been impaired by his immense Liberality? C

4. Whether he hath not ingrossed all Offices, and preferred his Kindred to unfit Places?

5. Whether he hath not made Sale of places of Judicature?

6. Whether Recusants have not dependence upon his Mother and Father-in-law?

The King offended.

These Expressions so Irritated the King, that he sent immediately Sir Richard Weston to the House of Commons to require satisfaction. Immediately upon the Kings Message, Doctor Turner made a Speech in his Vindication, and to explain himself, alleading;

Dr. Turner's Vindication.

That what he had said, was for the generall good of the Common-wealib, and not reflecting upon any one in particular. That to accuse upon common Fame, he thought to be a Parliamentary way, and warranted by the Canons of the Church, and the Imperiall Laws, and by ancient Presidents, the Duke of Suffolk in King Henry the Sixth time, having been accused upon common Fame. He added moreover, that Mr. Chancellor himself had presented the common Undertakers upon particular Fame, and that he knew no reason, why he himself might not in that place have as ample a Priviledge. E

And the Debate of that matter being put off to another day, he in the mean time writ a Letter to the Speaker, to excuse his absence, by reason of his Indisposition of Body, and to signifie his desire of putting himself wholly upon the Judgment and Censure of the Parliament.

Sir William Walter delivers his Sence of the Grievances in Parliament.

Sir William Walter delivering his Sence to the House concerning the Grievances, sayd, That the true Cause of them was for that (as was sayd of Lewis the Eleventh of France) All the Kings Councell rode upon one Horse. Wherefore his Majesty was to be advised, as Moses was by Jethro, to make choice of Councillors to assist him that should be thus qualified;

1. Noble, and not Uptarts and of a Nights growth.

2. Men of Courage, such as would execute their own places, and not commit them to undeserving Deputies.

3. Fearing God, not inclining to false Worship, or halting between two Opinions.

4. Dealing truly, not given to flattery, or fawning Courtship, but such as might be safely trusted by the King and Kingdome.

5. Hating Covetousness, and not such as liv'd upon other mens Ruines, or that would take Bribes, or sell places in Church or Common-wealth, or about the King.

6. To be Many, in the multitude of Councillors, there being safety.

7. To judge of small matters, as well as great (the greatest being to be refer'd to the King) much less any one Councillor alone to take upon him the whole management of a Business. G

Is seconded by Sir John Eliot.

8. Elders, not young and unexperienc'd men, through whose rash and unadvised proceedings, great Designs many times miscarry. In this Debate he was seconded by Sir John Eliot who represented to the House, The present State of the Kingdome, the great dishonour the King and Kingdome had sustained in severall mis-carriages, occasion'd through the ill management of things by those in highest trust. He also cited two Presidents, the first in the sixteenth year of Henry the Third, when the Parliament denied the Subsidies that were demanded by the King, untill such time as the great Officers were examined, & Hugo de Burgo found guilty of Corruption was displac'd. The second in the tenth year of Richard the Second, when supply was requir'd, and the Commons complaining

A complaining, that the Earl of *Suffolk* then over-ruled all, returned answer, *That they could not give.* Notwithstanding the heat of these debates, the Commons taking into Consideration the Kings necessities, voted three Subsidies and Three fifteens, and that the Act should be brought in as soon as the Grievances, that should be presented to the King, were answered by him. They also took againe into consultation the businesse, concerning the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the mis-employment of the Revenue, and ordered that the Duke should againe have notice of their intentions, to proceed therein. But the King, not perceiving them to make such hast, as he expected, to answer his last message, summons both houses together, and signifies his resentments to them by the Lord Keeper, *Coventry*, complaining of them for not punishing Mr. *Cooke*, and Doctor *Turner*, and for searching his signet Office; he also justified the Duke to have acted nothing of publique employment without his speciall Warrant, wherefore he forbad them to use any more disquisition of that nature, which he look't upon as libelling against his own government: lastly he came to businesse of Supply, wherein he blamed them for being too sparing and for ordering the bill not to be brought in till their Grievances were heard and answered, which he would not admit of. To all these points their finall answer was expected by Saturday next. This was the Substance of the Lord Keepers Speech, which being ended the King said. He must with all put them in mind that his Father, moved by their Councell, and won by their perswasions, brake the treaty's. In those perswasions he was their Instrument towards his Father, and was glad to be instrumentall in any thing, which might please the whole Body of the Realme; nor was there any then in greater favour with them, than the Duke whom now they so traduced:

C But now finding him so sure intangled in Warr, as he had no honourable and safe retreat, they made his necessity their Priviledge, and set what rare they pleased upon their Supply's, a Practice not very obliging towards Kings. And whereas Mr. *Cooke* told them it was better to dye by a Forrain Enemy, then to be destroyed at home: Indeed he thought it more Honourable for a King to be invaded and almost destroyed by a Forrain Enemy than to be despised at home. At a conference of both houses in the painted Chamber, the Duke of *Buckingham* was commanded by the King to explain some things in his and the Lord Keepers speech that might be subject to misunderstanding; which the Duke accordingly did, and afterwards rendred an Account at Large of his negotiation in the Low-countrys. As soon as the Duke had ended his Speech, the Lord *Conway*, Chief Secretary of State, in farther justification of the Duke and to clear him from the opinion of having unusefully & without Councell expended the Treasure, discours't particularly of the treatie of *Denmark*, of the Project of count *Manifield*, of the Treaties with *France* and the businesse of the Navy, and avett'd that they were not done by single Councell, since King *James* himselfe commanded it, and then he gave in a punctuall Account of the severall Sums, disbursed for the Warr.

D It was now the year 1626 and the Second year of King *Charles*, Reigne; when the Commons, in answer to the Kings last Speech, presented him with a Remonstrance to this Purpose:

E *That they gratefully received his Majesty's expressions of affection to his people, and Parliament.*

That they had taken Mr. Cookes and Doctour Turners words into their consideration, and might have given a good account thereof by this time, if his Majesties message had not interrupted them.

That they had the precedents of former Parliaments for Searching the Letters of his Majesty and his Secretary of State, the Signet Office and other Records upon the like occasions:

F *That it was the unquestionable priviledge of Parliaments to complaine of any persons of any Degree, and their proceedings in relation to the Duke should not prejudice either Crowne or Kingdome.*

That they were willing to Supply his necessity's liberally and faithfully; if addition might be made of other things importing his Service, then in consultation amongst them.

G *The Kings answer was short.*

That he would have them in the first place consult about matters of the greatest importance, and that they should have time enough for other things afterwards.

The Parliaments Remonstrance to the King concerning the words spoken by Mr. Cooke and Dr. Turner.

The Earl of Bristol treated by Secretary Conway in order to his releasement.

The Earl of Bristol having been refer'd to be examin'd by a committe of Lords, appointed by the King touching his negotiation in Spain, and upon consultation of the Business, having been committed to Prison, prohibited access to his Majestie and continu'd under restraint ever since his return out of Spain, received a letter from the Lord Conway; wherein in order to his releafe he propounded to him from his Majestie this choise.

Whether he would choose to sit still without being question'd for any errors past in his negotiation in Spain, and enjoy the benefit of the late gracious Pardon, whereof he might take the Benefit; Or whether, being contented to waive the advantage of that Pardon, he would, for the clearing of his innocency (of which he and his friends were so confident) Put himselfe into a legall way of examination for the tryall thereof.

In answer to which he wrote back to the Lord Conway;

That whereas now his proposition was, *Whether he would choose to sit still without being farther question'd, &c.* his Lordship might remember, that in a former Letter he propos'd whether he desir'd to rest in the security he was in, and to acknowledge the gracious favour of his Majestie that now is, who had been pleased not to question his actions. I wish said he, that your Lordship had more clearly explained the sence of the former Letter, but conferring both together and gathering the meaning by making the latter an explanation of the former, I return unto your Lordship this direct answer; That I doe most humbly acknowledge and accept of his Majesties Grace and Favour and shall not waive any thing that shall come to me by the Pardon of 21 Jacobi Regis, or by the Pardon of his present Majesties Coronation.

He petitioneth the House of Lords about his liberty and that he might be heard against the Duke of Buckingham.

At the same time the Earl Petition'd the house of Lords to intercede with his Majestie, that whereas, being a Peer of this Realm he had not receiv'd a Summons from Parliament, he might enjoy the libertie of a Subject and the benefit of his Peerage after two years restraint, without being brought to a tryall; and that if any charge were brought in against him he might be tryed by Parliament. Hereupon the Earl of Hertford reported from the Committee of Priviledges, to which the businesse was refer'd, that it would be requisite for their Lordships to beseech his Majestie to grant a Writ of Summons to the Earl of Bristol; Which when it was brought to him, there came along with it a Letter from the Lord Keeper signifying unto him.

That though his Majestie had given way to the awarding of the writ, yet notwithstanding his pleasure was that his Lordship should continue still under the same restraint as he did before, and that his personall attendance was to be forborn.

This Letter with his own answer to it the Earl of Bristol sent to the House of Lords together with a Petition wherein he express'd himselfe.

That though he should ever obey the least intimation of his Majesties pleasure, yet he humbly offer'd to their Lordships wise Consideration, as too high a point for him, how farr this might trench upon the Liberty and safety of the Peers, and the authority of their Letters Patents, to be in this sort discharg'd by a letter missive of any Subject without the Kings hand, and besought them that he might be heard both as to the point of his wrongfull restraint, and of what he had to say against the Duke.

The King displeas'd with the Earl of Bristols Petition.

The King much incens'd at this Petition, sent a message to the House of Lords by the Lord Keeper, by which he signified his resentment of it as void of duty and respect to his Majestie; and that it was his royall pleasure that the Earl might be sent for as a Delinquent to answer, in the House, his offences; and his scandalizing the Duke of Buckingham, immediatly, and his Majestie by reflection. The Earl being brought to the Lords Bar, and ready to be impeacht of high treason by the Atturney Generall, besought their Lordships: That as he was a Freeman and a Peer of the Realm unattainted and had something to say of high Consequence for his Majesties service, he might have liberty to speak; which having obtain'd, I accuse, said he, that man the Duke of Buckingham of high Treason; This resolute proceeding of the Earl mov'd the Atturney Generall to hasten his charge against him, which was drawn up into Eleven Articles, to this effect.

Articles against the Earl of Bristol.

I. That falsly & traitterously he inform'd the late King by sundry Letters, that the Emperour and King of Spain would really make restitution of the Dominions and dignity of the Count Electour Palatine, and that the King of Spain did really intend the Marriage between his now Majestie then Prince of Wales, and Donna

“ Maria

A " *Donna Maria* the Infanta of *Spain*, whereas neither by the Emperour the said restitution, nor by the King of *Spain* the said Marriage was ever really intended.

" II. That having receiv'd directions to put the King of *Spain* to a speedy and punctuall answer, touching the aforesaid treaties, he neverthelesse continued them upon Generalities without pressing the King of *Spain* to particullar conclusions:

" III. That he did many times both by word and Letters extoll the Greatnesse and Power of the King of *Spain*, to the intent that he might retard the Late Kings Resolutions, of declaring himselfe an Enemy to the King of *Spain*.

" IIII. That being told upon his dispatch out of this Realm, that there was little probability of the Success of these Treaties, he reply'd, he cared not what the Success thereof would be, for he would be carefull to pursue his Instructions, and howsoever the Businesse went he would make his Fortunes thereby.

" V. That to advance the *Romish* Religion, during the time aforesaid, he often by Letters perswaded his Late Majestie to set at Libertie the Priests and Jesuits, and to grant all Papists a toleration of their Religion.

" VI. That by his false Informations and Intelligences given to the Late King, and the Prince, his now Majestie, they were put into hopes, and by long delays into jealousies, concerning the said Treaties, that there was not that sincerity in them which they expected: Whereupon the said Prince, his now Majestie intending either to conclude the Treatie or discover the feigned intentions of the Emperour and King of *Spain*, was forced to undertake a long and dangerous Journey, to the hazard of his own person, and in him of the Peace and safety of the Kingdome.

D " VII. That at the Prince his first coming into *Spain*, the Earl asked of the Prince for what end he came thither, who, not conceiving his meaning, answered, you know as well as I, upon which he reply'd, Sr. give me leave to tell you, they say here in Madrid, that you mean to change your Religion, and added, if you will trust me with so great a secret, I will endeavour to carry it the secretest way I can; at which the Prince being mov'd told him, he wonder'd what he had ever found in him, that he should think him so base, as for a wife to change his Religion, to which the Earl desiring his pardon return'd, it was but out of his desire to serve him.

E " VIII. That at another conference he traiterously endeavour'd to perswade him to turn *Romish* Catholique, using this Argument, That the state of *England* never did nor could possibly doe any great thing but when Obedient to the Pope of *Rome*.

" IX. That upon an overture of Marriage between the Prince *Palatine*, and the Emperours Daughter, and his being brought up in the Emperours Court, upon which consideration he should be restor'd to the Palatinate, when mention was made of the danger of changing his Religion, the Earl said that without some such great action the Peace of Christendome could never be procur'd.

" X. That at the Prince his departure out of *Spain*, the Powr's of *Desponsories* being left with the Earl of *Bristol*, an Express was soon after sent him by the Late King not to deliver them untill a full conclusion were made Concerning the Palatinate, nevertheless contrary to his Duty and Allegiance, he set so short a day for the *Desponsories* without any assurance or so much as treating of those things to which he was restrained, that if extraordinary diligence with good success in the Journey had not concur'd, the Princes hands might have been bound up and yet he neither sure of a wife, nor the Prince *Palatine* of restitution.

" XI. Lastly that in a high and Contempruous manner he had prefer'd a scandalous Petition to this Honourable House, in one Article whereof he gave his now Majestie

"the lie by denying and offering to falsifie what his now Majestie had affirmed." A

Upon this impeachment, the Earl affirm'd, that at his importunity the Late King promis'd that he should be heard before himself, and for the Kings Promise he vouch'd the Lord Chamberlaine for a Witnesse. I pray God, said he, that Promise did him no hurt, for he Died shortly after, then he put the House in mind of his Petition, and desir'd that before he were impeach'd, they would receive his Charge against the Duke and the Lord Conway, so having presented his Articles, he withdrew, and it was resolv'd upon the question by the House of Lords, that the Articles against the Duke and the Lord Conway should immediately be read, Being afterwards called to the Lords Bar concerning his Articles against the Duke; he made a long Narration touching the Proceedings of the Duke toward him. Which was,

The Earl of Bristol's narration to the Lords concerning the Dukes proceedings towards him.

That he, conceiving himself bound not to conceal, for any earthly respect whatsoever, the true State of Affaires, wrote severall Letters to his Late Majestie in which he faithfully gave his Opinion, That the Distasts between the Duke of Buckingham and the King of Spain's Ministers, would, if his wisdom prevented it not, utterly overthrow all his Affaires. Of which Letters the Duke coming to the knowledge, and fearing least at the Earls return his Misdemeanours in Spain should come to be discover'd, labour'd by all means possible that his Access to his Majestie might be obstructed, and having in vain solicited the Marques of Hamilton and the Lord Chamberlain to that Purpose, he so contriv'd the matter, that, at the Earls landing at Dover, a Letter was delivered him from the Lord Conway commanding him in his Majesties name to retire himselfe to his House and not to come to Court till he had answered such questions as should be propounded to him by certain Lords of the Councell at his Majesties appointment: this was done as supposing that if his arrest had been defer'd till he had come to London, he would have easily gotten access to the Kings Presence. Upon his frequent importunity to the King that he might be brought to a hearing, he still receiv'd a serious promise confirm'd at last with an Oath, that as soon as he should have answered to certain questions that were to be propounded to him by the Commissioners he should be admitted; these questions he Earnestly urg'd might be sent him, and that speedily, which was likewise promis'd: he added that he was dealt with by one Mr. Clark to acknowledge certain Propositions that were sent him from the Duke, which he refusing, the Duke grew more and more incens'd against him, and his Interrogatories before the Commissioners were by many Artifices still delay'd from time to time, untill the Dukes turn was serv'd in detaining him from the Kings Presence and then the said questions were never more heard of. Also upon the Earls sending of his Answer to all the Commissioners, they having declar'd themselves satisfied and being resolv'd to clear him, were never permitted more to meet. Afterwards the Duke sent him again four or five Propositions and promis'd that upon his acknowledgement of them, he would imploy his Power with the King and Prince, that he might be again received into their Grace and Favour, but those were so unjust that instead of an Acknowledgment he sent him an Answer, which though it satisfied not the Duke, yet his late Majestie was pleas'd to say in the Dukes presence, were to be accounted a Tyrant to enioyne an innocent man to confess faults of which he was not guilty, and sent him word that he would hear him concerning the Duke of Buckingham, as well as the Duke concerning him, and this hapned but a little before his Majesties sickness. Upon his now Majesties coming to the Crown, he in an humble Letter implor'd his Grace and Goodesse, but was still kept in disfavour with him through the meanes and Insigation of the said Duke.

The Earl having thus declar'd his mind concerning these Particulars and again put them in remembrance of his cause presented to them in his Late Petition, he withdrew, and remained in the Custody of Mr. Maxwell the Gentleman Usher.

The twelve Articles which the Earl of Bristol prefer'd against the Duke of Buckingham, were these.

The Earl of Bristol's Articles against the Duke of Buckingham.

I. **T**hat the Duke did secretly conspire with the Conde of Gondamar Ambassadors of Spain, before the said Ambassadors last returne into Spain 1621, to carry his Majestie, then Prince, into Spain, so the end, he might be enforced, and instanced in the Romish Religion, and thereby have perverted the Prince, and subverted the true Religion established in England.

II. That

A II. That Mr. Porter was made acquainted therewith, and sent into Spaine, and such message framed at his returne as might serve for a ground to set on foot the Conspiracie: which was done accordingly, and thereby both King and Prince highly abused.

III. The Duke at his arrivall in Spain, Nourished the Spanish Ministers not onely in the Beliefe of his own being Popishly given, by absenting himselfe from all Exercises of our Religion (then constantly used in the Earl of Bristols House) and conforming himself to please the Spaniard, by keeping to and adoring their Sacraments, but gave them hope also of the Princes conversion which caused them to propound worse conditons for Religion, then had been formerly Sealed and Signed by the Earl of Bristol; and Sr. Walter Ashton.

IV. That the Duke did many times, in the presence of the Earl of Bristol, move his Majesty, at the Instance of the Conde of Gondarmer, to write a Letter to the Pope; which the Earl utterly dissuaded; and that, although during the Earles abode in England, he hindered the writing any such Letter; yet the Duke after the Earles returne, procured it wrote,

C V. That the Pope being informed of the Dukes Inclination in point of Religion, sent him a Particular Bull in Parchment, therein perswading him to pervert his Majesty.

VI. That the Duke in Spain, did abuse the King of Spain, and his Ministers so, as they would not admit of a Reconciliation with him: whereupon, seeing the Match would be to his disadvantage, he endeavoured to break it; not for any Service to this Kingdome, nor dislike of it in it selfe; nor for that he found, (as since he hath pretended) that the Spaniard did not really intend it, but out of his Particular ends and indignation.

D VII. That he intended to cross the Match, and made use of Letters of his Majestie, then private, to his own ends, and not to what they were intended; as also concealed many things of great importance from his Late Majesty, thereby overthrowing his Majesties purpose, and advancing his own ends.

VIII. That, For the aforesaid ends, he hath abused both Houses of Parliament, by a Sinister relation of the Carriage of Affairs, as shall be made appeare in every particular of that Relation.

IX. That he employed his Power with the King of Spain, for the procurement of Favours and Offices, which he bestowed upon unworthy Persons, for Recompense and hire of his Lust: Which is a great infamy and dishonour to our Nation; that a Duke, a Privy Counsellor, and Ambassadour, Eminent in his Majesties Favour, and solely intrusted with the Person of the Prince, should leave behind him, in a Forrein Court, so much Scandall by his ill behaviour.

F X. That he hath been a great part the Cause of the Ruine of the Prince, Palatine, and his Estate; in so much as those Affaires concerne this Kingdome.

XI. That he hath in his relation to both Houses of Parliament, wronged the Earl of Bristol in his Honour, by many Sinister Aspersions.

G XII. Lastly, That the Earl of Bristow did reveal to his Late Majesty, both by word and Letter, in what sort the Duke had mis-demeaned himself, and abused his trust: And the King by severall wayes sent him word, he should rest Assured, that he would beare the said Earls due time; and that four dayes before his Sicknes, he signified to the Earl that he would beare him against the Duke, as well as he had heard the Duke against him; And not long after the King dyed, having been much vexed and pressed with the said Duke.

Besides these Articles against the Duke, the Earl of *Bristol* exhibited Eleven others against the A Lord *Conway*, which were to this Effect.

His Articles
against the
Lord *Conway*.

"1. **T**hat the Lord *Conway* stuck not to send him word, that if Businesse could
"not be accommodated between him and the Duke, he must declare him-
"selfe for the Duke, so that, being so great a Servant of the Dukes, he was unfit
"to be a Judg in any thing that concerned the Duke or the Earl.

"2. That he acknowled'gd himselfe, under his own Hand, a Secretary of the Duke
"of *Buckingham*s creation, and began his Letters to him, in this Form. *Most Gra- B*
"cious Patron.

"3. That as a Creature of the said Duke he had been the Instrument of keeping the
"Earl from the Kings presence, and that the Warrants for his Imprisonment were
"onely under his own hand.

"4. That he had procur'd his restraint upon undue grounds and had continued it for
"a years space by misinforming the King, and when it appeard that his Late Majestie
"had freely granted the Earl his Liberty, he reply'd, that, That Liberty expir'd with the C
"Kings Death.

"5. That the Earl desiring the Lord *Conway* to move the King for Leave to see his
"Mother who lay sick, he after long delays having spoken with the Duke gave him a
"Negative Answer in the Kings Name, of which his Majestie being inform'd, and very
"much displeas'd at it, granted free Leave, but the Lord *Conway* sent after him cer-
"tain Limitations which were never express't by his Majestie.

"6. That he would not deliver any Message from the said Earl to the King (although D
"it was so order'd by his Majestie) without first acquainting the Duke, and receiving
"his Directions.

"7. That he perceiving that the Earl was like to be cleared concerning those Inter-
"rogatories which the Commissioners, appointed by his Majestie to search into his
"Proceedings and Imployment, were to propound to him, never moved for any far-
"ther meeting, whereby the said Earls troubles have been kept on foot, to this pre-
"sent day. E

"8. That there being some few questions to the Twenty Interrogatories, which
"when the Earl should have Answered, his Majestie Solemnly swore that he should
"be Admitted to his Presence, the Lord *Conway* notwithstanding that he acknow-
"ledg'd under his hand that he had receav'd directions from his Majestie to send those
"Articles, and was often Sollicited thereunto, would yet never send them.

"9. That the Earl being set Free by his Late Majestie, and having his Writ of Par-
"liament sent him without any Prohibition, was wished by his now Majestie to make F
"some Excuse for the present, which he did, and moved he might have a Letter under
"the Kings hand, to warrant his absence, but under colour of this Letter of Leave,
"the Lord *Conway* sent a Letter from his Majestie absolutely forbidding his coming
"to Parliament, and therein likewise incerted a Clause that the Earl should remain re-
"strain'd as he did in the time of his late Majestie.

"10. That the Lord *Conway*, knowing that the Match for the Marrying of the King
"of *Bohemia*s Eldest Son with the Emperours Daughter, and his being bred up in the G
"Emperours Court, was allowed and propounded by his Late Majestie, hath yet suf-
"fered it to be charged as a Crime against the Earl of *Bristol*, both in the Twentieth
"Interrogatory and his Majesties last Letter, that he should consent to the Breeding
"of the said young Prince in the Emperours Court, as if it had tended to the pervers-
"ting of his Religion, when as he knew there was an expresse Clause that provided to
"the contrary.

"11. That

A "That the Lord *Conway* hath been the Cause of all the Earl of *Bristol's* Troubles, "by his dubious and intrapping dispatches, which contained no such directions as he "Alledg'd were given, and wherein he pretended the Earl had failed.

THE House not judging it reasonable that the Earl should be again committed to the Tower, suffred him to remain with the Usher of the Black-Rod, and order'd that the Kings Charge against the Earl should be heard, before the Earls Charge against the Duke, of which the King, in a Message deliver'd by the Lord Keeper to the House of Lords, observ'd that many of the Articles were such, as he himselfe was able to say more, of his own knowledge, then any man touching the Dukes sincere Carriage in them, and that one of them concerning the Narrative made in Parliament, in the 21. of King *James*, trencheth as farr upon himselfe as the Duke, for that his Majestie went as farr as the Duke in that Declaration, and that all of them have been closed in the Earls own brest; now for these two years contrary to his Duty if he had known any Crime of that nature against the Duke, and that now he vents it by way of Recrimination, against the Duke whom he knows to be a principall Witnessse to prove his Majesties Charge, and therefore his Majestie gave the House thanks that they gave no way to the Earl of *Bristol's* unreasonable Motion, of putting the Duke under the same Restraine as they had put the Earl. The e being an indeavour to take the Earls Cause out of the House, and to proceed by way of Indictment in the Kings Bench: the Lords gave their Reasons why they could not give way to that manner of Proceeding, in respect of these dangerous Inconveniences that would follow.

The Lord Keepers Message from the King to the House of Lords concerning the Earls Articles against the Duke.

1. He could have no Councell.
2. He could use no Witness against the King.
3. He could not know what the Evidences against him would be in a Convenient time to prepare for his Defence.
4. The Liberties of the House would be thereby infring'd.
5. The Earl being indicted, it would not be in their Power to keep him from Arraignment, and so he might be disabled to make good his Charge against the Duke; and therefore it was judg'd the most Proper and most Legall way of Proceeding, First to have the Charge deliver'd into the House in Writing, and the Earl to set down his Answer to it in Writing, and that the Witnesses might be Examind, and Evidences on both sides heard, and if upon full hearing the House should find it to be Treason, then to proceed by way of Indictment, if doubtfull in Point of Law, to have the Opinion of the Judges to clear it; if doubtfull in matter of Fact, then to refer it to a Regall Fair.

Reasons why the Lords could not give way to, an Indictment against the Earl at the Kings Bench.

Soon after the charge was given in against the Earl of *Bristol*, who having his Answer ready to deliver to their Lordships crav'd their attention to some things which he intended to speak by way of Introduction, in which Speech he gave a full account; Of his being brought up in the Protestant Religion, Of his constant adhering to it, and strict profession of it, during the time that he travell'd into *France* and *Italy*, Of his Behaviour when he came first to be receiv'd into his Majesties Domestick Service, at which time none of the Kings Servants frequented Sermons more, or oftner receav'd the holy Sacrament, Of his avowing and asserting the Protestant Cause when he was sent Embassadour into *Spain* about the Treatise of Marriage, and the Faithfull service he did the King his Master in that Embassie, and how that when he was sent for over into *England* the Conde de *Olivares* avertild him what was plotted against him here and perswaded him in the Prefence of Sir *Walter Aston*, to stay there in respect of the Danger, making great Offers of Honour and Preferment, which relying upon his Innocence and integrity he refus'd and came over.

Then the Earl gave in his Answer to each Particular Article of the impeachment.

F "1 **W**HAT was charg'd against him in the first Article, His dealing unfaithfully in the Business of the *Palatinate* he utterly denied producing Letters "from the Queen of *Bohemia*, from the Duke of *Buckingham*, and from King *James* "himselfe, in each of which his good Services as to that particular were acknowledg'd, "and very well accepted of: he also clear'd himselfe touching the Match, proving that "it was really intended by the King of *Spain*.

The Earl of *Bristol's* Answer to his Charge.

G "2. His continuing the Treatise upon Generalities charg'd against him in the Second Article he also deny'd.

"3. Nor did he ever, as he said, dissuade his Majestie from taking Arms against *Spain*. As the Third Article infers but advis'd, that all fitting Preparation for War might be made.

"4. That

‘4. That he doubted of the probability of the Match he granted, and said that he A
 ‘alwaies wish’d and advis’d a protestant Match : he farther acknowledg’d that he might
 ‘say, *he would get his Instructions perfect*, but for the other clause of the Fourth Ar-
 ‘ticle which tax’t him of saying, *he would make his fortunes thereby*; he affirm’d it was
 ‘impossible for him to hold so mean and unworthy a discourse.

‘5. He said he was so farr from moving his Majestie to set Priests at Libertie and
 ‘grant Papists a toleration, that though his Majestie was ingaged by the Treatie at
 ‘Madrid and his Promise to *Conde Gondomar* to doe many things in favour of Papists,
 ‘yet he the said Earl would not condescend hereunto *de bene esse*, as may appear by his B
 ‘Letters to Mr. *Secretary Calvert*.

‘6. That the Assurances he gave his Majestie concerning the Treaties were no other
 ‘then what were given by the Emperour and the King of *Spain*, and that it was nei-
 ‘ther those Assurances, nor the jealousies of *Spain* but other Motives that were the
 ‘originall cause of the Prince his now Majesties said Journey.

‘7. and 8. His words never tended to the perswading of the Prince to change his
 ‘Religion, as the Seventh and Eighth Articles imply, and therewith produc’t a Letter C
 ‘of his to his M. that now is, wherein he gave his advice chiefly for a Match with a Pro-
 ‘testant *Princes* but if a Catholick he inclin’d rather to *Spain* then *France*, but as to the
 ‘first he onely told his Majestie that the generall opinion of thar Court was, that the
 ‘intention of his comming thither was to be a *Roman Catholick*: as to the Second that
 ‘upon occasion of a Letter putting his Majestie in mind of the great Actions of his roy-
 ‘all predecessours in the Holy War, the Earl beleveth he might say by way of Dis-
 ‘course, that in regard of the difference of Religion, it was of more difficulty to under-
 ‘take such great Actions now then in former Ages.

‘9. That he deliver’d not his opinion concerning the Marriage of the Prince *Pala-*
 ‘*tines* Son with the Emperours Daughter, and his Education in the Emperours Court
 ‘otherwise then by way of discourse, and that with regard had to his being bred up in
 ‘his own Religion, and to shew that King *JAMES* himselfe was not averse to it, he pro-
 ‘duced a Letter of his to his Son in Law to that effect. D

‘10. That his forwardnesse to consummate the Match was in respect of a Warrant un-
 ‘der his Late Majesties hand, his Commission under the great Seal, positive order from
 ‘his Majestie by Letters, since it was agreed by Capitulation to be so many days after E
 ‘the dispensation arriv’d, the Proxies were left to that end in his hands, and renewed af-
 ‘ter his Majesties return into England.

‘11. Lastly touching his Petition he hop’d to justifie the Contents of it in such sort
 ‘that it should not displease his Majestie nor deserve that expression which was used in
 ‘the Charge.

Sir. Dudley Diggs
 his Prologue to
 the Articles a-
 gainst the
 Duke.

While these two Peers were thus contesting, the house of Commons had time to frame their
 impeachment against the Duke; as hoping that this, joyned with the Earls, might give him a to-
 tall Rout, it was therefore presented to the Lords on the Eighth of May, and the Cause managed
 by Master *Glanvill*, Master *Herbert*, Master *Selden*, Master *Pim*, Master *Wansford*, Master *Sher-*
land; to whom was added Sir *Dudley Diggs*, as Prolocutor, and Sir *John Elliot* brought up the
 Reare. Sir *Dudley Diggs*, in his prologue after a complaint made against the Dukes ill ordering
 the Martiall Affairs, gave the Lords a generall accompt of the impeachment.

First, That the Duke had ingrossed, Bought, and Sold the greatest Offices of the King-
 dome.

Secondly, That he had by backwayes and bywayes procured to himself and others the chiefest
 Honours, which ought to have been the rewards of vertue.

Thirdly, That he had unworthily promoted his own Kindred, to the great Charge and burden of
 the Crowne. G

Lastly, That he had cast unjust aspersions upon the Late King for excuse of his own exorbitances;
 After the Prologue the Commons presented their accusation which we refer to the Dukes An-
 swer, a month after, but whilst the Commons dealt with the Lords, for the removing of the
 Duke from his place and Councell during his impeachment, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and Sir *John Eli-*
ot, were committed to the Tower, (yet soone after released,) the Judges giving in their verdict
 That

A that the whole house was arrested in their persons and the Commons remonstrating thereupon.) The Duke being sensible of the number of his adversaries, even in the house of Lords, perswaded the King, by his parent to create three of his confederates Barons, to wit the Lord Mandevill, was created Baron Kimbolton, Grandison Baron Imbercourt and Calton Baron Tregase, and to having augmented the Number of his Friends, he presents his defense to the Lords, and forbore the house in the mean time while his Cause might be determined, which (had he not been well back't) might have gone hard with him, as we may here see by the Commons impeachment against him for Misdemeanours, Murtherous, Offences, Crimes, and other matters comprised in those Thirteen Articles following, setting down the Dukes Answer to each particular.

B First, That he the said Duke, being young and unexperienced, hath of late years with Articles of the house of Commons against the Duke of Buckingham with the Dukes reply to each, exorbitant ambition; and for his owne advantage, procured and ingrossed into his own hands, severall great Offices, both to the Danger of the State, and prejudice of that Service which should have been performed in them; and to the Discouragement of others, who are thereby precluded from such Hopes as their Vertues, Abilities, and publique Employments might otherwise have obtained.

C "Reply, That his late Majestie did of his own Royall motion bestow them upon him and he hopeth, and conceiveth, he may without Blame receive, what his Bountifull Master conferreth upon him if the Common Wealth doth not suffer thereby. Nor is it without precedence that men Eminent in the esteem of their Sovereigne, have held as great and as many Offices as himselfe, but if it shall be proved, that he falsely or corruptly hath executed those Offices, he is and will be ready to resigne them with his Life and Fortunes to his Majesties Dispose.

D Secondly, That in the 16 year of the reigne of the late King, he did give and pay to the then Earl of Nottingham, for the Office of great Admirall of England, and Ireland, and of the Principallitie of Wales, and Generall Governour of the Seas, and Ships of the said Kingdoms, and for the Surrender of the said Offices, to the intent, the said Duke might obtaine them to his own use, the Sum of 8000l. and did also procure for the said Surrender from the late King, an Annuity of 1000l per annum, payable to the said Earle, for which Considerations the said Earle Surrendered the said Office, with his Letters Patents, unto the late King, who granted them to the said Duke for his Life, which is an Offence contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realme, those Offices so highly concerning the Administration and execution of Justice.

E "Reply, That the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Admirall, being grown much in years, and finding himselfe not so fit nor able to performe what appertained to his place, as formerly, became an earnest Suitor to his late Majestie, to permit him to surrender up his office, who, at length, being overcome by the Earles many Sollicitations, condescend thereunto; and his late Majestie, at the entreaty of others, without the Dukes Privacy, was also perswaded to confer it upon the Duke much against his will, he being no way experienced in those Affaires; So that the Earle did freely Surrender, and the Duke accept the Grant of the said Office without the least contract or Proviso. But true it is, that his late Majestie Out of his Royall bounty, F did grant to the said Earle a pension of 1000l. Per annum, as a recompense for his former Service to the Crowne, and also the Duke himselfe did freely and voluntarily, with his late Majesties approbation, as an Argument of his Honourable respects, to so noble a Predecessor, send the Earl Three thousand Pounds, which he hopeith is not blame-worthy in him.

G Thirdly, That he the said Duke, in the 22. year of the late King, did give and pay unto Edward Lord Zouch, for the Offices of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle, the Sum of one Thousand Pounds, and granted also an Annuity of 500l. Per annum, during his Life; and that for the consideration aforesaid, the said Lord Zouch did Surrender his Offices, and Letters Patents, to the late King, who granted them to the said Duke for his Life, which Offices (so highly concerning the administration of Justice) the Duke hath ever since held against the Laws of the Land.

"Reply, That the Lord Zouch, being growne in years, and unfit to mannage the Office

"Office of the Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of *Dover Castle*; which A
 "are indeed both but one, discovered a willingness to surrender it, and made sever-
 "all offers thereof to the Duke of *Richmond*; who at last contracted with the said
 "Lord *Zouch*, for his surrender, for the consideration of one Thousand pounds in
 "money, and five hundred pounds *Per annum*; and the said Duke of *Richmond* being
 "prevented by Death, his late Majestie directed the Duke of *Buckingham*, to go
 "through with the Lord *Zouch* for it, upon the same termes; which he was the wil-
 "linger to doe, by reason he had found by experience that the Kings service suffered
 "much through the Emulation, disaffection and contention, arising between those B
 "two officers; and he hopeth this Act of his, in acquiring this Office, accompanied
 "with such circumstances, the King also being both privy and directing, will re-
 "ceive a favourable construction, especially, considering he was altogether unac-
 "quainted with any Law to the contrary.

Fourthly; *That he hath neglected the just execution of those his Offices, and violated the trust reposed in, and committed to him by them, insomuch as through his neglect the Trade of this Kingdome hath been of late much decayed, and the Seas ignominiously infected with Pirats and Enemies, to the great loss both of Ships and goods, and imminent C*
Danger of this Kingdome.

"*Reply.* That the Loss happening to the Kings Subjects by Pirats and Enemies,
 "hath not proceeded through the Dukes default, as is suggested; but because the
 "pirats Ships are built of a mould as fit for flight as for fight; being far too nimble for
 "the Kings Ships. To prevent which inconvenience for the time to come, there is pre-
 "sent order taken for the building of Ships of the same shape with those of *Dunkirk*:
 "and for the Pirats of *Sally*, That provision is taken either to restrain by Treaty,
 "or to repress them by Force, as will give good Satisfaction; and this will clearly ap- D
 "pear upon proof.

Fifthly. *That whereas about Michaelmas last, a Ship called the St. Peter of New ha-
 ven, laden with many divers Merchants jewels and commodities to the value of 40000l.
 or there about, for the proper account of Monsieur de Villars, then Governour of New-
 haven, was taken by the Ships of his Majesties late Fleet, and brought into the Port of
 Plymouth, as a prize, upon probability that the said Ship or goods belonged to the Sub-
 jects of the King of Spain: Whereupon there was an Arrest of two English Ships at New-
 haven in the Kingdome of France: after which intimation was given to the Advocate in E
 the chief Court of Admiralty, from his Majestie, by Secretary Cooke for the freeing and
 discharging the said Ship and goods, and thereupon by Commission under Seal, the said
 Ship and goods were released. The said Duke, notwithstanding any such Order, and De-
 cree, detained still to his own use, the Gold, Silver and Pearls, Jewels and other Commodities
 so taken out of the said Ship, and unjustly caused the said Ship to be arrested againe, in
 contempt of the Lawes of this Land, and to the prejudice of Trade.*

"*Reply,* That complaint being made on the behalfe of some French men at the Coun-
 "cell table, concerning the *St. Peter*, and some other ships; his Majestie then present F
 "did order, That she and all other should be released, as were found to belong to any
 "Prince or State in Amity with him, provided, they were not fraudently coloured:
 "And accordingly this ship was by sentence in the Admiralty discharged, but within
 "few days after, new information came to the Lord Admirall, that this ship was la-
 "den by the Subjects of the King of Spain in Spain, that the *Admirantess* waited her
 "beyond the North Cape; And that Witnesses were ready to attest as much, upon
 "which the Duke acquainted his Majestie therewith, and by his command made stay
 "of this ship, as he was assured (by the opinion of the King, and five other advoca- G
 "he might doe: and command was given to the Kings Advocate, to hasten the Exa-
 "mination of witnesses, in pursuance of the new information. But the French Mer-
 "chants, impatient of delays, which the producing many Witnesses would occasion,
 "complained againe to the Councell board, and obtained an order from thence, for
 "the delivery of the said ship and goods upon security; which security was once offer-
 "red but after retracted; yet upon the consideration of the testimonies produced: the
 Kings

A "Kings Advocate informing the Duke, that the proof came short for that Ship; The Duke did instantly give order for her finall discharge, and that all her Goods should be re-imbarqued to the Owners, which was done accordingly.

Sixthly, *That the East-India Merchants in the 21. of the late Kings Reign, preparing to set forth four great Ships richly laden in their usuall course of Trade, the Duke moved the Lords then assembled in Parliament, to know, whether he should make stay of those ships for the Service of the States: which motion being approved by the Lords, the Duke accordingly did stay those Ships, and after procured a Joynt Action to be entred in the Court of Admiralty, in the Name of the late King, and himself as Lord Admirall, against 15000 l. pretended to be Piratically taken by some Captains of the sayd Merchants Ships, and in the hands of the sayd Captains; and accordingly an Attachment was served upon the sayd Merchants: Whereupon the sayd Merchants being urged to bring in the 15000 l. or to go to Prison, made new sute to the Duke for the release of their Ships; who pretending that the Parliament must be moved therein, the Merchants much perplexed, and considering they should lose much by unlading their Ships, and the loss of their Voyage; resolved to tender to the sayd Duke 10000 l. for his unjust demand, who by colour of his Office extorted, and extracted from them the sayd 10000 l. and upon receipt thereof, and not before, released the sayd Ships.*

"Reply, That the motion in Parliament about the stay of the East-India Ships, was only upon apprehension, that they might be serviceable for the defence of the Realm. That the Action entred in the Court of Admiralty against the East-India Company, was not after (as is suggested) but divers Months before that motion in Parliament, yea, before the Parliament began. That the Composition (mentioned in this Article) was not moved by the Duke, but made by the late King; and that the Company without any Menaces or Compulsion, agreed to the Composition, as willing to give so much, rather then to abide the hazard of the Sute. That of the sayd summs, all but 200 l. was employed by his late Majesties Officers for the benefit of the Navy. And lastly, That those Ships were not discharged upon payment of the sayd summe of 10000 l. but upon an Accommodation allowed that they should prepare other Ships for his Majesties service, whilst they went on their Voyage; which accordingly they did.

E Seventhly, *That the Duke being great Admirall of England, did by colour of the sayd Office procure one of the principall Ships of the Navy-Royall, called the Vant-guard, and six other Merchants Ships of great burthen, to be conveyed over, with all their Ordnance, Ammunition, and Apparel, into the Kingdome of France, and did compell the sayd Masters and Owners of the sayd Ships, to deliver the sayd Ships into the possession and Command of the French King and his Ministers, without either sufficient security for their re-delivery, or necessary Caution in that behalf, contrary to the duty of his Office, and to the apparent weakening of the Navall strength of this Kingdome.*

F "Reply. That those ships were lent to the French King without his privy. That when he knew thereof, he did what appertained to his Office; that he did not by Menace, nor any undue practice by himself, or any other, deliver those ships into the hands of the French. That what Error hath since hapned, was not in the intention any way injurious to the State, nor prejudiciall to the interest of any private man.

G Eighthly, *That the Duke knowing that the sayd Ships were intended to be employed against the Rochellers and the Protestants elsewhere, did compell them as aforesayd, to be delivered to the French King and his Ministers, to the end, that they might be employed against those of the reformed Religion, contrary to the intension of our Sovereign Lord the King, and to his former promise at Oxford, and to the great scandall of our Nation.*

"Reply, That understanding a discovery, that those ships should be employed against Rochell, he endeavoured to divert the course of such Employment: and whereas

"whereas it is alledged, that he promised at Oxford that those ships should not be so
 "employed, he under Favour saith, he was mis-understood; for he only sayd, that
 "the event would shew it, being confident in the promises of the French King, and
 "that he would have really performed what was agreed upon. A

Ninthly, *That he hath enforced some who were rich (though unwilling) to purchase Honours; As the Lord Roberts Baron of Truro, who was by Menaces wrought to pay the sum of 10000 l. to the sayd Duke, and to his use, for his sayd Barony.*

"Reply, He denieth any such Compulsion of the Lord Roberts to buy his Honour, B
 "and that he can prove, that as the sayd Lord did then obtain it by the solicitations
 "of others, so was he willing formerly to have given a great sum for it.

Tenthly, *That in the eighteenth year of the late King, he did procure of the late King the Office of high Treasurer of England, so the Viscount Mandevill, now Earl of Manchester, for which Office he received of the sayd Viscount to his own use, the sum of 20000 l. of money; and also did procure in the twentieth year of the late King the Office of Master of the Wards and Liveries for Sir Lionell Cranfield, afterwards Earl of C Middlesex, and as a Reward for the sayd procurement, he had to his own use, of the sayd Sir Lionell Cranfield, the sum of 6000 l. contrary to the Dignity of his late Majesty.*

"Reply, That he had not, nor did receive any penny of the sayd summs to his own
 "use. That the Lord Mandevill was made Lord Treasurer by his late Majesty, with-
 "out any Contract for it; and though his Majesty did after borrow of the sayd Lord
 "20000 l. yet was it upon Proviso of re-payment, for which the Duke at first past his D
 "word, and after entred him security by Land, which stood engaged untill his late
 "Majesty, during the Dukes being in Spain, gave the Lord satisfaction by Land in
 "Fee-farm, of a considerable value; whereupon the Dukes security was returned
 "back: and that the 6000 l. disbursed by the Earl of Middlesex, was bestowed upon
 "Sir Henry Mildmay by his late Majesty (without the Dukes privacy) who had
 "and enjoyed it all entire.

Eleventhly, *That he hath procured divers Honours for his Kindred and Allies to the prejudice of the ancient Nobility, and disabling the Crown from rewarding extraordinary E Vertues in future times.*

"Reply, That he believeth, he were rather worthily to be condemned in the opinion
 "of all generous minds, if being in such Favour with his Majesty, he had minded
 "only his own Advancement, and had neglected those whom the Law of Nature had
 "obliged him to hold most dear.

Twelfthly, *That he procured and obtained of the late King divers Mannors, parcels of the Revenues of the Crown, to an exceeding great value, and hath received, and (to F his own use) disbursed great summs of money that did properly belong unto the late King; and the better to colour his doings, hath obtained severall privy Seals from his late Majesty, and his Majesty that now is, warranting the payment of great summs of money by him, as if such summs were directed for secret service of the State; when as they were disposed of to his own use: and hath gotten into his hands great summs, which were intended by the late King, for the furnishing and Victualling of the Navy Royall, to the exceeding diminution of the Revenues of the Crown, to the abusing and deceiving of his late, and now Majesty, and detriment of the whole Kingdome.*

"Reply, That he doth humbly, and with all thankfulness, acknowledge his late
 "Majesties bountifull hand to him, and shall be ready to render back into the hands of
 "his now Majesty, whatsoever he hath received; together with his Life, to do him
 "service: but for the value suggested in the Charge, he sayth, there is a great mi-
 "take in the Calculation, as he shall make evident in a Schedule annexed, to which
 "he referreth himself: Nor did he obtain the same by any undue solicitation or pra-
 "dise,
 "Dice,

A "Aice, nor yet a release for any summs so received; but having severall times, and
"upon severall occasions disposed divers summs of his late, and now Majesty, by
"their private directions, he hath releases thereof for his discharge, which was ho-
"nourable in them to grant, and not unfit for him to desire, and accept, for his fu-
ture Indemnity.

Lastly, That he being a sworn Servant of the late King, did cause and provide cer-
tain Plaisters and Potions for his late Majesty in his last sickness, without the privy of
his Majesties Physicians; and that although those Plaisters and Potions formerly applyd,
B produced such ill Effects, as many of his sworn Physicians did disallow, as prejudiciall to
his Majesties health, yet nevertheless did the Duke apply them again to his Majesty;
whereupon great Distempers, and dangerous Symptomes appeared in him, which the
Physicians imputed to those Administrations of the Duke, whereof his late Majesty also
complained, which was an Offence and Misdemeanour of so high a Nature, as may be cal-
led an Act of transcendent presumption. And the sayd Commons by Protestation, saving
to themselves the liberties of exhibiting hereafter any other Accusation or Impeachment
against the Duke, and also of replying unto what the Duke shall answer unto the sayd
C Article; do pray that the said Duke may be put to answer all and every the Premises, and
that such Proceeding, Examination, Tryals, and Judgments, may be upon every of them
had, as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

"Reply, That his late Majesty being sick of an Ague, a Disease out of which the
"Duke recovered not long before, asked the Duke what he found most advantageous
"to his health; the Duke replied, A Plaister, and Posset drink, administred unto
"him by the Earl of Warwick's Physitian: whereupon the King much desired the
"Plaister and Posset-drink to be sent for, and the Duke delaying it, he commanded
D "a Servant of the Dukes to go for it, against the Dukes earnest request, he humbly
"craving his Majesty not to make use of it without the advice of his own Physicians,
"and experiment upon others; which the King sayd he would do, and in confidence
"thereof, the Duke left him, and went to London. And in the mean time, he being
"absent, the sayd Plaister and Posset-drink were brought; and at the Dukes return,
"his Majesty commanded the Duke to give him the Posset-drink, which he did, the
"Physicians then present, not seeming to mistake it; afterward, the Kings Health de-
"clining, and the Duke hearing a Rumour, as if his Physick had done his Majesty
"hurt, and that he had administred Physick without advice; the Duke acquainted
E "the King therewith, who with much discontent replied, They are worse then Devils
"that say so.

Upon occasion of the Dukes Impeachment, this following Paper was secretly conveyed to
the Kings Hands.

F **T**hat the great opposition against the Duke, was stirred and maintained by such
as seek the destruction of this free Monarchy, because they find it not ripe to at-
tempt against the King himself, they endeavour it through the sides of the Duke, the
persons agreeing in this one mischief are of divers sorts and humours.
1. Medling and busie persons who love popular speeches.
2. Covetous Landlords, Inclosers, Depopulators, &c. who being of the Parlia-
ment, ease themselves of Subsidies, and lay it on the true Commons, and cry out the
Grievances are caused by the Duke.
3. Recusants, who hate the Duke because of the breach of the Spanish Match.
4. Persons indebted, who by priviledge of Parliament avoid payment.
5. Puritans and Sectaries, Haters of Government, who would have the Kings
power extinguisht in matters Ecclesiasticall, and limited in Civill.
G 6. Male-contents, who look upon the Duke with an evill Eye, because they them-
selves are not prefer'd.
7. Lawyers, who are very fit in Parliaments to second any Complaint against both
Church and King, and all his Servants; with their Customes, Records, Statutes,
and Presidents.
8. Merchants and Citizens, who deceive the King of Custome.
9. Innovators, Plebicola. That since the time of Henry the sixth, these Parliamen-
tary

A Paper con-
veyd into the
Kings hands,
upon occasion
of the Dukes
Impeachment.

rary Discouragements were never suffer'd, as being certain Symptoms of sublequent Rebellions, Civill Wars, and the de-throning of Kings, no one *Parriot* daring to oppose them, least he incur the Reputation of a Coward in his Countries Cause; Kings therefore have ever strengthened themselves with some Favourite, as whom he might better trust then many of the Nobility tainted with this desire of *Oligarchy*. It behoveth, without doubt, his Majesty to uphold the Duke against them, who if he be but de-couraged, it will be the very Corner stone of that Work, which they intend to lay for the demolishing of this Monarchy; for if they prevail with this, they have hatch'd a thousand other Demands to pull the Feathers of Royalty. They will appoint him Counsellors, Servants, Alliances, Limits of Expences, and account of his Revenue: chiefly, if they can they will now dazle him in the begining of his Reign. Several things, though Actions of the King, are layd as Aspersions upon the Duke, who if he suffer in obeying his Sovereign, the next Attempt will be to call the King to account for any thing he undertakes, which doth not succeed according to all mens expectation and desire.

If it please his Majesty to remove and set aside all these dis-advantages, he shall find the Charge against the Duke, very empty and of small moment; All that hath been by the Parliament objected against him, except two or three things that may receive an Answer, being pardon'd at the Kings Coronation, which benefit every poor Subject enjoyeth.

The Apology of Sir Dudley Diggs, and other Members imprisoned in the Tower, about certain words spoken in the House.

SIR *Dudley Diggs*, as soon as he was releas'd out of the Tower, had somewhat to do to clear himself of certain words which he was charg'd to have uttered at a Conference, namely, That speaking of the Plaister apply'd to the late King, he sayd, *That he forbore to speak farther in regard of the Kings Honour*: But after his own solemn Protestation, and that of thirty six Lords, that no such words were spoken, the King remained satisfied.

SIR *John Elliot* also made his Apology in reference to severall sharp Expressions against the Duke, of which he was taxed in a Speech by the Vice-chamberlain *Sir Dudley Carlton*, as his comparing him to a strange Beast, when speaking of the plurality of his great and different Offices he us'd the word *Stellionatus*, from a certain discolour'd Beast call'd *Stellio*; that he used the phrase, *That man*, which was to be esteem'd a great Indignity. That he compared him to *Sejanus*, &c. After he had explain'd his meaning in each of these expressions; the House resolv'd upon the Question, That in any thing that had proceeded from him, he had not gone beyond the Commission given him; the like Vote they pass'd for Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and the rest of those that managed that Conference.

The Duke of Buckingham chosen Chancellor of Cambridge.

In the mean time, that the Duke stood impeached in Parliament, the Earl of *Suffolk* dying, and the Vice-chancellorship of *Cambridge* becoming void by his death; The University understanding it was the Kings pleasure, that the Duke of *Buckingham* should be chosen Chancellor in his Room, were studious to shew themselves compliant with his Majesties desire in that Election, especially *Dr. Maw* the Master of *Trinity College*, who by his own power and interest, procur'd three and forty Votes for the Duke; but there wanted not a strong and resolute party who oppos'd this Election, and made choice of the Lord *Thomas Howard*, second son to the Earl of *Suffolk* deceased, insomuch, that the Duke carried it only by five Voyces, there being a hundred and eight for him, and a hundred and three for the Lord *Howard*, who sent a Letter of acknowledgment to Mr. *Granado Chester* (who having some dependence upon him, was the principall Stickler in his behalf) desiring him to impart his thanks to his Friends in the University, who had been ready to give their suffrage for him. The House of Commons thinking it not fit that the Chancellorship of *Cambridge*, should be confer'd upon a person that stood publicly charg'd with high mis-demeanors, were about to have signified by Letter to the University, their dislike of that Election, and the rather, for that in the manner of it there were many passages in contempt of the House; the King hearing of this their intention, forbade them by Sir *Richard Weston*, the sending of any such Letter; saying, That if any thing in the manner of the Election, were done in contempt of the House, they might inquire after it, and punish the Offenders; but for the Election it self, his Majesty did avow it, and resolv'd to maintain

A maintain the Universities against any that should go about to infringe their Liberties, nor had he ever heard, that upon Accusation only, a man should lose his good Opinion in the World. Presently after he writ a Letter in approbation of the foresaid Election; the Duke also sent a Letter of acknowledgment to the University, in which he expresseth his high resentment of the honour that was done him in that Choice, and how happy he esteem'd himself in being thought well of by men of their Profession and Merit, and promis'd to imploy his utmost endeavours for the maintaining of the Charters and Immunities of the University in generall, and for advancing Students of Merit and Learning in particular.

B About this time, the King earnestly pressed the House of Commons again by their Speaker, Sir *Henage Finch*, about a speedy supply; letting them know, *That if they did not pass the Bill of Subsidy by the end of the week following, it would enforce him to take other Resolutions, and if by their deniall, or delay, any thing of ill consequence should fall out, either at home, or abroad, he called God and Man to Witnes, that he had done his part to prevent it, by calling his People together, to advise with him; whose sitting, if they dispatch'd this according to his desire, he resolv'd to continue for the dispatch of other Affairs, and after their Recess, to bring them again together, the next Winter.*

The King
presseth the
Parliament for
supply.

C The Commons before they sent their Answer to the Kings Message, first drew up a Petition to his Majesty;

That he would be pleas'd to remove from all places of Trust and Authority, all such persons as were either Popish Recusants, or according to direction of former Acts of State justly to be suspected. And therewithall they sent a large Scrowl, containing the Names of all such Noble-men and others, as remain'd in places of high Trust in the severall Countiees of England.

D The Duke of *Buckingham* having given in his Answer to the late Articles against him into the Lords House, mov'd their Lordships to send to the Commons for a speedy Reply; whereupon the Commons also desir'd to have a Copy of his Answer.

But the Duke fearing the issue of this Business, humbly applyed himself unto the Lords, whom he entreated to allow him the benefit of the free and generall Pardon granted by King *James* in Parliament, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign; together with that of the present King at his Coronation. Upon the fourteenth of *June*, the Parliament had drawn up another Declaration of Grievances against the Duke, whom they resolv'd utterly to overthrow, though against the Kings Inclination, who thereat incens'd, the very next day dissolved them, and committed the Earl of *Bristol* to the Tower, sending forth also a Proclamation for burning of all Copies of the Commons afore-mentioned Declaration. To shew the manner and form of the Kings dissolving the Parliament; I have thought it not amiss to insert the Kings Commission under the Great Seal, to that intent, which ran thus;

The Parlia-
ment being re-
solved to pro-
secute, the
Duke is dissol-
ved by the
King.

CAROLUS DEI GRATIA, &c.

F CHARLES, By the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the most Reverend Father in Christ, and our faithfull Councillour, George Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, and to our well-beloved and faithfull Councillor, Sir Thomas Coventry Knight, Lord Keeper of our Great Seal of England, and also to the most Reverend Father in Christ; Tobie Archbishop of York, Primate and Metropolitan of England; Also to our dearest Cosins, and Councillors, James Earl of Marlborough, our Treasurer of England; Henry Earl of Manchester, Lord President of our Council, Edward Earl of Worcester, Keeper of our privy Seal, George Duke of Buckingham, our great Admirall of England; William Earl of Pembroke, Chamberlain of our Household: Also to our dearest Cosin, Edward Earl of Dorset; also to our dearest Cosin and Councillor, Philip Earl of Mountgomery, and to our dearest Cosin, William Earl of Northampton, President of

our Councell, below the Principality and Marquess of Wales; also to our dearest Cofin and Councillor, James Earl of Carlisle; also to our dearest Cofins, John Earl of Clare, Thomas Earl of Cleavland, Edmund Earl of Mulgrave: Also to our dearest Cofin and Councillor, George Earl of Tottnes, and to our dearest Cofin, Henry Vi-count Rochford; and also to our most Reverend Fathers in Christ, George Bishop of London, Richard Bishop of Durham, and to the Reverend Father in Christ, and our trusty Councillor, Lancelot, Bishop of Winchester; also to the Reverend Fathers in Christ, Samuel Bishop of Norwich, William Bishop of St. Davids, and to our well-beloved and trusty Councillor, Edward Lord Conway, one of our chief Secretaries; and also to our well-beloved and trusty, Samuel Lord Scroop, President of our Councell in the North-parts, and to our well-beloved and trusty Councillor, Fulk Lord Brook, Greeting.

Whereas of late, for certain weighty and urgent Affairs concerning C Us, the State and Defence of our Kingdome of England, and the Church of England; We ordain'd our present Parliament to be begun and held at our City of Westminster, the sixth day of February, in the first year of our Reign, from which time our sayd Parliament hath been continued unto the fifteenth of June instant. Know, That we, for certain urgent Causes and Considerations specially moving Us thereunto, have thought fit to dissolve our sayd Parliament, this instant fifteenth of June. Having D therefore much confidence of your Fidelity, Prudence, and Circumspection; We have, with the Advice and Consent of our Councell, Assign'd you our Commissioners, giving you, and every three, or more of you, by the Tenor of these Presents, full Power and Authority in our Name, absolutely to dissolve our sayd Parliament, this instant fifteenth day of June: And therefore We Command you, or any three, or more of you, fully to dissolve and determine this our sayd Parliament, this instant fifteenth day of June, by vertue of these our Letters Patents; And We Command you diligently to mind the Premisses, and to fulfill and execute them in the foresaid form; And to all and every Archbishop, Duke, Marquess, Earl, Vi-count, Bishop, Baron, Knight, Citizen, and Burges, and to all others whom it concerns to meet at our sayd Parliament: We streightly give in Charge, that they submit, yield, and give obedience to you, performing and executing the Premisses in all things as becomes F them. In witness of which Thing, We have caus'd these our Letters Patents to be made.

Witness Our Self at Westminster, the fifteenth day of June, in the second year of Our Reign.

EDMONDS.

Severall wayes
resolv'd on for
the advancing
of the Kings
Revenue.

Presently after the King set forth a Declaration, in which he made known the Grounds and Reasons of his dissolving this and the former Parliament. Also by the instance and advice of his Councell, taking into consideration the present necessity of his Majesties Affairs; he resolv'd to take some speedy course to advance the impair'd Revenue of the Crown: Whereupon he first declares, That all men of what quality soever, should for two years space, upon pain of high displeasure, forbear to sollicite any Sure for any thing prohibited in the Book of Bounty, publick

A publisher in King James his time. Next, speciall care was taken by the Councell for the laying of Customs and Imposts, upon all such Merchandizes as were Imported and Exported, as being a thing intended to have been settled by the two last Parliaments, but was prevented by their suddain Dissolution: and because the Forfeitures arising to the Crown by the execution of the Laws against Priests and Recusants, had been corruptly extorted and mis-employ'd by inferior Officers, a Commission under the Great Seal was directed to the Archbishop of York, Sir John Savile, Sir Henry Slingsby, and others to compound with the sayd Recusants for Leases of their Lands and Tenements for Forfeitures due since the tenth year of King James, and Sir John Savile, was appointed Receiver of such summs of money as should be paid upon these Leases. Also Privy Seals were issued out, and Benevolence proposed; especially the Nobility were incited by the King to contribute liberally upon the present juncture of urgent Affairs, and the summe required was to be according to the proportion of the foure Subsidies, and three Fifteens intended to have been given by the Parliament. Likewise a Proclamation was set forth, shewing the Kings Intention to make his Revenue certain, by granting his Lands as well held by Copy, as otherwise, to be held in Fee-farm. The severall Maritime Counties and Port-Towns were order'd by the Councell, to set out Ships for the guarding of the Coasts, against the Attempts of Spain and Flanders; in particular, the City of London was charged with twenty of the best Ships upon the River, with all manner of Tackle, and Ammunition, and Victuals for three Months; the City hereupon petition'd for an abatement unto ten Ships, and two Pinnaces, and the Ports of Pool, Lime, and Weymouth, presented an Excuse in behalfe of themselves, and the County, alledging the Case to be without President; to these the Councell answer'd, That State occasions in times of extraordinary danger, were not to be disputed by ordinary Presidents: to the City alledging disability; they answer, That the Charge imposed on them, exceeded not the value of many of their private Estates; they therefore requir'd Conformity, without any excuse, or disputing of the Case. To the Lords Lieutenants of the severall Counties, Commissions were sent to Muster those that were apt for War, and to Array and Arm them, according to their severall degrees and faculties: And for securing of the Coasts, divers of the Kings Ships were employ'd in the River Elbe, to prevent the furnishing of Spain, from those parts with Materials for Shipping: A Royall Fleet was also preparing to be set out, under the Command of the Lord Willoughby of Parham, and the Design given out to be for Barbary.

About this time, there came to the Court of England, the News of a great Overthrow given by Count Tilly, to the King of Denmark, who had taken up Armes against the Emperour in the Cause of the Prince Elector Palatine, upon which the King began presently to advise with his Councell, about some speedy and more effectuall Course for the supplying him with money; then had yet been taken, and upon Consultation, a generall Loan was resolv'd upon as the most convenient way (since the present state of things admitted not of the way of Parliament) and forthwith Commissioners being appointed, had private Instructions given them, how to behave themselves in the management of the business: As,

1. That for a good example to others, they should themselves lend his Majesty the severall summs required.
2. To go according to the Rates at which people were Assessed in the Book of the last Subsidy.
3. To stir up every man to a cheerfull lending, by declaring the unavoidable necessity of raising this course, and using other the most prevalent Arguments they could devise; As the Honour of the Nation, the defence of true Religion, the safety of Prince and People.
4. That they appoint the dayes of payment to be within fourteen dayes.
5. That they treat with every one apart, and not in the hearing of others.
6. That they begin with such as are likely to shew best examples.
7. That they endeavour to discover, whether any by under-hand perswasions, or otherwise go about to hinder the good Intentions of others, and if any such be found, to certifie their Names, Qualities, and Habitations to the Councell.
8. That they signifie his Majesties pleasure to remit upon the lending of these summs, whatsoever hath been desir'd upon the late Benevolence, or privy Seals.
9. That they admit of no Sure to be made, or Reasons to be given for the abating of any summe.

10. That upon their Faith and Allegiance to his Majesty, they keep these Instructions secret to themselves, and not disclose them to any others.
- That which made this Loan the more unwelcome, was, For that at the same time the Soldiers return'd from Cadix, were Billited in severall parts, and their Quarters to be discharg'd by Moneys rais'd out of the Countiees.

Sir Randolph Crew for shewing himself backward and cold in promoting this Business of the Loan, was displaced from his Office of Lord chief Justice, and Sir Nicholas Hide advanced in his room; the Bishop of Lincoln also had an Information prefer'd against him at the Councell Table by Sir John Lamb, and Doctor Sibthorp, for publicly speaking certain words concerning the Loan, in dis-advantage of the King and his Government, and for favouring that sort of men call'd Puritans, and Non-conformists; and afterwards for the same things an Information was given in against him at the Star-chamber, not long before which, Bishop Laud hearing that the

News brought to the Court of the King of Denmark Overthrow.

A Commission granted by the King for the raising of a general Loan.

Sir Edward Hide advanced to the Office of Lord chief Justice, in the room of Sir Randolph Crew displaced, Sir John Lamb, and Dr. Sibthorp Information against the Bishop of Lincoln, at the Councell Table

Bishop Laud's
Deam concern-
ing the Bi-
shop of Lincoln

sayd Bishop *Williams* endeavoured to re-gain the Favour of the Duke, dream'd the same Night A that he received this News; *That the Bishop of Lincoln came with Iron Chains, but returned freed from them: That he leaped upon a Horse, departed, and he could not over-take him.* This was by him interpreted, to betoken that which afterwards fell out concerning the Bishop of *Lincoln* taking Armes for the Parliament in *Wales*, and his being at liberty, when he himself was Imprison'd. Besides the cause of the Prince *Palatine*, there were other important Reasons of State, which exacted these great Supplies of money, the chief whereof was a War now Commencing with *France* upon this occasion.

The occasion
of a new War
began between
England and
France.

Lewis the Thirteenth, King of *France*, had borrowed of his Brother-in-law, King *Charles*, the Ship, called the *Vaunt-guard*, and six Merchants Ships, in pursuance of a Design against *Italy*, and the *Valtoline*, but with this Condition, They should not be employed against the *Rebellers*, between whom, and the *French King*, an Accord had been lately made by Mediation of the *English Ambassadors*. *Monsieur de Soubize* the *Staziarch*, having gotten together a scattered number of small Ships, took advantage of the *French Armies* Advance towards *Italy*, and brake the Agreement unawares, surprizing the Isle of *Rhe*, and some Ships in the Harbour, and had also taken Fort *Lewis*, if not prevented by the Duke of *Vendosme*. *Lewis* stomaching their Infidelity, turns his whole Designe for the *Valtoline* upon *Reckell*, and with the seven *English* Ships under Admirall *Pennington*, and twenty *Dutch* under Admirall *Halstein*, and the *French Navy* Conducted by *Momorancy*, brake furiously in upon *Soubize*, forceth him from his fastness, Reprizeth sundry Ships, and chaseth him to the Isle of *Oleron*. King *Charles* reſented this Action of the *French Kings* as a Violation of his royall Paroll, and therefore sent him an expostulatory Meſſage, requir- ing his reason for his miſ-employing of his Ships, and speedy reſtitution of them. And when *Lewis* deferred to give ſatisfaction of these particulars, the King ſeized here a rich Ship of *New-haven*, and the *French King* Arrested the Goods of the *English Merchants* in *France*, to the value of three hundred thousand pounds: but at length a Reconciliation was made, and the *French* had their Goods re-imbarqued to them; and on the other ſide, the *English* Ships and Goods were releaſed. Thus all was calm again for the preſent, untill the insolent Deportment of the *Queens French Attendants* produced a new Rupture; her Priest and Confeſſor had impoſed upon her to go bare-foot, to Spin, to wait upon her Servants at their ordinary repaſts, and to trace on foot in the Mire, on a rainy Morning, from *Somerſet-houſe* to *St. James's* (himself riding by her in the Coach) and to progreſs her Ambulations as far as *Tyburn-Gallows*, to offer up her Prayers for the Souls of *Jesuits* Martyrs formerly truſted up there for Treason.

The King diſ-
charges cer-
tain of the
Queens Ser-
vants, by rea-
son of their in-
ſolent carriage.

The Bishop of *Ments* had ſhewed himself too buſie in conteſting with the Earl of *Holland* about the *Queens Dowry-Mannors*, to the diſgrace of the King, who had conferred that Stewardſhip upon the Earl: And the Lady *St-George* had been proved to have raiſed ſuſpicion in the young Queen, of the Kings diſ-aſſection to her, and over-much Favour to the *English Ladies*; and that through a cauſleſs taking diſtaſt at a Repulſe, from riding in the Coach with both their Majelties, Ladies of greater Eminency worthily claiming Preferment. Theſe, and many other Arrogancies had been juſtly layd to the charge of the *Queens French Domesticks*, which appearing altogether intolerable, the King thought good to diſcharge them all, and paying them all their Dues, with large Rewards, the whole amounting to twenty two thousand pounds, and eight hundred pounds *Sterling*, Commanded them all home to their own Country; where making their Complaint to the *French King*, they induced him to ſend over an Ambaſſador on purpoſe to demand their Reſtitution, whoſe Negotiation yet proved ineffectuall, by reaſon that the Parliament of *Rean* had in the mean time Arrested the *English Wine-Merchants* Ships at *Blay Caſtle*, upon the *Gironde*: a thing ſo ſtomached by King *Charles*, that he reſolved upon Hoſtility with *France*.

In the mean time, the *Proteſtants* Affairs in *Germany* were at a low Ebb, and danger from thence ſeemed to threaten us at our own Homes, which appeared alſo the more portentous to us, for that about the ſame time, our Fleet under the Command of the Lord *Willoughby*, and the Earl of *Denbeigh*, which had been ſent out to the Aide of the *Rebellers*, had met with ſo terrible a Storm, as they were all ſcattered, and found much difficulty to gain ſafe Harbour.

The Aſſeſment
of the Loan ge-
nerally op-
poſed, upon
which divers
Gentlemen
are Imprison-
ed.

This grand Aſſeſment of the Loan meeting with much oppoſition from people of all ſorts and degrees, thoſe of lower Rank were order'd to appear in the Military Yard near *St. Martins* in the fields, before the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to be by him there Liſted for Soldiers, it being thought fit, that thoſe who reſus'd to aſſiſt with their Purſes in the common defence, ſhould be forc'd to ſerve in their perſons; thoſe of higher Quality were bound over by Recognizance to appear at the Council-Table, which accordingly they did, and ſeverall of them were committed cloſe Priſoners to the Fleet, *Marſhalſie*, *Gatehouſe*, and other Priſons; among theſe imprison'd Gentlemen, Sir *John Elliot* being one, ſent a Petition to his Majesty, in which he quoted many Preſidents of former Kings Reigns, to ſhew, that all manner of Aides and Taxes never us'd to be levied but by the generall conſent of the Nobility and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and gave other Reasons and Motives of his forbearance, to contribute to the ſayd Loan; Notwithſtanding this Perition, he remained a Priſoner in the *Gatehouſe*, till the generall Order of Diſcharge.

Sir *Peter Hayman* upon the ſame occaſion being charg'd by the Lords of the Council with Refractorineſs

A Refractoriness and unwillingness to serve the King, was Commanded to go upon his Majesties Service into the *Palatinat*; which Command, having first set his Estate in order, he obey'd.

It had been long since that *George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury* had been under a Cloud, and little set by at Court; but now at length an occasion hapned which brought him into utter disfavour with the King, which was this; Doctor *Sibthorp*, and Doctor *Manwaring* two Court Orators, having zealously preach'd up the Duty and Necessity of the Loan, the first affirming;

Archbishop Abbot incurs the Kings displeasure for refusing to licence Dr. Sibthorp's Sermon in behalf of the Loan.

That the Prince hath power to direct his Councill, and to make Laws; and that Subjects if they cannot exhibit active obedience, in case the thing commanded should be against the Law of God, or of Nature, or were impossible, yet nevertheless they ought to yield a passive Obedience; and in all other Cases they were bound to active Obedience.

The Second maintaining;

That the Kings royall Command in imposing of Loans and Taxes, though without Common Consent in Parliament, doth oblige the Subjects Conscience, upon pain of Eternall Damnation.

C These Sermons were entertain'd at Court with generall Applause, that of Doctor *Sibthorp* especially call'd *Apostolick Obedience*, which was licenc'd and approv'd by the Bishop of *London*; also the King sent an expreis Command to Archbishop *Abbot*, to licence this Sermon, which he refusing, was for a time suspended from his Archiepiscopall See, and a Commission was granted to the Bishop of *London, Durham, Oxford, Bath, and Wells*, to execute for the present time that Jurisdiction.

D The Archbishop, that the truth and reason of these things might be manifested to the World, left a large Narrative of them written with his own hand; wherein he declar'd, That being of sixty five years of Age, when these things befell him, and having liv'd so long, for ought he knew, untainted in a place of high Trust, he thought it fit, that the reason of his removal should be understood, lest it might turn to the scandall of his Person and Calling: That his absenting himself from Court and publick Services, however finitely interpreted by his Enemies, was occasion'd only through his indisposition of body, and not any wilfull neglect, or Contumacy. That the cause of the Dukes displeasure toward him, was not upon any just ground, but for being one that cared not to stoop to him, so as to become his Vassall. That it was the Dukes design to urge the licencing of this Book upon him, thereby to reduce him to this streight, that either by doing it he might discover a great deal of baseness and unworthiness, or by refusing it, he might incur the Kings Indignation: Then he related by way of Dialogue, all the passages and discourses that hapned between Mr. *William Murry* of the *Bed-chamber*, who was sent to him from the King with his own Objections and Reasons why he could not licence the Book. He gives a Character of Doctor *Land* then Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, who was employ'd to answer his Objections; his unworthy manner of life before his Rise, his Ambition and Ingratitude to his Benefactors: he repeats Doctor *Lauds* Answer, and shews the Invalidity of it; then he relates the discourse between him and Secretary *Conway*, who came to *Croyden* to him with a Message from the King, commanding his retirement to *Canterbury*. And lastly, He rehearseth the manner of the Dukes being first brought into Favour with King *James*, and how mainly Instrumentall he was in that business, by the power and credit he had with Queen *Anne*, for which he then profess'd himself infinitely obliged to him, and seriously promis'd to follow the wholesome Councells which he gave him.

The Archbishop's Narrative, concerning the cause and manner of his suspension.

F Of those Gentlemen that were in Custody for Refractoriness in the business of the Loan, five; Namely, Sir *Thomas Darnell*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Corbet*, Sir *John Heveningham*, and Sir *Richard Hamden*, brought their *Habeas Corpus*, and came to their Tryall before Sir *Nicholas Hyde* chief Justice: After the Cause had been long argued between Sir *Robert Heath* the Kings Attorney-generall, and those that were Councill for the Prisoners; as Serjeant *Brampston* for Sir *John Heveningham*, Mr. *Selden* for Sir *Edward Hamden*, Mr. *Noy* for Sir *Walter Earl*, and Mr. *Calthrop* for Sir *John Corbet*; the Lord chief Justice at last concluded, that since they were committed by the Kings Authority, the Court could not free them, so that for that time they were re-manded, till such time as the Order came out for a generall Release.

The 5 Gentlemen imprison'd about the Loan, have their Habeas Corpus granted, and are brought to their Tryall.

G The *Irish* Papists now hoped to make their Markets, and therefore in lieu of some Favour to them in the penall Laws, offered to furnish the King at their own charge with a constant Army of five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse; and a large Contribution to the safe-guard of the narrow Seas. This Motion was oppos'd in *England* by Sir *John Savill*, who put the State upon Collecting the Arrears of Recusants Thirds, due to the King by Law; and in *Ireland*, by the Lord Primate of *Armagh*, the Bishop of *Derry*, and divers others, who publicly Protested against it, as a Course likely to preserve the Papists Interests, and to sink the Protestants; whereupon the Lord Deputy resorted to the Primate, and minds him, that as a privy Councillor, he was concerned to promote the Kings Affairs, and so moved him to try how far he could

The Irish Papists offer to contribute largely toward the Kings supply.

The Duke of
Buckingham's
expedition to
the Ile of Rhe.

could prevaile with the Protestants for some competency to the Kings necessities; which he did A
in a very learned speech, though the success answerd not his expectation.

It was now the third year of King Charles's Reigne, when *Rhe* action was agreed on, and though money came not in so plentifully as was hoped, yet the Duke of *Buckingham* desirous to wipe away the imputation of negligence in relation to his Admirallship, had which much adoe completed his navall Forces consisting of six thousand horse and Foot in Ten Ships Royall and nynie Merchant-men, with which he sets saile from *Portsmouth* the Twenty seventh of *June*, and published his Manifesto the Twenty first of *July* following, declaring at large the Kings affection to the reformed Churches in *France*, and his displeasure at the last mis-employing of his ships against the *Rochellers*. The first designe of this Fleete was intended against Fort *Lewis* wherein prevented by the Duke of *Angoulesme*, they resolved upon the Ile of *Rhe*, Twelve ships therefore were sent to guard the Entry of Port *Breton*, the rest sailed on to a Forte of the Ile of *Rhe* called *de la Prie* making their approaches with their Cannon so neere, that *Monsieur Toras* Governour of the Citadell of *St. Martin* perceiving their intention, sent out his Forces to the Number of one Thousand in seven partitions Horse and Foot to impede their shoaring: These were encountred by twelve Hundred English, whom *Sir John Burrough*, *Sir Alexander Brett*, *Sir Edward Conway* and *Sir Charles Rich*, had landed by the advantage of their great Ordnance. The Fight was sharp and quick; wherein many brave Gentlemen lost their Lives on both sides; of the French; *Monsieur Restringler* Brother to *Toras*, *Chascolois Canfer*, *Navall*, *Tatlian*, *Mountaine*, *Heussey*, *Boisoneer*, *Condamine*, sundry captaines, Lieutenants and Ensignes, most of the Officers of better note wounded; of the English, *Sir Thomas York*, *Sir William Hegden*, *Sir Thomas Thornay*, *Sir George Blundell*, *Courtney*, *Glin*, *Whaley*, *Powell*, *Woodhouse*, *Goring*, &c. Kinsman of *Sir George Blandels*, with *Monsieur de Blancard*, agent from the Duke of *Roane* and the Protestants: and of the wounded were, *Rich*, *Conway*, *Hawle*, *Greenville*, *Abraham Rainford*, *Wellome*, *Thorp*, *Maryles*, and *Bennet*: the Victory uncertaine. The English Generall removes his Camp to make good his publication there in French, of the reasons of the War, and, intrenching, dispatches *Soubiz* and *Sir William Beecher* to *Rochell* who returned with five Hundred Foot, and found the Duke before *St. Martins* Castle (the Chiefe strength of the Island) notwithstanding the disuasion of his Councell, who advised him first to attempt the other Castle called the *Mede*, which they might in all likelihood have carried, and would have proved an handsome and safe place of Retreat in their future necessity. *Buckingham* falls to circumvallation ording the Ships to incompass the Island without, to hinder all provision and supply from *Toras*; by which meanes the besieged were for the space of two months greatly distressed, in which time there hapned a hot conflict between both parties and that with equall success; and by a Letter of *Toras* to *Monsieur Bellimounts*, their extremitie appears to be such that (as he there saies) The Mills could not long stand, all their Corne spent, enforced their Souldiers to feede on their store of Bisket not lasting above Ten dayes: hereupon *Buckingham* summons *Toras*, who refusing to falsifie his trust, the English now strengthened with fresh auxiliaries from *England* and *Ireland* under command of *Sir Ralph Bingles* and *Sir Pierce Crosby* set themselves to invent new sorts of Engines to batter the Citadell, all which were rendred fruitless by wind and waves. And now Abbot *Marscilane* procures *Monsieur Valin* to undertake the conveying of Twelve Pinnaces laden with provision to the Relief of *Toras* and his Souldiers, which he prosperously achieved, and at his returne carried back with him their sick and wounded and women to the Duke of *Orleanse*. In the mean time scarcity afflicts the English Campe, and *Sir John Burroughs*, viewing the Workes, is shot through, whereof he shortly dies; the French King comes from Court to the Campe and thrice in Ten daies attempts to send over some aides to the Castle; but the English ships repelled them, and three daies after slew *Monsieur*: Brother to *Toras* and put to flight his Squadron: and now the Souldiers of the Castle were reduced to greater hardship then before, their Bread not for Fowr daies furnishing; wherefore having no other way left *Toras* resolved to win time by treating with *Buckingham* about surrender, hoping in the interim to have some better newes from his associates, which accordingly fell out; for *Monsieur Mauaise* who with other Pilots, heretofore, had founded the shelves and designed the station for the ships, contrived a way to bring them succour in despite of the English; it was in the Winter, the nights long and darke, by which advantage he had opportunity to pass by them with a Fleet of 35 saile, 150 Mariners, 300 souldiers, 160 of the chiefe Nobility and many Noble Commanders, with great store of viands and other Provision, having before sent some dissembling Renegadoes to tell the English that he passed a contrary way: so that when *Buckingham* expected a surrender they boundly shewed him their Rundlets of Wine, Turkies, and Capons upon the heads of their pikes and speares.

The Duke hereat dismaied spends the night in Councell and determines with all speed to raise the siege and be gone, but the *Rochellers* intreaties and *Dolbiers* Arrivall from *England* with assurance of Auxiliaries unhappilie prevailed with him for a longer stay, during which the fame of fresh Supplies to the besiegers published over all *France*, to be coming under command of the Earl of *Holland*, hastened the French to send forth another Fleet, consisting of fifteen good Ships, and Thirteen smaller Boats; part to *St. Martins*, and the rest to the Meadow Castle, besides Seaven others which got to the Meadow Fort by *Bellamonts* command, and now the French King resolves to dis-lodge the English, and dispatches over an Army of Four Thousand Foot and two Hundred Horse besides volunteers, under the Command of the Marshall of *Schomberg*, with *Marylane* his Lieutenent General, to whom came al the besieged and greatest part of the Islanders, being in all above Eleven Thousand men, after which another Army under Command of *Bascompiere*,

A *piere*, and *Haliere* with Eight hundred of their Kings Lifeguard, a Hundred and Fiftie of the Countrey thereabout, 30 of the Kings horfe, and Three great brafs pieces land at the Meadow Caſtle. Againſt theſe laſt *Buckingham* marches with five hundred Foot and Forty horfe, and forceth them to retreat to the Caſtle, and returning to his Campe finds the Trenches poſſeſſed by another Par- tie of the French Army; *Stanley* is ordered to beat them out againe, which he doth by main Force, though not without loſs, and the Lord *Montjoy* ſeized a ſmall Troop of French; him they endeavour'd to ſurpriſe with fix horſe in ſhow; whom he chaſed ſo far that he had almoſt come in danger of their Ambuſcado; one dark night a party of *Engliſh* fell upon a party of French, and not well diſcerning each one another, ſo nungled, that by miſtake the *Engliſh* falling into the French campe became a prey to them; nor did Warre only afflict the *Engliſh* but alſo ſickneſſe and want, whereby their Souldiers and Seamen were generally enfeebled, which put the Duke upon his ſmall Reſolution of taking his Farewell of the Iſland, with one more aſſault to Sr. *Martines* Caſtell. *Tomas* had intelligence of it, and therefore he managed his buſineſſe accordingly, and gave them ſo hot a welcome, as being oppreſſed and ſeld to the ground with ſhot, they dropt in heapes, and after a great loſs received, the General commands a Retreat by ſound, and ſoon after demolish'd his works, rais'd his ditches and levels his trenches, in order to his departure; *Schomberg* and *Marſilane* purſue; following to them in a Bravado and brandiſhing their drawn Swords. The *Engliſh* thinking the Ene- mie would then have charged them drew up in Bataillia, but they, knowing what advantage, the way would ſhortly give them, made a halt, whereupon the Duke marches on in military order untill they came to the Village *Carda*, where they made another ſtand, and by an Ambuſcado of muſqueteers placed behind the old wals, walks, Hedges, and Ditches, compelled the French to retreat, but the whole Army coming up, followed them ſlowly for three Miles, till they came to the *Anſerine* Cauſway, which was ſo narrow that they could only march fix a breſt, with Ditches on either ſide, moſtly ending in ſalt pits; and now *Schomberg*, eſpying his expected opportunity, powred forth a great volley of ſhot againſt them, and then the *Engliſh* began to march as faſt as poſſibly, but the Lord *Montjoy*'s troops unable to endure the charge of the French horſe turned tayle and riding in amongſt the other Ranks put them into ſuch a diſorder as enabled the French eaſily to break in upon them and rout them with no ſmall ſlaughter, overthrowing ſome into the Ditches, and ſalt pits piercing others as they lay in the Dirt, nor was flight any whit more auſpicious to them, for thoſe who conſuſedly ran away, and, caſting away their arms, leaped into the water, were alſo cut off. *Cunninghams* horſe fought it out nobly unto the laſt man. *Montjoy* was taken priſoner, and civilly uſed. The reformadoes by uneven and turning patches made their way to the further bridge, with much danger, where joyning with *Conway*, *Croſby*, *Fryar*, and *Hackſvil*, and their forces, made good that paſſe by repulſe of the Ene mie and leaving a guard of *Muſquetters* there all day, ſet the Bridge on Fire, and lodged that night. In the looſe, *Buckingham*, the next day, demanded and obtained the dead Bodies, and then went on board.

Great was this days loſs, viz, about fifty officers, among whom were Sir *William Cunningham*, Sir *Charles Rich*, and Sir *Alexander Brett*, and neere two Thouſand common Souldiers ſlain, thirty Priſoners of Note, and Forty four Collours, taken; of the French, not above three Hundred loſt. The Duke hoſtes ſaile, and meets the Earl of *Holland* with his unſeaſonable recruits neere the *Weltem* coaſt of *England*, and at his return finding a favourable reception at the Kings hands lodges the loſs of the deſigne upon the Earle not ſeconding the expedition: but at Sea, things went ſomewhat better where Captain *Trettor* in his returne from *Hambury* ſeized by Command a great French Ship at the *Texell* in *Holland*, named the *Sanct Spirit*, with Twenty braſſe Culverines two braſſe ſeniculverins, two other great baſſ Guns, ſixteen large iron Guns, and two leſſer; in the hold for ballaſt, twelve great guns, Armes, for eleven Hundred Souldiers and eighteen barrels of powder, and Sir *John Renington* vice Admirall took Thirty four of their rich Marchant men home- wards bound, all which were ſafely brought unto *England*, to ſweeten, though not countervail, the loſs received. The poor remaines of this Army, moſtly *Iriſh* and *Scots* and conſequently rude and boiſterous were billited in villages to the great Diſguſt of the Countrey people.

The Kings condition at this time was ſomewhat low, his exchequer poor, and his reputation impaired by the improſperous enterprizes for the Aſſiſtance of the *Rochellers* now more then ever diſtreſſed, his confederate the King of *Denmark* vanquiſht by the Emperour, and the *Engliſh* Garrifon of *Stoad* reduced to great extremicie, the cauſes of which evils were gravely repre- ſented in Sir *Roberts Cottons* ſpeech of advice to certain Lords of the Councell when he was cal'd to deliver his opinion; upon theſe and the like conſiderations it was reſolv'd on, by the Councell, That a Parliament ſhould be ſummond; and immediatly Writs were Iſſued forth: alſo a Commiſ- ſion paſt under the great Seale to levie monies throughout the Nation by Impoſitions in nature of an Excife, and the Lord Treſurer was ordered to pay 30000 l to *Phillip Burlamac* a Dutch Mer- chant to be by him return'd over into the low Countreies to Sir *William Balfour* and *John Dalbier* for the raiſing of a Thouſand Horſe, and hereupon there were ſtrange ſuſpicions and Jealouſies entertain'd by many men as if the intent of raiſing theſe *German* horſe had been to bring them o- ver hither to enforce the payment of this Excife. There likewiſe began a conſultation about ad- vancing of the Kings Revenue by levying of ſhip-money upon the Countreies but the councell thought fit not to goe on with it in regard of the approaching Parliament. Not long before the beginning of which convention, there were apprehended a company of *Jefuits* in *Clarksnewell* at a houſe deſigned for a Colledge of that order, and among the reſt of their papers there was found the Coppy of a Letter, writen to their Father *Reſter* at *Bruxells* wherein the Author of it ac- quainted

He returned
unſucceſſfull.

Another Parli-
ament ſum-
mond.

A Letter written by an English Jesuite to the Father Refector at Brussels discovering their secret designs against this Church and State.

qualified Father Refector with all the subtle plots and contrivances their society had laid for the A
 imbroyling of this state; and for the erecting of an *Universall catholick Monarchy*; and to this end he said they chiefly made use of *Arminians* and *Projectors*, and that both these factions should cooperate to destroy the Parliament, and to introduce a new form of Government, that is to say *Oligarchy*, and that their chiefe care was to stave off the *Puritans* for having any influence upon the Duke; least they should negotiate a reconciliation between him and the Parliament: alio how that many times, obbing their purposes about, they took upon them the semblance of *Puritans*; that this impost of Excite was indutiously promoted by them, and the bringing in of a forraign Army of horse and foot to enforce it, which Army must needs prove insupportably burthensome to the Country and eat up the Kings Revennue, and that by this meanes they should be the better able to bring about their grand design, which was, To work the Potestants as well as the Catholicks to welcome in a Conquerour.

The Parliament Assembled.

The 17 of *March* being come, the Parliament assembled, and Sir *John Finch* chosen Speaker for the house of Commons, the King salutes them and tells them that the greatness of the common danger was such as required a speedy supply, and therefore they may rest assured, that it was the principall cause of their Convocation, wherein he hoped they would shew themselves, such true Patriots of the true Religion, the Lawes and liberties of this State, and just detence of their friends and Allies, now in such hazard by Popish Enemies, as not to deceive his expectations which were very great, though indeed somewhat nip't by remembrance of the distractions of the last Meeting. After the King, the Lord Keeper addrest his Speech to them, wherein he inslag'd himself upon all that the King had briefly intimated to them before, and earnestly press't them to consider of some speedy way for the supplying of his Majesties necessities. No sooner was this Parliament met, but presently before any thing had been begun to be debated among them, there came a Letter directed to the Members of the House of Commons, concerning the Grievances and manifold inconveniences of the State, from one who had been a Member of the former Parliament. This Letter was called, a *Speech without doores*, and first laid open the abuses of *unlawfull Elections*, when many times the Country by a threatening Letter from the Lord Leiftenant was forc't to chosse onely those whom he appointed, were the party never so ignorant or corrupt; the ill consequences of prohibiting *freedom of speech*, since there could be no redress of Enormities or injuries, if Men might not dare to complain freely of them; nor could the truth of any passage or transaction be brought to light if men were discourag'd from revealing the whole circumstance of what they knew: next it took notice of the severall sorts of greivances as well those which concern'd the Nation in generall as in particular. As

A letter directed to the house of Commons call'd a *Speech without doores* laying open the miscarriages of the Kingdome.

1. *The attaining to Honours by base and mercenarie ways, without any merit or vertue in the Persons so advanc't,*

2. *The ill carriage of the Wars; and the consuming of a Mass of treasure to no purpose, which was caus'd by that sort of men which may be well term'd abusers of Princes, perswading them to war and to become poor, when they might live in Peace and become rich: and for this the Parliament had an unjust aspersi'on cast upon them, as if they had been a cause to draw his Majestie into a War and had failed on their parts to contribute to it; the disorders and outrages committed by the Souldiers in the Country when as there was no occasion nor any Enemy appearing.*

Lastly, *It exhorted them to manifest to the King their willing minds to repair and fit to Sea his Majesties Navies, which might be term'd the wals of England, and themselves to have power, with the advice of experienced men, to make them able and serviceable.*

The case of the imprison'd Gentlemen debated.

The first thing taken into consultation was the opening of the Grievances of the Kingdome, and the First Grievance they debated on was, the case of those Gentlemen, who, having resus'd the Loan, were, notwithstanding their *Habeas Corpus*, commanded to Prison: this business took up a long and earnest debate, which was chiefly manag'd by Sir *Francis Seymour*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *Benjamin Rudgard*, Sir *Edward Cook* and Sir *Robert Phillips*, all of them eagerly contending for the Liberties and priviledges of the Subject, against the illegality of the Loan, and the imprisoning of men without alledging just cause: onely Sir *John Cock*, Secretary of State, argued for the King, and affirmed it to be more proper that supply's should be first taken into consideration and afterwards the redress of Grievances; *We should begin*, said he, *with the King and not with our selves.* Afterwards at another debate the Judges of the Kings Bench, Judge *Whitlock*, Judge *Doddridge*, and the Lord chief Justice *Hide* being desired to declare themselves upon this business, spoke in justification of their proceedings upon the *Habeas Corpus*, and that if they had granted them bail upon the *Habeas Corpus*, it must needs have reflected upon the King, as if he had unjustly imprison'd them; in conclusion it was resolv'd upon the question, no man Gainsaying;

1. *That no freeman ought to be restrain'd by the command of the King or Privy Council, without some cause of the commitment,*

2. *That the writ of Habeas Corpus, ought to be granted upon request to every man that is restrain'd, though by the command of the King, the Privy Council, or any other.*

3. *That*

A 3. That if a freeman be imprison'd by the command of the King, the privy councill, or any other, and no cause of such commitment express'd, and the same be return'd upon a Habeas Corpus granted for the said party, then he ought to be delivered or bailed.

The Parliament next proceeded to the drawing up of a Petition against Recufants.

1. That all laws and statutes against Jesuits and popish Priests be put in full power and execution.

The Parliament draw up a Petition to the King against Recufants.

B 2. That a strict course be taken for the discovery and apprehending of them.

3. That all popish recusants be prohibited from coming to Court or within Ten miles of London.

4. That no place of trust or authority should be committed to them; with other particulars, to the like effect.

This Petition was solemnly presented from both houses by the Lord Keeper to the King, who gave to every Article a positive and satisfactory answer: There had lately been presented to the House of Commons by secretary Cook, certain propositions from the King touching supply's and the setting forth of Ships and Men for forraign service; these propositions after some little consultation about them were laid aside and the debate concerning grievances resum'd, Sir Francis Seymour urg'd that the late supply which had been given had purchas'd nothing but dishonour, and that what the subject gave unless his Majestie employ'd men of integrity and experience would be but as thrown into a bottomless bag. Sir Thomas Wentworth said, unless we can be secured for our Liberties we cannot give, but at length after two other messages from the King, Mr Pym mov'd for a quick dispatch, and presently Five Subsidies were granted. The granting of these five Subsidies gave the King such satisfaction therein, that he sent them word by secretary Cooke, that he would deny them nothing

Five Subsidies granted to the King.

D of their liberties which any of his Predecessors had granted. This encouraged them to fall afresh upon the peoples liberties, and Sir Edward Cooke, Sir Dudley Diggs, Mr. Selden and Mr. Liston, delivered the opinion of the house to the Lords, where at first it found some opposition in consideration of the dependence of their interests upon the prerogative, which by this meanes would be too much invalidated; but at length it was carried by the popular partie, the opposites not daring to enter their protestations upon Record, for fear of incurring the publique hatred. Personall libertie thus settled, and a Petition presented to the King against the billeting of Souldiers in the Countrys (to which he promis'd an answer in convenient time) the house fall next (by the perswasion of Sir Edward Cooke) upon that memorable Petition of Right, and having Magna Charta, and six other Statutes explanatory of it, on their side, delivered their petition to the

E Lords, at which conference the Kings Councill Sir Robert Heath Attorney Generall, and Serjeant Ashley being permitted to argue against the propositions that were tendered by the Commons in order to this Petition of Right, Serjeant Ashley said, That they tended rather to an Anarchy then to a Monarchy, That if they be yealded to, it is to put a Sword into the Kings hand with one hands and to take it out with the other, That they must allow the King to govern by Acts of State otherwise he is a King without a Councill, or, which is as bad, hath a Councill without power, That the question is too high to be determin'd by Law where the Conquerour or conquer'd will suffer irreparable loss; For these expressions the Serjeant being call'd to the Barr by the Lords and committed to custody was driven at length to recant what he had said. At another conference the Lords propounded their Addition to be made to the Petition of Right. We present this our humble Petition to your Majestie with the care not

The Petition of Right taken into debate.

F only of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave intire that sovereign power wherewith your Majestie is trusted for the protection, safetie and happiness of the people; but after that divers of the Commons had delivered their opinions at large why this clause could not be added, the Lords concurre'd, that without any addition or preface the Petition should be presented to the King, the effect of which Petition was as followeth.

First, They doe pray your most excellent Majestie, That no man hereafter be compelled to make, or yeild any Guift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, or such like Charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament, and that none be called to make answer, or

G to take such Oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise be molested, or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusall thereof.

Thirdly,

Secondly, And that no freeman be taken, and imprison'd, or be disceis'd of his freehold or libertie, or his free customes, or be out-lawed, or exiled, but by the lawfull Judgment of his Peers, or by the Laws of the Land.

Thirdly, And that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the Soldiers, and A
Mariners now Billited in divers Counties, and that your People may not be so
burthered in time to come.

Fourthly, That the late Commissions for proceeding by Martiall Law, may be re-
voked and annulled, and that hereafter no Commission of like nature may issue forth
to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed, least by colour of them, any of
your Majesties Subjects be destroyed and put to death contrary to Law, and the
Franchises of the Law.

*All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty, as their Rights and
Liberties; according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and that your
Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, That all Awards, Doings, or Proceedings,
to the prejudice of your People, shall not be drawn hereafter into Consequence, and
Example.*

About the same time that the Addition which the Lords propounded was in Debate, there
came a Letter from the King to the House of Lords, in which among other things;

*He declar'd it to be his Royall Pleasure, which, God willing, he would ever continue
and constantly maintain, that neither he, nor his privy Councell should or would at any
time hereafter command to Prison, or otherwise restrain the persons of any, for not lend-
ing money; nor for any cause which in his Conscience did not concern the publick good,
nor would he be drawn to pretend any Cause, wherein his Judgment was not fully
satisfied.*

This Sir Thomas Wentworth sayd, Was a letter of Grace, but that the People were not to be satisfied
but by a Parliamentary way; That the Debate would spend much time: That it was not directed to
the House of Commons; And that the Petition it self would rectifie all mistakes.

Nor did the frequent Messages of the King for the expediting of those Subsidies lately granted,
take any effect untill this great Debate was ended. After the Petition of Right was presented to
the King, presently this Answer was return'd;

The Kings
first Answer to
the Petition of
Right not sa-
tisfactory.

*The King willeth that Right be done, according to the Laws and Customes of the
Realm; and that the Statutes be put in due execution, that his Subjects may have no
cause to complain of any Wrong or Oppressions, contrary to their just Rights and Liberties:
To the preservation whereof, he holds himself in Conscience as well obliged, as of his E
Privilege.*

A Declaration
drawn up by
the Parliament
against Dr.
Manning, a-
bout two scan-
dalous Sermons
which he had
formerly
preachd.

There had been lately a Charge brought in by Mr. Rows against Doctor Edward Manning,
in reference to certain Sermons before mentioned, which the House of Commons taking into
Consideration, drew up a Declaration against him, shewing, That in the foresayd Sermons, called
Religion and Allegiance, he maintain'd: That the Kings Royall Command in imposing Loans, Taxes,
and other Aydes upon his People, though without consent in Parliament, did oblige them upon pain of
eternall Damnation: That those of his Subjects who refus'd the Loan aforementioned, in such manner as
is before recited, did therein offend the Laws of God, and were guilty of Rebellion and Disobedience: F
That Authority of Parliaments was not necessary for the raising of Aides and Subsidies: That the
slow proceedings of such Assemblies, are not fit for the supply of the urgent necessities of State.

Sentence is
pass'd against
him, notwith-
standing his
submission.

This Declaration was presented to the Lords at a Conference, and Mr. Pym appointed to
manage that Conference; whereupon he made a large Discourse upon each particular Article,
aggravating the hainousness and danger of such Opinions, and the ill Consequences that would
arise from the suffering and allowing of them. Not long after by consent of both Houses,
Judgment pass'd against the Doctor, notwithstanding his solemn submission made after a most
humble manner; That he should be Imprison'd, Fin'd, disabl'd from ever having any Ecclesia-
sticall Jurisdiction, and from preaching at Court: That he should be suspended from his Cure G
for three years, and that his Books should be burnt.

The Kings Answer to the Petition of Right being read in the House of Commons, was judg'd
too scant in respect of the time and pains that had been employed in the contriving of it: but
that which brought a far greater Consternation and sorrow among them, was a Message that
came awhile after from his Majesty; wherein, signifying the resolution he held for the concluding
of that present Session, he requir'd them not to enter upon any new Business, which might spend
greater time, or lay a Scandall or Aspersions upon the State-government or Ministers thereof:
this sharp Message caus'd the House to turn into a Grand Committee, to consider what was fit to
be

A be done; and at last upon their humble Petition for a clear and satisfactory Answer to the *Petition of Right*, the King sent them a short, but full Answer in this form;

The Kings last Answer to the *Petition of Right*, which gives satisfaction.

SOIT DROIT FAIT COME IL EST DESIRE.

This Answer was received with the generall Acclamations of both Houses, and the Citizens for joy thereof made Bonfires, and rung their Bells; and the King for further satisfaction received into his favour, *Abbot* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Essex*, *Lincoln*, *Warwick*, *Bristol*, and the Lord *Say*; all which had heretofore lain under a Cloud of the Kings displeasure: and suffered the Commiſſion of Loan and Excise to be cancelled in his own presence; so that now there appeared not the least wrinkle of discontent on either side.

B It was now the fourth year of King *Charles's* Reign when the Parliament not well digesting their dis-appointment in their former Accuſation of the Duke of *Buckingham*, drew up another Remonstrance against him, and Bishop *Neale*, and Bishop *Land*, which they presented, together with the Bill of Subsidies, to the King, in the Banqueting-house of *Whitehall*, to which he answered; *That he expected not such a return for his favourable Answer to their Petition of Right; and as for their Grievances he would take time to consider of them.*

The Parliament frame a Remonstrance against the Duke of *Buckingham*, Bishop *Neale*, and Bishop *Land*.

C There having also been exhibited in the *Star-chamber*, an Information against the Duke for severall Offences and Mis-demeanours; an Order was made in that Court, that the said Bill, or Information, and all Proceedings thereupon should be forthwith taken from the File, according to the Kings express will and pleasure. Moreover, it having been given out by Mr. *Christopher Eukner*, a Member of the House of Commons, that the Duke at his Table should utter these words; *Tush, it makes no matter what the Parliament doth, for without my leave and Authority, they shall not be able to touch the haire of a Dog.* He made a Protestation in the House of Lords, *That he never had those words so much as in his thoughts*: which Protestation the Lords commanded to be entered upon Record; he also taxed one Mr. *Melvin* of certain Aspersions and Scandalls of a high Nature, which he had cast upon him.

D The Lords about this time took offence at the Commons for omitting their Names, which should have been expressed in these words; *The Lords Spirituall and Temporall*: which the Commons excused, as a thing not intended, and which, if their Lordships pleased to return the Bill, should be amended: But the King absolutely resolving to hold up the Duke, had framed so tart an Answer to the last Remonstrance, as provoked the Commons to double upon him against Tunnage and Poundage, which being a matter of too great a value and consequence to be so hazarded, the King determined to prevent, by adjourning the Parliament unto the twentieth of *October*, which he accordingly did. In this Session were enacted these Laws.

The Parliament adjourned.

1. For further reformation of divers Abuses committed on the *Lords day*, commonly called *Sunday*.
2. To restrain the passing or sending of any to be Popishly bred beyond the Seas.
- E 3. For the better suppressing of unlicensed Alehouse-keepers.
4. For continuance and repeal of divers Statutes.
5. For the establishing the Estates of the Tenants of *Bramfield*, and *Yale*, in the County of *Denbigh*, and of the Tenures, Rents, and Services thereupon reserved, according to a late Composition made for the same, with the King, then Prince of *Wales*.
6. For the confirmation of the Subsidies granted by the Clergy.

And 7. For the grant of five intire Subsidies granted by the Temporality.

F About this time, or a little before, Doctor *Lamb*, a Favourite of the *Dukes* (who had been formerly twice Arraigned, once for *Necromancy*, and another time for a Rape) was killed in *Losbury* by the enraged multitude, who hated him both for his own sake, and the *Dukes*, (whose Devill he was called) and flying at him, though guarded with four Constables and their Retinue, struck him down and grievously mawled him, beating out one of his Eyes and leaving him half dead on the place; and being from thence carried to the *Poultry-Counter*, he dies, pittied of few, and loved of none, according to his own prediction the year before.

Dr. *Lamb* was upon by the People, and killed.

Not long after him Doctor *Preston* that famous Preacher departed this life, a man as famous for his goodness, as the other was infamous for his lewdness.

This year Sir *Charles Morgan* Commander of the *English* Forces under the King of *Denmark*, in *Germany*, having a long time bravely defended *Stood* against the Imperialists, was necessitated to surrender it, upon Condition that the Garrison Soldiers should never bear Armes against the Emperour, but at the Command of their own King.

G This year Dr. *Land* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was advanced to the Bishoprick of *London*. Two Barons were also made, the Lord *Weston* Lord Treasurer of *England*, and the Lord *Wentworth*, Lord President of the *North*; the same, who afterwards succeeded Favourite in place of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whose end we now come to relate.

During the last Session, the Earl of *Denbigh* as Admirall, conducted a Fleet of fifty Sail to the Relief of *Rochell*, but was repelled with much loss; so that finding no hopes of prevailing, he made a speedy return to *Plymouth*: hereupon, another Expedition is agreed upon, which took up the whole Vacation in equipping a more formidable Fleet, whereof the Duke himself intended to appear as Generall, hoping to repair his own and his Brother-in-laws ill success, by notable performances, and such was the diligence of those employed about it, that a most considerable

The Duke of *Buckingham* undertakes another Expedition to the relief of *Rochell*.

He is stab'd to
death by Fel-
son.

Armado was gotten together; to view which, the King and the Duke came down towards A Portsmouth, and kept his Court within four miles of the Town: Buckingham was very busie in halting his design, treating frequently with his Commissioners of Rochell, and Soubiez (now once more shifted over into England) in order to his passage into France, which was yet anticipated by his passage into another World. For on the twenty third of August, the Duke coming down the Stairs from his upper Chamber with Sir Thomas Fryar to Breakfast in a lower Parlour (turning in at the foot of the Stairs in a narrow Entry) and at the Door embracing Fryar, was stabbed to the heart by one John Felton (a Lieutenant of foot in Sir John Ramseys Regiment) with a back-blow of a Cuttill Knife, which the Murderer flying left sticking in his Body till the Duke himself drag'd it out; whence issued such a stream and emission of Spirits, that instantly he expired; his Servants and Retainers pursued, and soon apprehended Felton, B whom Stanford would have immediately slain, but others would have him reserved for publick Justice; in order whereunto, he was clapt into a small Centry-house upon the Guard, horribly laden with manieled Irons, neither to sit nor lye down, but to be Criped against the Wall; where being afterwards asked, what invited him to the Action? he boldly answered, He killed him for the Cause of God, and his Country: he had also tack'd a Paper in the Crown of his Hat, wherein he declared, that his only motive to the Fact was the late Remonstrance of the Commons against the Duke, and that he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler Cause then by delivering his Country from so great an Enemy.

The Dukes Bowels were interred in Portsmouth, by his Sister the Countess of Denbigh, and a Memoriall there erected for him, his Body was brought to York-house, where he lay some time C in State, and was afterwards Intombed at Westminster in St. Edwards Chappell: Felton was Arraigned and found Guilty, at the Kings-bench Bar, and hanged at Tyburne, and his Body sent to Portsmouth, and Gibbited in Chains without the Town.

Concerning the Dukes untimely End (dying in his thirty sixth year) there were severall Presages ventilated;

As first, That his Picture fell down in the High-commission Chamber at Lambeth, on the same day that Lamb was slain.

And secondly, That the Lady Davies, who was reputed a great Prophetess, had in June fore- told, that the Dukes fatall time would not come till August.

And thirdly, That one Mr. Tower son an Officer in the Custome-house, was charged by a Phau- tasme, resembling the Dukes Father, to tell him, That if he changed not his courses, he would D shortly become a great Faring to the City of London, which afterwards was thought accom- plish'd by his death hapning the day before Bartholomew Fair.

The Earl of
Lindsey sets
sail towards
Rochell.

In the Eight of September the fleet (much forwarded by the Kings presence) set saile under the Command of the Earl of Lindsey, an able Souldier, and came to the Barr of the Haven of Rochell, where he found a monstrous work attempted and finished by Cardinall Richtien with Boome and Barracado and Traverse crosse the Channell 1400. yards, leaving a convenient space for the flood and Ebb of Tides, (a thing not paralleld by any History) all which nothing danting the Admirals courage, he made many brave ventures at it, passed the out-forts and bulworkes E even to the very mouth of the Barr, when unexpectedly the wind turning crosse, drove them dan- gerously foule upon each other. This ill success of the Fleet made the Rochellors despayr of fur- ther success, and that despair produced a present Surrender, which the Earl of Lindsey perceiving, brought his Fleet safe home againe. On the Twentieth of January the Parliament assembled a- gain which should have met upon the Twentieth of October, but that upon occasion of some bad news brought to the King during this Expedition, he readjourned them untill this time; in the mean time the Merchants had refused to pay Tunnage and Poundage, whereupon their goods were seised: complaint whereof was made to the Parliament; the King therefore summons the Houses to his Banqueting house at Whitehall and requires them to pass their promised Bill. For clearing his former and future Actions especially in this time of great Necessitie, seeing Tunnage and Poundage was too precious a Jewell of his Crown to be so lightly forgotten. The Commons F answered, That Gods cause was to be preferred, before the Kings, and therefore they would in the first place consult about Religion, and accordingly appointed two committees, one for Religion and another for Civill Affairs, the proceedings of the first we shall refer to a more proper and distinct place: The other brought in a complaint, that the Petition of Right had been Printed with the Kings first Answer which had been excepted against; and not his last which was taken as satisfactory. Another complaint was upon the seizing of the Merchants Goods who had refused to pay Tunnage and Poundage one of whom was Mr. Rolles a Parliament man to whom, it is reported, that some of the Officers of the Custome house should say, Though all the Parlia- ment were in you we would take your Goods, another was Mr. Richard Chambers, who was committed to Prison for saying at the councill Table, That such great Customes and Impositions were re- G quired from the Merchants in England as were in no other place, and that they were more scrow'd up then under the Turk. Afterwards having a form of Submission drawn up and sent him from the Scar- Chamber whereunto he was to subscribe his name he instead of acknowledging it underwrit these words. All the abovesaid contents I Richard Chambers do utterly abhor and detest as most unjust and false, and never to death will acknowledge any part thereof, and cited also severall places of Scripture that condemn Opression and Injustice. For the first complaint the Printer was questioned who transford the fault to the Kings Attorney Generalls order. For the later, Sir John Worsholme, Far- mer

He returns
without effe-
cting any
thing.

Complaint
made about
the seizing of
the Merchants
Goods, who
refused to pay
Tunnage and
Poundage.

A mer of the Custome, Mr. Dawes, and Mr. Carmarthen his Assistants were called to account, whom the King excused as acting by his Command, which not being cleere to the Parliament, they would have dealt with them as wick Delinquents. But that the King certified them by Secretary Cooke, that in honour he could not, would not give way thereunto: This so incensed the Parliament that immediately they Adjourned for some dayes; and then Meeting againe the King Adjourned them till the first of March. Hereat Sir John Elliot stands up and accuses the Lord Treasurer Weston as an Enemie to the English Trade, which he desired to transfer to Foreiners, the end of whose Speech was attended by a Messige of longer adjournment till the Tenth of March. The Commons hereat intraged Check the Speaker for admitting the Messige and bid Sir John to read his Remonstrance (the Speaker and Clerk refusing) which was to this effect, That they had considered of the Bill for Tunnage and Poundage, but being over pressed with other Businesse, and that, of it selfe so perplex, would require much leisure to discharge, which at that time they could not, this present Sessions moving hastily to an end; and lest his Majesty should hereafter, as he had done heretofore incline to evill Spirits, or be abused to believe, that he might justly receive the Subsidies of Tunnage and Poundage, (which they humbly declare to be against the fundamentall Law of the Nation, and contrary to the Kings late Answer to the Petition of Right) And therefore they crave thit his Majesty would for the future forbear such Taxes, and not to take it ill if his Subjects refuse, what is demanded by Arbitrary and Unwarrantable Power.

C A Report being made from the Committee of Pardons concerning the Pardons obtained by Dr. Sibthorp, Dr. Manwaring, Mr. Cosens, and Mr. Mountague, Mr. Oliver Cromwell, one of that Committee, informing the House that Dr. Neal Bishop of Winchester was the main Instrument in procuring the Kings hand to their Pardons and that the said Bishop preferr'd Dr. Manwaring, notwithstanding that the last Parliaments Censure had disabled him from ever holding any Ecclesiasticall Dignity, to a rich living, and moreover that he was a Countenancer not onely of Arminianism but of Flat Popery; *If these, said he, be the steps to Church Preferments, what may we expect?*

D The house having prepared their Remonstrance concerning the Bill for Tunnage and Poundage would have had the Speaker to put it to the Vote, whether it should be presented to the King or no, but he refused and would have left the House as he had been Ordred by the King: but Mr. Hollis would not suffer him to rise till himselfe had read the Commons Protestation digested into these three Articles.

The Comons prepare a bill against Tunnage and poundage.

First, Whosoever shall bring in Innovation of Religion, or by Favour seeke to introduce Popery, or Arminianisme or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a Capitall Enemie to this Kingdome and Common-Wealth.

Their Protestation read in the house by Mr. Hollis.

E *Secondly, Whosoever shall counsell or advise the taking or levying of the Subsidies of Tunnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an Actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a capitall Enemie to the Common-Wealth.*

Thirdly, If any man shall yeild voluntarily, or pay the same not being granted by Parliament, he shall be reputed a betrayer of the Liberties of England, and an Enemie to the Common-wealth: This was received with generall applause of the Members; but not of the King; who presently sent for the Serjeant of the Mace, but he was not permitted to goe out, and Sir Miles Hobart, a Member, taking the Key of him locks the Door.

The King dissolveth the Parliament by force.

F The King now angry sends Maxwell Usher of the black Rod to dissolve them, who being excluded, the King with his Pensioners and guard, resolves upon forcing the entrance, which they understanding suddenly avoided the House; and such was the end of this Parliament. In the mean time there hapned a lamentable Fier in the Strand which consumed the Vicount Wilburlous House (at that time) the Lodging of the Dutch Embassadour; and not long after comes News of the Death of Frederique Henry, Eldest Son to the King of Bohemia drowned in the Mere of Harlem; which put the Court all into Mourning.

The King after the Dissolution of the Parliament publishes a Declaration of the causes thereof, and then falls upon questioning the Refractory Members at the Councell Table; namely Mr. Hollis, Sir John Elliot, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Hayman, Sir John Barrington, Mr. Selden, Mr. Stroud, Mr. Corison, Mr. Valentine, Mr. Long, Mr. Kirton, all which were committed to severall Prisons. The Marquess of Huntly hereditary Sheriff of a great part of Scotland, neglecting the order of the Council at Edenborough for the apprehending of certain Priests and Jesuits who openly said Mass at Aberdeen, and committed other insolences, was summoned to appear before the Councell together with the Earls of Aros, Athol, Niddesdale and Abercon, who joyned with him in his contempt; and upon both their refusalls to appear, and their giving notice to the said Priests and Jesuits to escape, they were proclaim'd rebels to the King and Kingdome, and a strict course taken for the apprehending of them, whereupon they took their flight into England. This year Petrus Paulus Ruben, the Famous Painter of Antwerp, Secretary to the Arch-duchess was sent

He calls to question certain refractory members of the Commons.

The Marquess of Huntly and other Scotch Lords are proclaim'd Rebel by the Council at Edenborough and fly into England.

Reuben comes
over from the
Archduchess to
move for a
Peace with
Spain,

over Agent into *England*, to solicit a Peace with *Spain*, who it seems was at this time at so low A
an Ebbe that *Pasquin* posted him up at *Rome* in a Fryars habit together with *Marforius*, who the
question being askt why he was Painted in that Habit, answer'd, That it was, because he had lately ta-
ken Three vows upon him: one of Poverty ever since the *Hollanders* took the *West-India Fleet*. The other of O-
bedience since the *French* made them quit *Casal* and *Montferrat*: and Lastly of Chastity when the *Conde*
de Olivares shall give him leave. This peace was not concluded till there came over another Em-
bassadour more fully empowrd. In the fifth year of King *Charles*, The Emperour sends over an Am-
bassadour, into *England* and offers here to pay to the *Queene of Bohemia*, Thirty thousand pounds
per annum, with convenience of Reception, within the *Palatinate* upon condition that her Eldest
Son living should marry one of the Emperours Daughters, and be educated at that imperial Court;
which motion was magnanimously rejected. In *Italy* the wars had been hot, to little purpose, B
with the loss of a Million of Mortals, between *France* and *Spain*, about the Dukedome of *Mantua*,
wherein at length *Charles* *Consega*, Duke of *Nevers* was invelted. But the *French* having
weakned themselves in this War and gotten no great bargaine by it, desired new Alliances, to
attach the *Spaniards* and *Austrians*, and by the mediation of the *Venetians*, propose and conclude
a Peace with *England*, upon these Articles.

Articles of
Peace between
England and
France.

First, That the two Kings shall renew former Alliance, inviolable, with free commerce,
and in this particular, such things may be proposed to add or diminish, as either part shall
Judge convenient. C

Secondly, That for what is past, during the late difference, no satisfaction shall be
demanded on either side.

Thirdly, That the Articles of Marriage of the *Queene* of great *Brittain*, shall be con-
firmed, and concerning her Domesticks to propose Expedients to be added or dimini-
shed.

Fourthly, All former Alliances between the Crownes shall stand good unless changed by
this present Treaty. D

Fifthly, The two Kings being thus remitted to their former Affections, shall respec-
tively Correspond towards the assistance of their Allies (so far as the condition of Affairs,
and the Generall good shall permit) for procuring of the repose of the Troubles of *Chris-*
tendome.

Sixthly, Ambassadors on either part to be despatcht for ratification; and Residents in
either Court. E

Seventhly, Touching Ships at Sea, with Letters of Marque on either side, that for Two
Months following, shall not prejudice this agreement, provided, to restore eithers prize,
after that time, upon demand.

Eighthly, These Articles to be joyntly signed the Fourteenth of this present April, and
instantly then to be Consigned into the Hands of the Lords Ambassadors of *Venice*, to be
delivered to each King, at a day prefixt; all Acts of Hostility to cease, and to be procla-
med in both Kingdomes, the Twentieth of May following. F

And shortly after Sir *Thomas Edmonds* controler of the Kings House was sent from *England*, and
the Marquess of *Chasteau-neuf* from *France*, for the solemn confirmation of the Articles by Oath.
In the beginning of *November* the Earls of *Bedford*, *Summerset*, and *Clare* with some others were
committed, upon information given, That they had disperfed severall coppies of a Book of Pro-
jects, instructing the King to augment his Revenues without the help of Parliaments: but they
were cleared from that Suspicion by Sir *David Fowler*, who discover'd upon Oath, that it was con-
trived about sixteen yeares ago by Sir *Robert Dudley*, eldest Son to the late Earl of *Leicester* then li-
ving at *Florence* under the Title of Duke of *Northumberland*. On the first of *January* Don *Carlo de* G
Colonas came Embassadour from *Spain* to *England* to treat of Peace between the two Crownes,
and six daies after had his first Audience;

Libells found
against Bishop
Laud and the
Lord Treasu-
rer *Weston*.

By the dissolving the last Parliament, the Popular Odium was more then ever stirr'd up against
the Great and Powerfull Ministers of State, as appeared by certain invective Libells disperfed
about; whereof there was one against Bishop *Laud* to this purpose.

Laud, look to thy selfe, be assur'd thy life is sought: as thou art the Fountain of Wickednesse, repent of
thy monstrous sins, before thou be taken out of the World, and assure thy self neither God nor the world can
indure

A endure such a vile Councillor, or Whispher. This Libell was found in the Dean of Pauls Yard, with another no less bitter against the Lord-Treasurer *Weston*: Others there were more zealous for the advancement of the Kings Prerogative, who considering how little Success his Affaires had by this and his two former Parliaments, advis'd his Majesty never for the future to call any more Parliaments; and for the better carrying on of such a Design as this, the aforesayd Book of *Projects* was publisht and dispers'd in severall places, containing, A Proposition addrest to the King, how he might so order the matter as not to be troubled for the future with the *Impertinencies* as he called it, of Parliaments; Instancing the Example of *Lewis* the Eleventh of France, who pretending that the third Estate representing the Commons did inroach too much upon the Clergy and Nobility, dissolv'd that Parliament of the three Estates, and never after had a free Election of the third Estate; but instead thereof, ordaind an Assembly of certain Eminent Persons of his own Nomination, which is called *L'Assemblé des Notables*: The wayes proposed for the avoiding this *Impertinency* of Parliaments were in brief these;

A Paper of Advice presented to the King to rid himself of Parliaments.

1. To have a Fortres in every considerable Town.
2. To cause High-wayes to be made through such Towns.
3. To choose the Fortresses of such Towns, no Inhabitants of the place.
4. To let none pass through such places without a Ticket.
5. To have the Names of all Lodgers taken by Inn-keepers.
6. To impose a generall Oath upon the Subjects, for the avoiding of all Rubs that might hinder the conclusions of these Busineses.

C Advice was;

1. To demand a *Decima*, or tenth part of mens Estates.
2. To buy all Leases upon the Crown-Lands.
3. To take the benefit of Salt into his own hands.
4. To demand a Rate for Sealing the Weights every year.
5. To demand an Impost for Wools.
6. To put a Tax upon every Lawyers Fee.
7. To put a Tax upon Innes and Victualling-houses for a Licence.
8. To put a Tax upon all Cattell, Flesh, and Horses sold in the Marquer.
9. To put a Tax upon all Lands alienated.

D

10. To demand a Rate upon all Offices in his Majesties Grant.
11. To reduce his Majesties Household to Board-wages.
12. To demand a Rate for Licence to eat *Luticinia*, or White-meats upon fasting dayes.
13. To take an Imposition upon the Catholicks Lands.

14. At the Princes Marriage to make Earls *Principi*, Barons, Earls, two hundred of the richest men of England that were not Nobles Titulate, Gentlemen of low Quality, Franklines, and rich Farmers, Esquires; each paying for their Honours according to their severall Degrees.

Lastly, To prohibit costly and gorgeous Apparell to be worn by any, but Persons of considerable Quality, which would save the Gentry of the Kingdome much more money then what they were taxed could amount unto.

E About this time, certain Gentlemen of the Temple attempting the rescue of one *Bellingham*, a Captain in the late Isle of *Rhe* Expedition, who was Arrested in *Fleetstreet*, and divers of them in the Fray being wounded and carried to Prison: the Business at length came to that heighth, and the Concourse of the *Templers* so far encreas'd, that they made a *Barricado* about *St. Dunstons* Church, and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London coming against them with a Company of the Train-bands, they being about six hundred in number made a bold Resistance, killed five, and wounded near a hundred. Hereupon the Lord chief Justice was sent for up to London, and an extraordinary Session kept at *Guild-hall*, for the tryall of the chief Offenders, in which Captain *Ashhurst*, and Captain *Stamford* being found guilty, were condemned and Executed at *Tyburn*, notwithstanding, that for the saving of *Stamfords* life, great Intercession was made to the King, who answered, That since he had been formerly pardoned for a Murder, and had committed another, a course ought to be taken to prevent a third.

A Tumult in Fleetstreet about an Arrest.

Captain Ashhurst, and Captain Stamford hang'd. The death of William Burt of Pembroke.

It was now the sixth year of King Charles's Reign, being the year 1630. which began with the death of *William Harbet*, Earl of *Pembroke*, a Person truly Generous and Heroick, a great Enemy to the Spaniard, and Disliker of forrein Men, Manners, and Modes; he died in the fiftieth year of his Age, after which his Brother the Earl of *Montgomery* obtained of the King the disposition of his Councell.

G On the twenty ninth of May the Queen was brought to Bed of a young Son, which was Baptized at *St. James's*, on the twenty seventh of June, and named *Charles*; his Godfathers were the King of France, and Prince *Electo*r, represented by the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*; and his Godmother was the Queen-mother of France, represented by the Dutches of *Richmond*. It is observed, that at his Nativity at London, was seen a Star about Noon-time; what it portended, good, or evil, we leave to the Judgment of the Astrologers. In the mean time, the Affairs of Germany did necessarily require a generall Diet to be kept at *Reisbone*; whither the Prince *Electo*r was invited, to put in his Plea for his Restauration to the *Palatinates*; whereupon he sends his Agent thither, and procures King Charles to send Sir

The Birth of Prince Charles.

Sir Robert An-
struther sent
Ambassador
to the Empe-
rour to treat
about the Pa-
latinate.

A Peace pro-
claimed be-
tween Eng-
land & Spain.

Tumults in
Dublin about
restraining the
liberty of the
Catholicks.

Contentts in
England be-
tween the Je-
suits and secu-
lar Priests.

The Earl of
Essex having
been divorc'd
from the Lady
Frances How-
ard, marries
Sir William
Paulet's
daughter, and
in a short
while he also
parts from her

The tryall of
the Earl of
Coffehaven.

Robert Anstruther as Ambassador to the Emperour in his behalf; who having received fair Re- A
spects from the Emperour and States, at length returned *re infecta*: About this time Doctor
Leighton was sentenced in the *Star-chamber* to have his Body whipt, his Forehead stigmatiz'd,
his Ears Crape, and his Noie slit, for exhorting the late Parliament to smite the Bishops under
the fifth Rib; and for calling the Queen, the Daughter of *Hesh, a Cananite, and Idolatress*, in
his Book, called *Sions Plea*, which was accordingly inflicted.

Don Carlo de Colonas had so effectually plyed his Business, that in November Peace was con-
cluded between England and Spain, upon the same Articles that had been agreed upon between
King James and Philip the Third, and the Spaniards, to dispose all his Interest in the Emperour,
for the Prince Electors Restitution: The Peace was proclaimed on the twenty seventh of No-
vember; And now the old Prerogative Statute for Knighthood comes in place, whereby those B
who had Estates of forty pounds *per annum*, were summoned to appear a little before Christmas,
to be Knighted, and upon default to be fined: By which means, about one hundred thousand
pounds were brought into the *Exchequer*.

In Ireland, the *Romish* Catholicks upon *St. Stephens Day*, while the Lords Justices were at
Church in *Dublin*, took the boldness to Celebrate *Mass*, of which the Lords Justices having
speedy notice, sent the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Recorder, to apprehend
them; their *Crucifixes* and *Paraments* of the Altar were taken away, and the Priests delivered
into the Custody of Pursevants; Also eight Popish Aldermen were clapt up in Prison for not as-
sisting the Mayor. A Company of people gathered together in a Tumult, and rescu'd the Priests C
out of the Pursevants hands, but the Guard being sent among them, forc'd them to deliver them
up again. Upon Information sent to the King and Councell of this Rior and Insolency, fif-
teen Houses were by a speciall Order from the Councell seised upon to his Majesties use, and
the Priests and Fryars so far molested and prosecuted, that two of them hang'd themselves: nor
were the Catholicks in England and Ireland free from Jars among themselves, there hapning a
notable Contett between the Jesuits and secular Priests, upon occasion of the Usurpation of one
Richard Smith, who in the year 1625. having been sent into England by Pope Urban the
Eighth, to reside as chief Superintendent of his *Emissaries* here, under the Title of Bishop of
Chalcedon, took upon him so far, as that he challeng'd to himself the sole Authority of ap-
proving such regular Priests as were to be standing Confessors: This the Jesuits judg'd to be so D
great an Intrenchment upon their Jurisdiction, that they contriv'd a Declaration against his pre-
tended Authority, under the Names of the most noble and eminent Catholicks, which they
presented to the Spanish Ambassador, just upon the time of his departure out of England for
Spain, and by all other wayes they could invent, so prosecuted the Bishop, that he was forced
to make his escape into France.

This year Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, made his famous Irruption into Germany (be-
ing invited by the Protestant Princes, who were headed by the Duke of Saxony:) To his aid,
King Charles sends over the Marquis Hamilton, with three hundred thousand *Dollers*, and an Ar-
my of six thousand Foot; the greatest part whereof perished in that War, and Hamilton himself
returned in glorious and stain'd with Treason, as having designed by this Expedition to endear E
himself to the Scottish Officers, and by their help hereafter to make himself King of Scotland;
the truth whereof was evidenced by the Lord *Rey* and *Uchiltry*, and Major *Borthwick*, against his
Engines *Ramsay*, and *Meldram*. Some two years ago, the Fort *Kobeck* upon the River of
Canada, in the North-part of *America*, had been taken and Garrison'd by Captain *Kirk*, it
being a great Staple for *Bever* and *Otters*; The King of France therefore detains four hundred
thousand Crowns, part of the English Queens Portion, and a greater Breach likely to ensue;
but this year put an end to the difference, the Fort delivered, and the money paid.

The Earl of Essex having many years ago marri'd the Lady Frances Howard, and (upon her com- F
plaint of his Insufficiency for Conjugall Duties, which the business being brought to a full Try-
all, was evidenc'd by the Verdict of a Jury of Midwives, and the Earls own Confession; That
he never could, and believ'd never should carnally know her: Sentence of Divorce having been pro-
nounc'd by the Bishops between him and his Ladies (who afterwards marri'd the Earl of So-
merset) and ratified by a Commission under the great Seal, the Earl of Essex betook himself
to the Wars in the Low-countries, and the Palatinate; where having given Testimony of Mili-
tary Fortitude, and won the Reputation of a Soldier, willing also to approve himself as much
Man as Soldier, and as true a Son of *Venus* as of *Mars*, he return'd into England, and married
Elizabeth, the Daughter of Sir William Paulet, a *Wiltshire* Knight; But long this new Marriage G
had not been consummated, ere the objecting the same Cause of Complaint against him as his
former Lady had done, and having been taken over free in the bestowing of her Favours upon
one Mr. Udall, the Earl was easily induc'd to consent to a Disarraetion as well with this as his
former Lady.

In the seventh year of King Charles, being the year 1631. Merwin Lord Audley, was arraigned
for Rape and Sodomy before his Peers, upon the Petition of his own Son and Heir, where it
was proved against him, That he had caus'd his Wife to be Ravished by one *Ampill* his Page,
and another of his Servants named *Brodway*, whilst he himself held her: and had forc'd both his
own

A own Daughters, and also his Sons Wife to lye with another of his Servants, called *Skipwith*; and it was likewise proved that he had committed Sodomy with *Amptill, Brodway, Skipwith, and Fitts-patrick*; For which he received his Sentence to be hanged, but was afterwards by Favour Beheaded at *Tower-hill*, the fourteenth of *May*. He was of Noble Extraction, bred up a *Protestant*, but after turned *Papist* for more liberty in evill: He kept *Bandina* a common Whore in his house for all Commers; at some times four of them, each after other, and himself the last, Spectators all.

And so pleased himself with his Enormities, that he impudently sayd in presence of some Lords; *As others had their severall Delights, some in one thing, some in another, so his whole Delight was in damning Souls, by enticing men to such Acts, as might surely effect it.*

B A little while after this, Sir *Giles Allington* who had married with his own Niece, was Convented before a Court of eight Bishops, and four other Commissioners, by whom he was fined 12000 *l.* to the King, and forced to give Bond of 20000 *l.* never to co-habit, or to come in private with his sayd Niece; to be Imprison'd, or put in sufficient Bail, till they had both done Penance at *St. Pauls Cross, London*, or great *St. Maries at Cambridge*, at the day assigned.

And of Sir
Giles Allington.

About this time the King of *Sweden* won the memorable Battell of *Lypsick*, and grew so considerable, that King *Charles* thought him the likeliest man to restore his Brother to his Principality, and so sends an Ambassador to him, to congratulate his Success, and to mediate the *Palsgraves* Restitution with the *Suede* (who now had gotten the greatest part of the *Palatinate* in his hands) which he seemed willing to grant, but upon such hard Conditions as were dishonourable both to the King and the Prince; and so ended this year, nothing memorable happening at Court, save only the Birth of the Princess *Mary*, upon the fourth of *November*: And the Difference between *Donnald Lord Rey*, and *David Ramsay*; the last whereof was *Hamiltons* Instrument for his treacherous Design in *Germany*, and the former his Accuser: But *Ramsay* denying what he was charg'd with, they were admitted to a Tryall by Combate, which was order'd after this manner;

The King of
Swedens luc-
cells in Ger-
many.

C The Birth of
the Lady
Mary.
The tryall be-
tween the
Lord Rey and
David Ramsay.

‘Upon the day appointed, which was the twenty eighth of *November*, they were to appear in the *Painted Chamber*, before *Robert Earl of Lindsey*, Lord High-Constable for the time being, *Thomas Earl of Arundell*, Earl-Marshall of *England*, the Earls of *Pembroke, Dorset, Carlisle*, the Vi-counts, *Wimbleton, Falkland*, with other Earls and Lords: At the upper end four foot high was erected a Bench for the Constable, Marshall, and Lords Assistant; under them was plac'd a square Table with Seats about it for the Heralds and Serjeants at Armes: just under the upper Bench sate Doctor *Dethick* the Register, and over against him Doctor *Duck* the Kings Advocate for the Marshals Court; the Earl-Marshall bearing a Truncheon of Gold tip'd with black, and Usher'd by nine Heralds, and three Serjeants at Armes, conducted the High-constable into the Court, together with Sir *William Seager* King of Heralds, and presented the Constable with his Commission, which was deliver'd to the Register to read, the effect whereof was;

That his Majesty being inform'd by *Donnold Lord Rey*, of divers Treasons plotted against him by *David Ramsay Esquire*, the one accusing, the other denying; doth therefore Authorise the sayd *Robert Barty Earl of Lindsey*, to call unto him *Thomas Earl of Arundell, Earl-Marshall*; and with him such other Peers as he thought fit to hold a Marshals Court, for the sifting out the truth between the sayd Parties.

F Then the King of Heralds deliver'd to the Constable his silver Verge, headed with a Crown of Gold; then the Herald receiving a Key from the Earl-Marshall, went and Usher'd in the Appellant, who was attir'd in black Velter, trim'd with silver Buttons, his Sword hanging in a silver embroider'd Belt, and accompanied with his Sureties, Sir *Peirce Crosby*, Sir *Walter Crosby*, Sir *William Forbiez*, Sir *Robert Gordon*, and Sir *William Evers*: The Defendant likewise in Scarlet lac'd with silver Lace, and lin'd with Sky-colour'd Plush, but unarm'd was Usher'd in by another Herald. The Earl-Marshall told them the substance of the Commission, the Power and Legality of the Court, and that to prevent any Combate, he hop'd the truth would be brought to light; after the Earl-Marshall the Kings Advocate spake to the same purpose, in justification of the warrantableness of the Court, and brought many Presidents of tryall by Combate in cases of the like nature: Afterwards the Appellant was order'd to deliver in his Charge against the Defendant, which he did by Bill: This Charge imported certain words spoken by *Ramsay* to the Lord *Rey*, when they were together in the Low-countries, against the State and Church of *England*; and, That he was privy, as he himself boasted, to a design of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, to convert those Forces which the King had promis'd him for forrein Service (with the Wines-Customs of

of Scotland for their Maintenance) against England; that their Friends in Scotland A had provided Armes and Ammunition, and more were expected from Sweden and other parts, and that he himself was earnestly solicited by Ramsey, and Alexander Hamilton, to combine with them in this their Design. And added, that if Ramsey would deny it, he was a Villain and a Traytor, which he would prove, and therewith cast him his Glove: Ramsey on the other side deni'd all, and sayd, Rey was a Lyar and a barbarous Villain, and threw down his Glove, protesting to Gar him to die for it, if he had him in a convenient place; Then Rey temperately demanding an Answer to his Bill, Ramsey alledg'd the impossibility of the Charge, since there were but six thousand raw Soldiers expected, and that the Marquis was not so weak, as to think, that if with those B Forces he could surprize the King: That he could also secure himself against his Children and Kindred. But being told by the Earl-Marshall, that he must answer the Bill of Form according to Law; He acknowledg'd the substance of the Discourse alledg'd by Rey, with the circumstances of time and place, but deni'd that any Treason was intended, or utter'd: then the Court was Adjourn'd till the fifth of December, at which time the two Adversaries entred again, Rey habited as formerly, Ramsey in a Suit of black Sattin: he presented his Answer in writing; wherein having mention'd the six thousand men under the Marquis of Hamiltons Command, to be imploy'd in C the King of Swedens Service, he confess'd; That speaking in generall of matters amiss in England, Rey answer'd, God amend all, to whom Ramsey reply'd, By God Donnold we must help him to amend all, and to all other things he utterly gives his denial, and craves revenge upon Reys person by Dint of Sword. Both Parties having Council assign'd them, Doctor Eden who was Council for Ramsey affirm'd; That the Defendant might according to Law decline the Combate:

1. Because no man can be charged as a Traytor by one that is guilty in his own particular.

2. Because of the doubtfulness and uncertainty of the charge,

3. Because the Appellant refers the Combate to the last, in case the charge cannot be D prov'd by any other wayes; but the Defendant saith, That though in Law he might, yet in Honour, and for the justifying of his Innocence, he will not decline the Combate.

Time being given to Rey for his Replication, he appears at the day appointed clad as before, Ramsey also appears habited in an Ash-colour'd Sute and Scarlet Cloak, both overlayd with silver and sky-colour'd Lace; the Sute opened with Scarlet, the Cloak lined with Ash-colour'd Velvet: The Appellant presented his Replication to the High-constable, wherein he aver'd; That the Defendant had sunningly over-slept E a part of the charge; then he repeated the severall parts of the charge, and the strength of them, with the Defendants defects in not clearing the chief Points. Ramsey's Council urg'd against the Replication; the Lord Reys intention therein to have recourse to Proofs: whereas, sayd he, This Court of Honour and Chivalry was appealed unto for the hazarding of their persons by Combate, which intends a tryall without proof. Doctor Duck the Kings Advocate, and Doctor Reeves, who were F Counsell for the Appellant, mov'd for the continuance of the Replication, which was granted; and upon another appointed day the Exceptions thereunto were made by the opposite Party.

Thus the Councell on both sides having argued for a long time Pro & Con, the Court Adjourn'd till another day, when no further proofs being brought, it was determin'd, that the Matter should be refer'd to the Kings Will and Pleasure, which was so far prevail'd upon by the great power the Marquis had with his Majesty, that after a greedy expectation in both Parties of the Result, his favour was found chiefly to incline to Ramsey, which as soon as it was known, the Lord Rey sufficiently satisfied in his mind to have done the duty of a faithfull Subject, stayd not long in the Kingdome, but forthwith betook himself to the Swedish Army, where he had a considerable Command. This Story we thought fit to set down the more at large, since it will give much light to the truth of the Scottish Affairs.

G King Charles in his eighth year, sends Colonel Sanderson with two thousand men out of England, and a like number of Scots under Colobel Lefly, to help the Muscovite in his Wars against Poland, who with an Army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, besieges Smolensk; during which, the two Colonels quarrell, and Lefly basely murdering Sanderson, was committed to the Guard: so that the Scots and English having lost their Commanders, and grown jealous of one another, were less usefull in that great Battell presently after ensuing, wherein the

A the *Muscovite* received a shamesfull over-throw. This year died five noble Personages; first *Sigismund* King of *Poland*. Secondly, *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, slain at the Battell of *Lutzen*. The third *Papenheim* slain also at the same Battell. The fourth, *Frederick* King of *Bohemia*, and Prince Elector of the *Rhene*, who deceased at *Mentz*, eight dayes after the recovery of his most considerable Town of *Frankendale*. The fifth, *Sophia* Queen Dowager of *Denmark*, to condole whose death with the then King her Son, the Earl of *Leicester* was sent over; as also to demand one hundred and fifty thousand pounds (due by her death as a Portion to the Heirs of her Daughter *Anne*, late Queen of Great Britain) which was then promised, though never payd.

In *Ireland* things began to look troubled, the *Protestants* grumbling that the King should charge the *Papists* from paying the State-penalty of twelve pence a Sunday, for absence from Church, whereby they were excessively encreased. These Distempers began to swell, which the King minding to allay, recalled the Lords Justices, who then had the Government of the Land, and sent Vi-count *Wentworth* thither as Lord Deputy, thinking that their humours would better settle and repose under a single Government.

Vicount *Wentworth* made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

The King, as soon as he was recovered of a fit of sickness, the *small Pox* (which seiz'd on him the twenty second of *December*, but soon, and favourably left him) dispatch the Earl of *Arundell* to the *Hague*, to the Princess *Elizabeth* his Sister, to Condole the death of her Husband, the Prince Elector *Palatine*, and to invite her and her Children over into *England*; but C the returning thanks for the Complement and the Invitation, desir'd to be excus'd from the trouble of so tedious a Journey. The Cathedrall Church of *St. Paul* having borne the Shock of times Injury for many Generations, and contracted the Decayes and Ruines of Age, the King, desirous to promote so good a Work, as the repairing and re-imbellishing of so stately a Monument, recommended to the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdome, the raising among themselves a large Contribution towards it: this Motion, though many repin'd, was so far entertain'd by the Generality, that a considerable sum was gathered, and the Work had a faire progress, till the coming on of the late Troubles put a stop and period to it. At the same time the Earl of *Bedford* obtained leave of the King to build up that part of the Suburbs of *London*, commonly called *Covent-Garden*, a place full of stately and proud Structures, and not inferiour D to many famous Cities: but while Buildings and publick Adornments went on in some places, lamentable Ruines and Devastations hapned in others; witness, that wide breach and discontinuance of Houses upon *London Bridge*, which is to be seen there at this day, caus'd by a violent and raging fire.

In the ninth year of King *Charles's* Reign, being 1633. preparation was made for a Journey into *Scotland*, where his presence had been humbly intreated for to comfort them with his Court, and honour them with his personall Coronation, which he now resolves upon; and May 13. sets forward, attended by the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Arundell*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, *Salisbury*, *Carlisle*, *Holland*, *Monmouth*, and *Newcastle*; the Bishop of *London*, Lord Treasurer, E Secretary *Coke* Vice-chamberlain, with many Gentlemen of Quality, and comes to *Edinburgh*, the tenth of *June*, and eight dayes after is Solemnly Crowned there. As soon as that Celebrity was finished: he calls a Parliament, passes an Act of Ratification of the old Acts, notwithstanding some there were, who asserted that hereby was ment a Confirmation of Episcopacy, and for that reason opposed it, though in vain; and not long after became Heads of the Covenanters; But the King having visited *Falkland*, *Sterling*, *Dunfermling*, and some other places, takes leave of *Scotland*, and comes home to *Greenwich* the twentieth day of *July*.

The King takes a Journey into *Scotland*, to be Crowned there.

In this *Scottish* Parliament, that Nation discovered some Seeds of dis-affection to the King, for his Renovation of things alienated from the Crown in his Fathers Minority, and for his Commillion of Surrenders of Superiorities and Tithes, whereby Ministers and Land-Owners were F freed from the Clientele and Vassalage of the Nobility and Laick Patrons: for the Lord *London* opposed the ratifying of an Act, formerly granting power to King *James* and his Successors, to ordain Habits for the Clergy and Judges professing, and made a great stir before it could be carried on the Kings side. And the Generality of the people deterred the Bishop of *Dumblain*, Dean of the Kings private Chappell, from observing his Orders there: for performing Prayers twice a day after the *English* manner, for receiving the monthly Communion on their Knees, and for Officiating on *Sundays* and *Holy-dayes* in a Surplice.

A little before the Kings Journey into *Scotland*, his Majesty, willing, if it had been possible, to have spar'd that trouble, writ to a Lord of that Nation, to whose Custody the Crown of *Scotland* was entrusted, to bring it into *England*, that he might be Crowned here, but the Lord returned this Answer; That he durst not be so false to his trust, but if his Majesty would be pleased to accept thereof in *Scotland*, he should find those his people ready to yield him the highest honour; but should he long defer that duty, they might perhaps be inclined to make choice of another King.

In *England* about this time died *George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, into whose place *William Laud* Bishop of *London* was elected.

October the thirteenth, the Queen was delivered of her second Son, who was Baptized ten dayes after, and named *James*, and design'd Duke of *Tork*; And a little after the young Prince

The Birth of the Duke of *Tork*.

Electer by the Proxy of the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Earl of *Dover* was made Knight of the A Garter.

On *Candlemas* Night the four Inns of Court united all together, to present the King and Queen with a stately *Masque*, which was attended with a Train of Christian Captives lately set at liberty, by *Cidan* King of *Morocco*, who had long kept them in slavery, and now presented to King *Charles* as a gratefull acknowledgement for the Loan of a part of his Fleet, by whose assistance he had taken *Sally*, and destroyed that execrable Nest of *Pirats*. This Revell found such acceptation at Court, that it was again with much Applause exhibited a Fortnight after, when the King and Queen were magnificently entertained by the City at the House of Alderman *Freeman*, then Lord Mayor.

Ship-money
designed by
Noy the Kings
Attorney-Ge-
nerall.

It was now the year 1634. and the Tenth of King *Charles's* Reign, when the *English* Coasts being infected by *Pirates*, and the Fishing almost usurped and ingroffed by the busie *Hollander*, the design of Ship-money was set on foot; for the King wanting mony to regain his absolute Mastery of the *British* Seas, consulted about it with his Attorney-generall *Noy*, who finds out of old Records an ancient President, of raising a Tax upon the Nation, for setting forth a Navy in case of danger, by sole Authority of the King; this Tax brought into the Kings Cofters about twenty thousand pounds *per mensem*, which was raised by Writ, not without muttering both of Clergy and Laity: and soon after the Attorney having enabled the King to provide a potent *Armado*, sailes himself out of the narrow Seas of this life, into the Ocean of Eternity.

The *Sweeds* did not lose their Hopes, although they lost their King, but having Crowned *Christiana*, *Gustaves* Daughter, applyed themselves to the prosecution of their *German* Quarrell, and send Ambassadors to all their Allies for Assistance, among whom, the Son of *Axel Oxestern*, came into *England* with Credentials from his Queen and the Councell, and was splendidly entertained by the King, but yet departed in some Disgust, because his Answer was not so satisfactory as he expected.

In *Ireland* the Lord Deputy called a Parliament about the business of supply for the Kings Necessities in relation to that Kingdome, which being urged home, and prudently managed, found answerable success.

A Parliament
and Synod cal-
led in *Ireland*.

There was also a Synod held there at the same time, in which a Canon was agreed upon, declaring the consent of that Church with the Church of *England*, in the profession of the same D Christian Faith, which Canon was as followeth;

For the manifestation of our Agreement with the Church of England, in the Confession of the same Christian Faith and Doctrine of the Sacraments, We do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the whole Clergy in the whole Convocation holden at London, A. D. 1562. For the avoiding of diversities of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion; And therefore, if any hereafter shall affirm, that any of those Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good Conscience subscribe unto, let him be Excommunicated, and not absolved before he make a publick Revocation of his Error.

In *Scotland* Discontents began to arise, and out comes a Book, charging the King with indirect proceedings in the last Parliament, and a tendency to the Romish Belief, and to blow up the *Scottish* fire Coals into a flame, Cardinal *Richieu* sends over his Chaplain *Chambers*, and after him *Monsieur Montriol* to work upon the discontents of that Nation. The Author of the forementioned Book was inquired after, and found to be one *William Hagge*, abetted by the Lord *Balmerino*, the treacherous Son of a perfidious Father, who was thereupon (the other escaping) Arraigned, by his Peers found guilty, and sentenced to death, but pardoned by the King.

The death of
the Lord
Treasurer
Weston, and
Sir *Edw. Coke*.

This year died Sir *Richard Weston*, Earl of *Portland*, Lord Treasurer, and Sir *Edward Coke*, formerly Queen *Elizabeth's* Attorney-generall, and chief Justice of the *Kings Bench*; but now out of favour, by reason of his too great freedom of speech: and in *Scotland* died the Earl of *Kenoule*, Lord Chancellor of that Kingdome, a great Enemy to the Lord *Balmerino*, in whose place succeeded Archbishop *Spotswood* of *St. Andrews*, aged about sixty years, one justly commended for three excellent Qualities, Learning, Moderation, and Wildome.

The Swedish
suere's declin-
ing in Ger-
many.

This year was unfortunate to the *Swedish* Party in *Germany*, where Generall *Arnhem* was constrained to retire out of *Bohemia* into *Saxony*; the Town of *Ratisbone* was re-gained by the Imperialists, Generall *Aldring* slain at *Lansbut*, and the whole *Sweedish* Army totally defeated by G the King of *Hungary*, and the Cardinal *Infanto*, at the famous Battell of *Norlingen*; after which ensued the Surrender of that Town, and the Conquest of the Dukedome of *Witttemberg*, whose Duke fled to *Strasburg*: this success produced a short Peace the next year, which was afterwards broke by means of the *French*.

Panzani sent
into *England*
to decide the
difference be-
tween the Je-
suits and secu-
lar Priests.

After the departure of *Smith*, the Bishop of *Calcedon*, out of *England*; Gregory *Panzani*, a Priest and Civilian was sent hither by the Pope with a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, to decide the difference between the Regular and the Secular Priests, this *Panzani* insinuates himself into

And into the favour of the Lord *Cottington*, and Secretary *Windebank*, seeks to discover by his Agents at Court, how far the Kings mind might be wrought to a toleration in matters of Concernment to the *Romish* Religion; as the giving way to a *Nuncio* from the Pope to the Queen, and the allowing of a Catholick Bishop for the *English* Nation to reside here, who should be nominated and limited by his Majesty; and at last, having brought about an indifferent fair Correspondence between the Regulars and the Seculars, he returned home, and committed the transacting of the rest to Signor *George Com*, whom he left in his room.

It was now the year 1635, when a gallant Fleet was set out, by the aide of Ship-money, forty Sail, with the Earl of *Lindsey* Admirall, and twenty others, under the Earl of *Essex* Vice-admirall, who secured the Seas from Pirates formerly molesting, whereby our Commodities were safely transported, and the *English* Puissance rendred so considerable in the eyes of foreign Princes, that the King of *Spain* thought it his safest course to entrust his *Bullion* in our Bottoms, which was Coynded in *England*, to the great benefit of the Kings Mint, and of all the Merchants also, whose Commodities were exchanged thereby, and the rest of the mony payed over by exchange to *Flanders*. At this time the *French* and *Hollanders* had confederated themselves to infest the *Spaniard* in *Flanders*, the one by Land and the other by Sea, but the *English* Fleet removed the *Hollanders* from before *Dunkirk*, and the Natives discontented by the Infolencies of the *French*, rose up in Armes against them, and joyned with the *Spaniard* to expell them out of the Country.

There was brought up to Court by the Earl of *Arundell*, as the Miracle and Rarity of these times, for the wonderfull provexity of his Age, one *Robert Parr*, a *Shropshire* man; who had reacht almost his 160 year, and might in all likelyhood have out-liv'd that time some years, had not the incommodiouness of so long a Journey to a man so aged, the removall of him from his own proper Sphear, the Country, and the change of his wonted course of Dyet, haistned on the period of his dayes.

Charles Prince *Elector*, finding small hopes of Restauration from the mediation of Neighbour States, came over into *England* to crave Assistance of the King, and was received with all the Carelles of Courtisie and Complement, and lodged in Prince *Charles's* Quarter at *Whitehall*: And soon after Arrived his Brother Prince *Rupert*.

The twenty eighth of *December*, the Kings second Daughter was born, on the fifth of *January* was Baptized, and named *Elizabeth*: To Congratulate the Queens happy Delivery, over comes an Ambassadour from *Holland*, who to work the more into favour, brought with him a Present of an immense value, a massie piece of *Ambergreece*, two fair, and almost transparent *China* Basons, a rare Clock of excellent Art, being the Workmanship of *Rodolphus* the Emperour, and four very admirall Pieces of Painting, the Originals of *Tintoret* and *Titian*, those admired ancient Artizans: And now the King began to bethink himself of a new Treasurer, that Office having been managed by Commissioners, ever since the death of the Earl of *Portland*: but some differences arising between them, so incommodated the Kings Affairs, that he resolves again to put it into the hands of one; and so, *March* the sixth, commits the Staff of that Office to Doctor *William Juxon*, Bishop of *London*.

Now more then ever began to rise Divisions about Ecclesiasticall matters which were mainly encreast by the present Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his strict and zealous maintaining of certain Ceremonies of the Church, as the placing of the Communion-table at the East end of the Chancel, upon a Graduell Ascent in the manner of an Altar, with a Traverse of Rails before it, with other things formerly not so strictly insisted upon, and now vehemently oppos'd by many, who commonly went under the name of *Puritans*, and *Non-conformists*; nor were there wanting some of the Episcopall Party, who asserted by Writing, that the Communion-table ought to stand according to the Primitive example in the Nave or middle of the Quire: to this purpose a Book was publisht, written as some think by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, though owned by another person.

The King considering the good effects of his late Fleet, sets out another, consisting of three-score Sail of good Ships, under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, in 1636. being the twelfth yeat of his Reign; who going *Northwards*, scouted the Seas of the *Dutch* *Buffes*, seizing some, sinking others, and enforcing the rest to fly; so reducing them all to a precarious Condition of entreating the favour of fishing by the Kings Commission, which he was the readier to indolge them, because he looked upon them as the likeliest means of his Nephews Reinduction, which he so passionately desired; that understanding that an Imperiall Dyet was indictet at *Ratisbone*, *September* the sixteenth, for the Electing a King of the *Romans*, he dispatcht thither the Earl of *Arundell*, as Ambassadour to the new Emperour (who had lately succeeded his Father by the name of *Ferdinand* the Third.) The Earl arriving at the Imperiall Court, presented his Masters request in behalf of the Prince *Elector*, and was answered, That he might be considered for enjoying the lower *Palatinates*, but as for the other, it was in the power of the *Bavarian*, and therefore it would concern the Ambassadour to treat with him, and with the Emperours Deputies. Some of them were well inclined toward the *Palgrave*; but others were so hot against him, that they could hardly refrain from offensive Contumelies; and the *Bavarian* sayd plainly, That what he had won by the Sword, he would hold by the same as long as he was able. The Earl foreseeing what small success his Negotiation was like to have, would not

A Fleet set out under the Earl of *Lindsey*, to scout the Sea.

Robert Parr brought up to the Court by the Earl of *Arundell*.

The Lady *Elizabeth* born.

Differences in Religion, how occasioned.

Another Fleet set out under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*.

The Earl of *Arundell* sent Ambassadour to *Ferdinand* the third, about the restitution of the Prince *Palatine*.

not mispend his own time, and his Majesties money in the Treaty, but hasted away, and that A (the more to shew his Indignation) without taking any leave, having before sent the King an account of his Transactions; nor could he be perswaded to stay one month longer, by all the Intreaties of the *Spanish* and *Polish* Ambassadors, whom the Emperour sent after him to appease him with promises of better effects, if he would return, but home he comes and finds the King so angry, at his being neglected, that he resolved to shew the like contempt to the Emperours Agent, which came over to palliate the business, and to propose some terms of Accommodation: but though the Prince *Electors* hopes seemed now to be dashed, yet another occasion of reviving them, seemed to present it self; namely, an Overture of a Marriage between his Sister and the King of *Poland*, which was almost effected by the Legation of Prince *Radziwil* here in *England*, and consented unto by the *Polish* Peers and People, but obstructed by the Clergy, who pitcht upon *Cecilia*, second Sister to the Emperour, and made up the Match between her and their King, leaving the poor *Palgrave* in his former state of desperation. B

The Judges
Debate about
Ship-money.
The Birth of
the Lady
Anne.

Master *Hamden* of *Buckinghamshire*, and divers other Gentlemen of Quality, had refused to pay the Tax of Ship-money, whereupon this *Michaelmas* Term, the King refers the Cause to the Censure of twelve Judges, *Bransford*, *Finch*, *Davenport*, *Denham*, *Hutton*, *Jones*, *Crook*, *Trevor*, *Vernon*, *Barkley*, *Crawly*, *Weston*; all which except *Hutton*, and *Crook*, gave Judgment against *Hamden* and his Associates, and subscribed their Names to be inrolled in all Courts at *Westminster-hall*. This year *March* the seventeenth, the Princess *Anne*, the Kings third Daughter was born. C

Dr. *Bastwick*,
Mr. *Pryn*, and
Mr. *Burton*
censured.

In the year 1637. being the thirteenth year of the Kings Reign, a heavy Censure was past upon Doctor *Bastwick*, Mr. *Pryn*, and Mr. *Burton*, for writing Books against Episcopall Government and Bishops; all three were sentenced five thousand pounds Fine to the King, to lose their Ears in the Pillory, and to be imprisoned; the Papists also suffered at this time under a severe Animadversion, it being observed that they made numerous resorts to private Conventicles at the houses of forrein Ambassadors, and especially to the old Chappell at *Somerset-house*, of whom Mr. *Walter Mountague*, Sir *Toby Matthews*, and the Queens Officers, were most notorious.

June the twenty sixth, *Charles* Prince *Electors*, and his Brother Prince *Rupert* departed for *Holland*; upon a design of effecting somewhat in reference to the recovery of their Patrimony, and the next year by assistance of the Kings Purse and Credite, with the Prince of *Orange*, and some of the States, gathered together a considerable beginning of an Army, with which, and the hopes of encreasing in their Advance, and entrance into their own Country, they marched into *Westphalia*, and besieged *Lemgea*; but Count *Hatzfeld*, one of the Emperours Generals, having notice of it, came suddenly upon them, and brought them to a necessity of a Bartell, wherein they lost two thousand, and Prince *Rupert*, and the Lord *Craven* were taken Prisoners, the *Electors* himself hardly escaping by flight to the *Hague*. D

The Bishop of
Lincoln fined
and Imprisoned
for certain
Misdemeanors

Williams Bishop of *Lincoln* comes now to his second Declension, for his first was in the Kings E first year, when the great Seal was taken from him, and given to the Lord *Coventry*; this he so deeply resented, that he set himself to meditate revenge, and under-hand fomented all malevolent and popular disaffections, till at last, being narrowly watcht, he was found to vent some dishonourable Speeches of the King, for which he was put into a Bill in *Star-chamber*, where after some years Hesitation, he was committed upon those words; and further for indirect practices used for his Purgation: (For one *Prideon* the main man that witnessed for him, being charged by an Order of the Justices at *Lincoln*, with a Bastard layd to him by *Elizabeth Hudson*; he fearing least his Witness should be made invalid by this disgrace, procured by means of his two Agents *Powell* and *Owen*, the Order to be repeal'd, and the Child to be Fathered upon one *Boon*, F and *Pridion* acquitted) and was therefore this year sentenced, ten thousand pounds Fine to the King, Imprisonment in the Tower during pleasure, suspension *Ab officio & beneficiis*, and to be referred to the High-commission for what concerned that Court. *Scotland* was now the Scene of Action, for the King reviving his Fathers Design, would needs impose the *English Liturgie*, and Sacerdotall Habiliments upon that Nation, beginning at his own Chappel, and this year to be proclaimed to be used in all Churches, and the Bishops were well contented therewith, but nor the Ministers of the *Kirk*; and the People generally so enraged at it, that when the Dean of *Edenburgh* so attired, began to read the Common-prayer in *St. Giles Church* July 13. therein countenanced by the Council, Bishops, Lords, and Magistrates; the Women first and meaner men, with cursing and clapping their hands, and such like Actions, raised such a Hubbub, that nothing could be heard save their noise; the Bishop of *Edenburgh* who was to G preach that day, steps up into the Pulpit and reproves them for their irreverent behaviour in the Church, but was assailed (by them now more furious) with a whole shower of Stones, Seats, Stools, Cudgells, and what ever came next to hand; to the great hazard of his life, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* Lord Chancellor offering to interpose, had been as rudely handled, if he had not called down from the Gallery the Provost and Bayliffs, and other civill Magistrates, who with much ado excluded the Tumultuants, and so the Dean proceeded in his reading of the Service-book, not without molestation by the multitude abroad: and this hapned in

The occasion
of new Broyls
and Commotion.
in *Scotland*.

A In other Churches also; but the After-noon such order was taken, that it was then read with less disturbance, and the Magistrates seemed so offended at these proceedings, that making enquiry after, and finding out some of the principall Actors, they inflicted punishment (though not very severe) upon them, and encouraged the Ministry to read the Book by an Act Obligatory for their safeguard and maintenance. Thus all seemd appeased, hush, and quiet for the present, untill October following, when Harvest and Vacation taking end together, there was such a confluence of persons of all sorts from all parts of the Kingdome to *Edenburgh*, as put the Councell into a just feare of an Insurrection: to prevent which, they issued out these three Proclamations the seventeenth of that Month.

B "First, That no Church-matters should be resolved, but that all Persons depart home, unless they shew some cause to the Councell, upon pain of Rebellion.

"Secondly, For removing the Session (or Term) from *Edenburgh* to *Lithgow* for the present, and afterwards the succeeding Sessions to *Dundee*, till further pleasure.

"Thirdly, For calling in, and burning a Seditious Book, Entituled, *A Dispute against the English Popish Convention, obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland*.

C But all this had so little prevalence upon the People, that next day the Bishop of *Galloway* passing to the Councel-chamber was by them pursu'd thither, and assaulted in the very Councel House, and being difficultly drawn in from their rage, the House was immediatly beset, and his Person demanded with such out-rage, as necessarily called to his Succour the Earle of *Traquair*, and *Wigton*, who forced their passage in, with much trouble and little profit; for the Multitude encreasing, encompassed the House, that they were forced to require Aide of the Provost and City-Councell, who being in the like Condition, were glad to preserve themselves by subscribing:

D First to joyn in opposition to the *Service-book*, and in petitioning to that purpose.
Secondly, To restore *Ramsay* and *Rollock*, two silenced Ministers, and *Henderson* a silenced Reader. This being related to the Councell, the two aforementioned Earls went in person to the *Town-house*, where they found the Uproar something moderated by the Concessions of the Magistrates; but returning by the great Street, they were furiously assaulted; and *Traquair* Lord-Treasurer was trodden under foot, his Hat, Cloak, and white Wand taken away, and himself haled to the Councel-house: and so the Lords weighing their own Danger, sent privately to some Noblemen and Gentlemen (who were disaffected to the *Service-book*, and then assembled on behalf of the Common Cause against it) by whom they and the Bishop of *Galloway* were guarded thence through the Croud to their severall Lodgings: And now thinking themselves safe, they make Proclamation for breaking up all Conventions, and keeping the Peace, but instead of Obedience to it, they are re-encountred with two Petitions; The first from the medly of Men, Women, and Children: The second in the Name of the Noblemen, Gentry, Ministry, and Burgeses, both against the *Service-book*, and *Canons*, and these were sent to the King, who displeased thereat, adjourned the Term to *Sterling*, and published a Proclamation, forbidding upon the extreamest penalty, such tumultuous Resorts: against this the Earle of *Hume*, the Lord *Lindsey*, and divers other made Protestation, and agreeable to it erect four Tables, one of the Nobility, another of the Gentry, a third of the Barons, and a fourth of the Ministers; all to prepare and digest Propositions for the generall Table, which was formed of severall Commissioners chosen from the rest.

F In the year 1638. the generall Table entred into a solemn Covenant to preserve their Religion there professd, and resolved to maintain it, sent for Generall *Lesly*, and other Commanders and Officers from beyond the Seas, and provided themselves with Armes and Ammunition, whilst *Hamilton* who was delegated High-commissioner to pacifie these Distempers, under-hand fomented them, trifling away the time for almost the space of a year, with Declarations, Proclamations, Messages and Letters. Nor was it a small advantage to the Covenanters, that the Countesse of *Roxborough*, Lady of the Bed-chamber, and Governesse to the Princess *Mary*, and in great Favour with the Queen, was a great Well-willer to their Designs, and did continually give her Husband, and he to them, Intelligence of the Court-Designs.

G *Hamilton* having lost the *Scottish* Army for the *Suedes* Aide, and perceiving his Design that way frustrate, falls upon new Ones, cunningly induces the Duke of *Lenox* to favour him, and partly by his means and advice to the King, had procured to himself the Office of High-commissioner for the *Scottish* Affairs, although the King was advised by the Earle of *Sterling*, Secretary of the State, the Bishops of *Ross*, and *Breken*, privy Councillors, Sir *Robert Spotswood*, Lord President of the Colledge of *Justice*, and Sir *John Hay*, Master of the Rolls; rather to make choice of Marquis *Huntley*, a known Enemy of the Covenanters, whereas *Hamilton* was suspected to hold correspondence with them. When he was come to *Dalkieth* (impowred with a Commission to use the utmost of his Interest for the settling of Peace) he abod there many dayes before

The Scots enter into a solemn League and Covenant, to maintain their Religion

The Marquis of *Hamilton* procures the Office of High-commissioner for the *Scottish* Affairs.

the confederate Lords would take any notice of it (the Business being so managed, that they A should shew him a seeming dis-respect at his first coming) and then he had an Invitation to *Edenborough*, which he accepted; the first thing he did, was to expostulate with them concerning their late Actions, and what they would further have; to which they plainly answered him, That nothing but a generall Assembly and Parliament would satisfie them, and that they had not any wayes turned from their Loyalty, so needed not return to it, and that they would rather renounce their Baptisme, then their Covenant; and so doubled their Guards.

From *Edenborough* the Marquis removes to *Dalkieth*, and there publishes the Kings Declaration, for relieving of their Grievances, and professing, his Majesties forwardness for maintaining the Religion there professed, and his resolution not to press the Service-book and Canons upon them, but in a legall way of proceeding, and his Order given for the discharge of all Acts B and Councells concerning them: but this would not please, so he sends into *England* and obtains leave from the King to recall the Terms to *Edenborough*, and to commit the publick Affairs to the secret Councell, which grants, drew a Letter of thanks from the Covenanters, who were hereby encouraged to demand Sir *Robert Spotswood*, the President of the Councell, and Sir *John Hay*, Master of the Rolls, to be removed out of the Session, Protesting, in case of denyall, to account all Acts to be null, if they two were present: But here they suffered a Repulse, and the Marquis leaving them jarring, comes privately to the King, and presently returns again; And treating with the Covenanters after long disputation concerning the Condition of the Members of their Assembly, at length contracts all his Propositions into these two.

His Propositions to the Confederates, in order to the calling a Parliament, and general Assembly.

First, If the Lords and the rest will undertake for themselves, and the rest, that no *Laiques* C shall have Votes in choosing the Ministry, to be sent from the severall Presbyteries to the generall Assembly, nor none else but the Ministry of the same Presbyteries.

Secondly, If they will undertake that the Assembly shall not go about to determine of things established by Act of Parliament, otherwayes then by Remonstrance to the Parliament, leaving the determining of things Ecclesiasticall to the generall Assembly, and things settled by Acts of Parliament to the Parliament.

Then I will presently Indict a generall Assembly, and promise upon my Honour, immediately after to call a Parliament.

The Covenanters flew high, and threatned that if they could have an Assembly upon no other Terms then these, they would call one themselves; wherefore to stop their impetuous Current, the Marquis makes another Journey to the King, and so works upon him and his Councillors, (meer Novices in the *Scottish* Affairs) that the whole unlimited management of the Business is committed to him, to order things as he should see most convenient; with which Authority he comes back to the Confederates, and finds them over-forward to order their own Election of Assembly-Members, which he puts a stop to for the present, by acquainting them with a Declaration, that he had procured from the King in their Favour to this purpose;

He obtains from the King a Declaration in favour of Covenanters.

That he did discharge the *Service-book*, Book of *Canons*, and *High-commission*; and also, That he did annull and rescind all Acts for establishing of them, and did discharge all persons from urging the practice of the Five Articles of *Perth* (so difficultly by King *James* obtained in Parliament) that all persons whomsoever, shall be lyable to the Censure of Parliament, generall Assembly, or any other Judicatories, competent to the nature of the Offence: That no other Oath be Administred for the free entry of Ministers, then that which is contained in the Act of Parliament. That the ancient Confession of Faith and Band annexed, should be subscribed and received, as in the Fathers time. That a generall Assembly be holden at *Glasgow*, the one and twentieth of *November*, 1638. and a Parliament at *Edenburgh*, the fifteenth of *May*, 1639. all former Offences pardoned, and a generall Fast appointed.

This Declaration being published, the Marquis and Councell subscribed the Covenanters F Confession of Faith, then followed the Proclamation for the generall Assembly and Parliament; and lastly, an Act of the Councell for a generall Subscription to the sayd Confession, and a Commission sent to those who were to take the Subscriptions. Yet something still remained matter for a new Protestation, which was read by one *Johnson*; wherein the people were moved to consider with whom they were to deal, and exceptions made against Bishops, and Bishops Voting in the Assembly.

The Covenanters except, and declare against Bishops.

The next thing was to proceed in the electing Commissioners for the Assembly; where having fitted themselves, not without some brawling between the Presbyters and the Lay-Elders, they move the Commissioner to cite the Arch-bishops and Bishops to appear there as guilty persons, which he refusing, they presented a Bill of Complaint against them to the Presbytery at *Edenborough*, who accordingly warned them to appear at the next generall Assembly.

The generall Assembly meets, and what was there Acted.

Upon the meeting of this Synod, the first thing that was done after the reading of the Marquis's Commission, was the putting in of the Bishops Protestation against the Assembly, which the Covenanters vouchsafed not to read, and *Hamilton* seemingly incensed, hastily enters a Protestation against their refusal; And then *Alexander Henderson* was chosen Moderator. And lastly, they presumed to prohibit six Lords of the Kings privy Councell (though by him nominated) to be Assessors at their Assembly; but the King having an inkling of their proceedings

A Kings as to Bishops and other matters, and doubting the Event, ordered his Commissioner to dissolve the Assembly, which was accordingly done upon *November* the twenty ninth, and the Covenanters after their usuall mode, instantly sent forth their Protestation against it, and withall, declared six former meetings (obstrusive To their wayes) to be void and of none effect; and soon after abolished Episcopacy, and (*Hamilton* returning to *England*) prepared for War, as knowing that the King was determined to maintain the Bishops, and to call them to an account, for all their late Transactions.

The Assembly dissolved by the Kings Order.

Cardinall *Richelieu*, whose plot it was to raise the Fortunes of *France*, by the Dissentions of her Neighbours, puts in for his share, and sends over one *Chamberlain* his Chaplain and Almoner, to encrease the difference, and to widen the Orifice of the now gaping Wound, by promising them Assistance from his Master the ancient Confederate of that Kingdome, whereupon a Letter was sent to the King of *France* to implore his Aide in these termes.

Cardinall *Richelieu* sends over his Almoner to foment the differences in Scotland.

SIR,

Y Our Majesty being the Refuge and Sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, we have found it necessary to send this Gentleman, Mr. Colvil, to represent unto your Majesty, the Candor and Ingenuity, as well of our Actions and Proceedings, as of our Intentions, which we desire to be Engraven and written to the whole World, with a Beam of the Sun, as well as to your Majesty. We therefore most humbly beseech you, Sir, to give Faith, and Credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our part, touching Us, and our Affairs, being almost assured, Sir, of an Assistance, according to your wonted Clemency heretofore, and alwayes shewed to this Nation, which will not yeild the Glory to any other whatsoever, to be eternally — your Majesties most humble, most obedient, and most affectionate Servants,

A Letter sent by the Scots to the King of France, to implore his Assistance.

D

Roths,	}	{	Montgomery,
Montrose,			Lowden,
Lelly,			Forrester.
Mar,			

October the last, *Mary de Medicis* Queen-Mother of *France*, came into *England*, having already rendred her self odious to her own Country, by her Designs for the Advancement of her Favourite Marquis d' *Ancre*, and her impetuous combining with her younger Son, the Duke of *Orleanse*; but finding her self over-matched by the strength and policy of the Cardinall, she makes an escape from them in the year 1631, into *Brabant*, and was there honourably entertained by the Cardinall *Infante*, till going about to raise the same stirs there, which she had raised in *France*, she became the Butt and Mark for all the common peoples Imprecations to be levell'd at; and so she brings her trouble with her to the Prince of *Orange*, in the year 1637. and there stayed till she received an Invitation from her Daughter, hither she comes to the great regret of the King, who desired not her ominous presence.

The Queen Mother comes over into England.

The Scots by this time had gotten together a competent Army, and were upon their March, when the King having also prepared his Forces, committed them to the charge of the Earl of *Arundell*, as General, the Earl of *Essex* as Lieutenant-Generall of the Foot, and the Earl of *Holland* of the Horse; and a considerable Fleet under the Command of Marquis *Hamilton*: And upon the seven and twentieth of *February*, out comes the Kings Declaration, wherein the Scots were charged to have dispersed seditious Pamphlets against Regall Authority, and for inciting severall persons against the King, by the private meetings of their Agents at *London*, and other places, for their Protestations against his Commands, for executing their own Tables, Councells, and Committees by their own Authority, and for refusing the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, because they had taken their Covenant: And lastly, That he was resolved to maintain Episcopacy there; in rejoinder to this, *March* the two and twentieth, is published an Ordinance of their generall Assembly, the Kings declaring against them, and cursing themselves if they meant any harm to *England*, concluding their Wars to be merely defensive, and grounded upon the Law Naturall, and Civill.

The King prepares an Army against the Scots.

G It was now the year 1639. at the fifteenth year of King *Charles's* Reign, the King set forward with his Army, *March* the twenty seventh, and next month comes to *Tork*, and the month following to *Barwick*, where both Armies had an interview: In this mean time *Hamilton* Anchors his Fleet in the Frith of *Edenburgh*, receives a Visit from his Mother a rigid Covenanter, who in the War (like a *Virago*) rid about the Army with Pistolls at her Saddle-bow, to testify her zeal to the Cause, and the Scots themselves were heard to say, That the Son of so good a Mother would do them no hurt, as indeed he did not; for having loyured there some time, as soon as he understood of the Treaty of Pacification at *Barwick*, he gets on Land, and

He Marcheth in person into the North against them.

He comes to
an Agreement
with the Scots.

posts thither immediately to be Present at it, to carry on something there which might serve his own Interest: While the King stayed in York, the Earl of Roxborough, and Traquair came thither under Pretence of Treating; but it appearing that their main purpose was to tamper with the English Lords, and to take off the Edge of their Animosities against the Scots (by telling them that the Scots Ruine would enable the King to be more Imperious, even to the English, then they would be well able to bear) they were both Committed, yet soon after Released and dismissed, having done their principall Buiness, and taken order for the mutuall Intelligence and Correspondency with the English Lords; so that when they came to Barwick, it was evident that they had no mind to fight, although every way superiour to the Scottish Army: The English were Encamped neer Barwick, and the Scots at Dunslow, when by the mediation of some, a Treaty was begun, which ended in a short-lived Peace upon these Articles, on the Kings part.

First, That his Majesty confirm what his Commissioner promised in his Name.

Secondly, That a generall Assembly be indited to be kept at Edinburrugh, August the sixth, and a Parliament at Edinburrugh, August the tenth.

And lastly, That upon their dis-banding of their Forces, dissolving and discharging all their pretended Tables and Conventicles, and restoring to the King all his Castles, Forts, and Ammunition, as also his Royall Honours, and to every one of his good Subjects their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods, and Means whatsoever, taken and detained since the late pretended generall Assembly; the King will presently thereafter recall his Fleet, and retire his Forces, and cause Restitution of their Ships and Goods since the aforesayd time: This the King to do by Declaration. On the Scots Part the Articles were;

First, The Forces of Scotland to be dis-banded within eight and forty hours after Publication of the Kings Declaration.

Secondly, They to render up after the sayd Publication, all Castles, Forts, Ammunition, of all sorts, so soon as the King shall send to receive them.

Thirdly, They to hold no Meetings, Treatings, nor Consultations, but such as are warranted by Act of Parliament.

Fourthly, They to desist from all Fortifications, and those to be permitted to the Kings pleasure.

Fifthly, They to restore to all the Kings Subjects, all their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods, and means, taken, or detained from them, since the second of February last. Upon the eighteenth of June the Kings Declaration was signed, and the Scots Articles.

The Kings Declaration was no sooner published, but the Covenanters produce another Protestation for adhering to their late Assembly at Glasgow; for adhering to their Covenant; and for prohibiting all Members of the Colledge of Justice from attending the Session or Terme. Toward the latter end of July the King, who had intended to be present at their generall Assembly, now finding the Scots not punctuall in the Performance of their Articles and perceiving that they intended to fall upon those things which would prove distastefull to him, he therefore thinking he could better bear their Proceedings at a distance, pyles him home to England, and upon the Sixth of August the Assembly meets at Edinburrugh and sits till the 24. and aboliseth Episcopacy, the Five Articles of Perth, the high Commission, the Liturgy and Book of Canons; and so they take End; and the Parliament (prorogued to August the last) begin and spend their first Four daies in debating the election of the Lords of the Articles. And having at last agreed among themselves touching that Particular, they formed these Demands to be made to the King.

First, That Coin be not medled with, but by Advice of Parliament.

Secondly, No Stranger to command, or to inhabid in any Castles of the Kinges, but by their Advice.

Thirdly, No Honour to be granted to any Stranger, but such as have a Competency of Land-rent in Scotland.

Fourthly, No Commissioner or Justiciary or Lieutenancy but for a limited time; and next they Protest against Precedency of the Lord Treasurer and Lord Privie Seale, as not warranted by a positive Law.

These things coming to the knowledge of the King together with a Pamphlet prevaricating the Conditions of the late Treatie, their Letters to the King of France for Aid, their Provisions for Armes, their levying Taxes of ten Markes per Centum and continuing their Officers and Fortifications, induced him by his Commissioner the Earl of Traquair to command the Adjournment of their Parliament untill the second of June next, upon pain of Treason: against which Command the Covenanters declare and send a Remonstrance to the King by the Earl of Dunfermling, and the Lord London, who coming without Warrant from the Kings Commissioner Traquair, were sent back without audience, after them comes Traquair himselfe, and he and Hamilton consult together privately about representing the Matter to the Councell; which begat a debate whether or not the Presence of the King were expedient for their Reduction; this was canvassed on both Sides with Arguments of Policy, and at length resolved in the Negative, That they were not to be redced to their duty, but by force of Armes; and soon after this Dunfermling, and London returne from Scotland in the quality of Commissioners, and with them Sir William Douglas and Mr. Robert Birkley who after a long Speech for the Justification of the Scottish Transactions, desired

The Assembly
meets again at
Edinburrugh and
aboliseth Episcopacy
the Liturgie, and
high commission.

The Scots Assembly
ending their Parliament
begins.

A desired, that the King would ratifie and confirme their Proceedings, and that their Parliament might proceede to determine of all Articles (or Bills) brought to them, to the establishing of Religion, and Peace; but instead of an Answer to their Requeits, the King charged them with the afore-mentioned Pamphlet (which he had caused to be burnt by the hands of the Hangman,) to which they made no Answer: but afterward the State of *Scotland* did, in their grand Declaration, excuse it, as related to them by their Commissioners, as being the cheifest cause of the Pacification, and the only Lenitive which made the People digest his Majesties Declaration. As for the Letter to the *French King*, the Original of it came to the Kings hands, and the Character was found to be the Lord *Lowdens*, who was thereupon Committed for a short time, but Released upon the mediation of Marquis *Hamilton*, and then he and *Dunfermling* presented their Remonstrance to the King, and *Traquair* comes also to give an Account of all, before the whole Body of the Councell; where things were handled with so much Acrimony, that both Parties were thereby exasperated into a greater dislike of one another.

During these Jarrs and Discontents between King *Charles* and the Covenanters, about the middle of July, the Prince *Eleffour* (who the yeare before had lost both his Army and his Troopes in *West-Phalia*) came over againe into *England*; for Duke *Bernard* of *Saxon-Weimer* a Commander very eminent in the *German Wars* and a great Sackler against the Emperours, died about this time; and the Prince of *Orange* counselled the *Palgrave* to goe into *England* to his Uncle the King and to procure from him that Assistance and countenancing which might get him the Command of that Dukes Army: but King *Charles* had his hands full of Scottish Troubles, and therefore advised him to apply himself to the King of *France*, and to that end deales with the *French* Ambassadour here residing, to perswade his Majestie to joine in League with him; *Rich. liou* the grand Director of the Gallick affairs, bore no great good will to the *English King*, upon the Ile of *Rhe* account; and consequently disaffected toward his Nephew, sets some of his Engines on worke to perswade the Prince to pass through *France* disguised to the *Swedish Army*; which he imprudently attempted, but, discovered all the way by the great Respect shewed to him from the *English Fleet* as he passed neer them, and from the Ship which landed him at *Boulen*; from whence he went to *Paris* and thence to *Lions* where he was seised (and denying himselfe) as dealing perfidiously in a time of Treaty, was committed to a guard of Horse and Foot for the present.

This year was remarkable for the great Sea-fight between the *Spaniards* and *Hollanders* in the Downes. Don *Antonio D'Oquendo*, conducted a Fleet of neer Seventy sail with about Twenty Five Thousand men to be landed at *Dunberk* for a Recruit for *Flanders*. These met with the *Dutch* Vice-admiral in the way with Seventeen sail of good Men of War; by whom they were forced to an Engagement upon the Seventh of September; in which the *Hollander* coming by the worst, with the loss of two ships sunk, got to wind-ward, going along with them towards *Dunberk*, continually firing their Ordnance upon them to give warning to *Vantrump* the *Dutch* Admirall, who lay before the Town. The Admirall heares the Reports and comes up with Ten ships; and, joining forces with the Vice-admirall, encounters the Spaniard in a sharp fight between *Dover* and *Callays* for almost half a day, having much the better, taking two gallions, and forcing the rest (sorely shattred) on the *English Coast* neer *Dover*, and so bore off towards *France*; till they might consult what was next to be done. The *Spanish* Resident desired the King to Protect them from the *Hollander* for two Tides, that they might have convenience to get back to *Spain*; but the King, in Amity with both, would not meddle in the business; but injoynd those *English* who had agreed privily to transport their Souldiers and Treasure to *Dunberk*, to desist from any such Enterprises, by reason of the *Dutch* Ambassadors Complaint, and gave order that no Spaniard should be suffered to pass unlicensed beyond *Gravesend*; and so the Spaniard, being left to his own wits, took Advantage of the Night, and by a Stratagem conveyed to *Dunberk* Fourteen Ships with four Thousand men and Four Hundred Thousand pounds. But the King, unwilling to have them ingage in his Seas, desired the *Spanish* Admirall, by the Earl of *Arundell*, to retreat upon the first fair Wind: but the wind continuing contrary, longer then ordinary, held them there so long that the *Hollander* (who waited his coming out) now increasing by daily Supplies (to the number of an Hundred compleat ships,) resolved to fall upon them, as they did, upon the Eleventh of October, charging them with Cannon and Fire-ships, in such furious manner; as they, unable to endure the Shot, cut their Cables and twentie three of them ran ashore, whereof two there perished, one of which was a great Gallion of two and fifty brasse peices of Ordnance commanded by the Vice-Admiral of *Gallizia*, don *Andrea de Castro*; the *Spaniards* of the rest fled to Land, leaving their Ships to be man'd by the *English* for safeguard from the *Dutch*. Admirall *O'quendo* and *Lopez* of *Portugall*, with Thirtie Ships went to Sea, keeping in close order till they were covered with a great Fogge, by advantage of which, the *Dutch* interposed between the Admiralls and their Fleet, and fired the Admirall of *Portugall*, besides other Damage; which *O'quendo* perceiving (the Foggs then cleering up) he with some few other Ships bent their Course to *Dunberk*. Of these Thirty, Eleven were taken and sent into *Holland*; Three perished upon the coast of *France*; One neer *Dover*, and Five sunk in the fight. What the designe of this *Spanish* fleet was, remains yet in uncertainty: various Descants were differently passed upon it; For Five and Twenty thousand men to be imbarqued for a Recruit seemed to most men unlikely, and the Refusal of the Admiral of *Naples* to shew his Commission, when required by the King, was very suspicious; and, That the *Dunberk* should a while dispute the Reception of those Four Thousand which were conveyed thither, did cause no little wonder; inso-much that many there were, who judged the principall Designe of this Fleet to be against our

The Prince
Elefour comes
again into
England to
procure the
command of
the Duke of
Weima's Ar-
my.

He passeth dis-
guis'd into
France; is discov-
ered and com-
mitted to a
guard.

The sea fight
between the
Hollanders and
Spaniards.

King, for distempers beginning to arise about this time in *England* and *Ireland* as well as in *Scotland*, it was not altogether improbable that the *Spaniards* might have had those Correspondents in some one of those Countries, which should have furnished them at their landing (wheresoever it was to have been) with armes and Ammunition, whereof they stood in to great neede in the time of their fighting with the *Dutch*, that five and twenty ships were able to deale with their whole armado of neere seventy saile; however it was, the Kings reputation was hereby greatly impaired, for suffering the *Hollanders* to fall upon the *Spaniards* in his Seas, and the *Hollanders* doubting that he might resent the affront offered to him in that action, were willing to keep him so busied that he should not have opportunity of revenge, and to that end, accommodated the Scots with all manner of warlike provision.

The death of
the Lord Kee-
per Sir Thomas
Covenry in
whose place Sir
John Finch
succeeded.

This year died Sir Thomas Covenry on the tenth of *January*; he was privy counsellour to the King, and had been Lord Keeper of the great Seale of *England* for the space of fiftene years, who deceased with the greater commendation by reason of the eminent delinquency of his two immediate Antecessors the Viscount St. Albans and the Bishop of *Lincoln*; and to him succeeded Sir John Finch.

The King
makes new
preparations
against the
Scots.

One Bagshaw, a reader of the middle Temple, was about this time silenced for speaking too boldly against prelacy; and was therefore shrewdly checkt by the Lord Keeper Finch and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and forced for a while to absent himselfe from *London*. The Scots Commissioners having delivered their message return home to *Edenborough*, November the 19, the same night that a greate part of the Castle Walls fell downe being the just Annivertary of the Kings Birth day. For the reparation of them the King sent the Lord *Estrich*, Collonell *Rusher* and others, who were resisted by the Covenanters, because they thought not the Lord *Estrich* to be a fit Governour of that Castle, as the King had designed him. The Kings anger was now growne to the height and therefore he resolves upon forcible courtes; and to that end considers of raising Men and money to bring them into order; a secret Cabinet Councell is call'd consisting of but three (the rest being excluded under the nickname of hunting Lords) these three were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* and *Hamilton*, who drove designs by himselfe; amongst these it was agreed that a Parliament must be called, in *England*, and another in *Ireland* for the Kings supply; but because the King feared that the Parliament would be tedious in their debate before they would agree upon any subsidies for him; it was resolved that the Lords should for the present subscribe some Loans; the Lord Lieutenant subscribed 20000*l* the Duke of *Richmond* as much; *Hamilton* kept his monys for other ends and therefore pretended povertie; most of the Lords, Judges, Officers and dependants of Courts of Judicature, and generally the greatest part of the Gentry, even the recusants contributed according to their Abilities. About this time the Scots perceiving what a storm was like to fall upon them, made perparation for defence, and to that end entertained treaties with severall forrain Princes and States; as *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Holland*, and *Poland*; and as for the Jesuits they thought it would be no veniall Sin if they should not have a hand in fomenting the differences, to which end, *Con*, the Popes Agent and Chamberlaine, *Richelieu's* Chaplaine, Sir *Toby Matthews* a Jesuited Priest of the order of *Politicians*, Captain *Read*, and one *Maxwell* a couple of Scots, bestire themselves very diligently, to reinforce the sence of every injury, and to excite the people to beleive that the King chiefly aimed at a Tyrannicall subjugation of them to his own arbitrary will. These their practices were discovered by *Andreas Habernsfield*, a Nobleman of *Bohemia* then become Phisician to the Kings Sister, the Paligraves Relict, who made it also apparent that many of the Nobility of *England*, and chief favorites at Court (among whom were the Earl and Countess of *Arundell*, Secretary *Windebanke* and *Endymion Porter*), were acquainted and consenting with their transactions. *Con* did directly imitate the waies of his President *Richard Smith*, the titular bishop of *Chalcedon*; who resided here in *England* under the Queens protection, meertly to performe the part of a Boute-few and incendiary as likewise did (all his successors) *Banzani*, *Con* and *Rosetti*; this *Con* had formerly offered in the Popes name a Cardinalis Cap to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The practices
of the Jesuits
discovered by
*Andreas
Habernsfield*.

A Parliament
assembleth at
Westm.

April the 13 in the year 1640 and the 16 of this Kings Reign, the Parliament assembled, and Mr *John Glanvill* Speaker of the House of Commons: In this Parliament the Earl of *Strafford* was greatly honoured, being led into the House of Lords by two Peers, in honour of his Good service in *Ireland* in obtaining the grant of four Subsidies to maintaine Ten Thousand foot and fiftene hundred horse; and this for a pattern to *England*. And that *England* might the more Cheerfully write after the *Irish* copy, the King sends to the Parliament to tell them that if they would supply him with a sufficiency for the suppressing of the Scottish insolencies he would acquit his claime of Ship-moneys and give satisfaction to their just demands. By these proposalls the Parliament perceived the extremity of the Kings exigences; and therefore they would be first satisfied in these three points.

First, For clearing the Properties of the Subject.

Secondly, for establishing true Religion.

Suddenly dis-
solved by the
King.

Thirdly for Priviledges of Parliament; But whiles they were debating whether the Kings Supplies or the subjects Sufferings should be first considered, and things were brought to a hopefull posture, Secretary *Vane* spoiles all, either purposely or fortuitously, by telling them that the King demanded twelve Subsidies, whereas he required but six, and hereby put them into such a heat against the King, and rendred things so desperate, that the King by the advice of his *Junco* dissolved the Parliament May the Fifth after two and twenty dayes Session: nor was this onely the Advice

G

of

A of the Junto but also of the privie councill who were ascertained that the animosities of the Commons were so great, as they intended that very day to have Voted against the war with *Scotland*; whereby the King would have been left in a worle case then he was before their sitting.

About this time the convocation of Bishops sat with Commission to act, propose, deliberate and conclude such Cannons and Constitutions, as they conceived conducive to the peace of the Church; amongst other things they imposed that Oath known by the name of the &c as an Anti-Covenant to that of the Scots;

A convocation of Bishops sit and consult about the Affairs of the Church.

I A. B. Do Swear, That I doe approve the Doctrine and Discipline of Government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to Salvation, and that I will not indeavour by my selfe, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine contrary to that so Established, nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church by Arch-Bishops, Deans, and Arch-Deacons, &c. as it stands now Established, and as by Right it ought to stand: nor yet ever to subject it to the Usurpations and Superstitions of the See of Rome; and all these things do I plainly and sincerely acknowledge and Swear according to the plain and common sense or understanding of the same words without any Equivocation or mentall evasion or secret Reservation whatsoever: and this I doe heartily, willingly and truly, upon the Faith of a Christian, So help me God in Jesus Christ.

This was the main Businesse of the Convocation, which ended *May* the 29. The Archbishop had been very firy in acting against the Puritans and compelling men to a compliance and Conformity with the old (but newly by him reinforced) Ecclesiastical Ceremonies whereby he incurred a great deale of hatred from the Common man, especially the *Londoners* who had a particular disgust against him for his severe animadversion upon *Burton*, *Prinn*, and *Bastwick*: so that *May* the 9 a Paper was posted upon the Old Exchange exhorting Apprentices to rise and sack his House at *Lambeth* next Monday, which they were the more forward to doe, because it was rumord that the was a prime instigator of the King to dissolve the Parliament; but he had notice of their intent, and provided against their coming; on Monday following in the dead of the Night, five hundred of them beset his House, striving to force their Entrance, yet were repulsed, and glad to depart, having in some measure vented their anger against him, in words, and in breaking his glass windows. The next day many of them upon inquiry were apprehended and imprisoned, but three days after forcibly rescued from thence by their Companions who broke open the Prison doores, for which one of their Ringleaders were hanged drawne and quartered, and his Limbs set upon London Bridge.

A company of Apprentices beset the Archbishop of Canteburys House at Lambeth

One of the ringleaders hanged and quartered.

The King grew daily more and more offended at the Scots, and calls a select Junto to consult about them, where the Earl of *Strafford* delivered his minde in such terms, as afterward proved his destruction; War was resolved upon, and money to be procured either by fair means or foule. The City of *London* was invited to a Loan but refused and pleaded poverty, being, as it seemed, distastd that the Star-Chamber had sentenced her plantation of *London-Derry* in *Ireland* to be forfeited for some alleaged misdemeanours, and the undertakers fined, yet the Citizens were content to offer an ample sum towards the building of a magnificent Palace for the Kings Court in *St. James's Park* according to *Inigo Jones's* Modell, but it took not effect. The Gentry contributed pretty freely, so that with their aids the regall Army was compleated, and the King himselfe was Generalissimo, the Earl of *Northumberland* Generall, and the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant Generall; *Northumberland* falls sick and therefore the King takes the Command upon himselfe, and sends away part of the Army, horse and foot, under the Lord *Conway* into the North. *July* the 20 the Queene was delivered of a Son who was Christned *Henry*, after created Duke of *Gloester*; And *August* the 20 The King with the rest of the Army sets out of *London*, and comes to *North-Allerton*. In the mean time the Lord *Conway* had but ill success; he had drawn about 1200 horse and 3000 foot to secure the passes upon the River *Tine*, neere *Newborne*; Thither was the Scottish Army advanced with their Generall *Lefly*, better provided then the time before. *August* the 27 *Lefly* desires leave of *Conway* for his whole Army to pass to the King with their Petition, but is denied; three hundred Scottish horse attempted to cross the River, and are repelled by the shot of the English musqueteers who were placed under the Shadow of the brell-workes; *Lefly* makes a large Requittall for that, by playing upon them with his nine Pieces of Ordnance which he had placed on the other side of the River, and blinded them with the Bushes; The English Infantry terrified with the unexpected charge of the Cannon (for they were mostly raw Souldiers) forsooketh their ports, cast down their Armes, and fled; *Lefly* comes on with his horse, and charges commissary Generall *Wilmot*, who with the Cavalry stood stoutly to it, till over-

The King marcheth again with an Army against the Scots.

The Armys engaging in a fight the English are put to the worst.

born

born with Multitude and Cannon, they were put to a disorderly Retreat: the Lord *Conway* seeing A both Horse and Foot worried, hasts to the King to carry him the unwelcome Newes of the defeat; and Sir *Jacob Ashley* Governour of *New-Castle* knowing the Place not tenable, deserted it, sinking the Ordnance in the River, and so both *New-Castle* and *Durham* came shortly into the *Scots* hands. Now comes *Strafford* with whom the King retreats to *Torke*, and stay's there, while the Earl (who now had the Command of the Army) charges the whole Miscariage upon *Conway*, and he as stoutly denies it.

The Earl of Haddington and others slain by an accident.

In *Scotland* the Earl of *Haddington*, who commanded the Forces in *Louthian* and *Merse* having recovered from the Souldiers of *Berwick* Garrison, the pieces of Ordnance (which *Lestly* had left behinde him at *Dunfe*) and brought them to *Dunglasse*, was the next day slain with Twenty more Knights and Gentlemen in the midst of his Court, by the Stones that flew from the Vault near B adjoining; which was then blowne up with the Magazine that lay in it.

The King had formerly declared the *Scots* to be Rebels and Traitors by Proclamation, and commanded that Publick Prayers should be put up against them in all Churches: but at this Time is contented to Treat with them, and to that end receives from them a Petition stuf with Complaint of their Grievances; to which he answers by his Secretary of *Scotland* the Earl of *Linrick* that he expects their Particular Demands, and them he receives within three dayes, all tending to requiring a Parliament to be called for *England*; without which there could be no satisfactory Redresse for them; They had likewise published a little before their marching into *England* a Declaration, called, The Intentions of the Army, Viz: Not to lay down Armes till the Reformed Religion were settled in both Nations upon sure grounds; the Cauters and Abettors of their present Troubles C (viz. the Archbishop and Lord Deputy) be brought to Publike Justice, and that in Parliament. Conformably to this, Twelve English Peers, *Bedford*, *Hertford*, *Essex*, *Warwick*, *Mulgrave*, *Bristow*, *Bullingbrookes*, *Say* and *Seals*, *Mandavill*, *Edward Howard*, *Brook*, *Paget*, drew up a Petition to the King and had it delivered, After which others of the like Nature were brought from the Londoners and other Parts of the Kingdome; all consenting most harmoniously in this, That nothing could relieve the Pressures of this Kingdome, but a Parliament: To this the King in part condescends, giving hopes also of further satisfaction ere long, and for the present summons the Lords to appear at *Tork* the 24 of *September*, which they did: and on the first day of their Meeting, it was Agreed, That a Parliament should be called, to convene *November* the Third, and then, for relief of the North, sorely suffering under *Lestly's* Army (*Durham* Bishop-ricke being then taxed 350 l and *Northumberland* 300 l Per diem) it was resolved that a Treaty should be set on foot, and so Sixteene English D Lords, Viz. Earls, *Bedford*, *Barkshure*, *Hertford*, *Salisbury*, *Essex*, *Holland*, *Bristow*, *Warwick*, Barons, *Mandevill*, *Howard*, *Paget*, *Paullet*, *Savile*, *Brookes*, *Dunsmore*, *Wharton*; should meet with so many *Scots* Lords, the Place *Tork*: but that refused, as not safe enough for the *Scots* Commissioners, by reason of the presence of the Lord Deputy, who had proclaimed them Traitors in *Ireland*, and was now in great Authority, as having the chief Command of the Kings Army, a Capitall Enemy of their Nation, and against whom they had matter of high Complaint; hereupon it was concluded that the Treaty should be held at *Rippon*.

A Treaty agreed upon between the Scots and English.

The First thing that was here proposed was a Cessation, but the *Scots* thought other things were to be considered of in the First place, for as they would Obey the King in his late Command E which he had laid upon them, To advance no further; so neither would they Returne until they had obtained the Effects of their Errand, and therefore they required to know.

First how their Army should be maintained till the Treatie was ended and Peace secured.

Secondly, That, if more Commissioners be required, then a safe Convoy be granted for them.

Thirdly, A safe Convoy for all Letters between Them and the Parliament.

And Fourthly, That, for the Benefit of both Kingdomes, there may be a free Commerce and that the Common Trade of *New-Castle* be not hindered, but especially for Victuals.

These Articles were at length agreed unto, although the First did seeme both unreasonable and dishonourable to the English Nation; and indeed the Earle of *Strafford* was so offended there- F at, that he craved leave of the King to give them Battell, and was willing to undertake (as he wrote to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*) upon the Perill of his head, with his Army of English Grashoppers, to beat those Sons of *Anak* home again: for so much superiour were the *Scots* then accounted to the English, as to matter of Souldiery: and, upon the 16 of *October*, the English Commanders, (some through Feare, some through Favour, and others out of a Politicall Maxime not to strive against the Streame) condescended to these ensuing Articles, which were afterwards produced and then Signed by the King himselfe.

The Articles of Agreement.

First, That there be a Cessation of Armes, both by Sea and Land, from this G Present.

Secondly, That all acts of Hostilitie do henceforth cease.

Thirdly, That both Parties shall peaceably returne during the Treaty, whatsoever they possesse at the time of the Cessation.

Fourthly

A 'Fourthly, That all such persons who lived in any of his Majesties Forts beyond the River of Teed, shall not exempt their Lands which lye within the Counties of Northumberland and the Bishoprick, from such Contributions as shall be laid upon them for the Payment of Eight Hundred and Fiftie Pounds *Per diem*.

'Fifthly, That none of the Kings Forces upon the other side of Teed shall give any Impediment to such Contributions as are already allowed for the Comperency of the Scottish Army, and shall fetch no Victualls, nor forage out of their Bounds, except that which the Inhabitants and Owners thereof shall bring voluntarily unto them, and that B 'any Restraints or Detention of Victualls, Cattell, or Forage which shall be made by the Scots within those Bounds for their Maintenance shall be no Breach.

'Sixthly, That no Recruit shall be brought into either Armies, from the time of the Cessation, and during the Treatie.

'Seaventhly, That the Contribution of Eight Hundred and Fiftie pounds *Per diem*, shall be only raised out of the Counties of Northumberland, Bishoprick, Town of Newcastle, Cumberland and Westmerland: and that the not Paiment thereof shall be no C 'Breach of the Treaty, but the Counties and Townes shall be left to the Scots Power to raise the same, but not to exceed the Summ agreed upon, unless it be for charges of driving, to be set by a praizer of the Forrage.

'Eightly, That the River of Teed shall be the bounds of Both Armies, (excepting alwaies the Towne and Castle of Storkton, and the Village of Eggsbiff) and the Counties of Northumberland and Bishoprick be the Limits within which the Scottish Army is to reside, having liberty for them to send such Convoys as shall be necessary for the gathering up only of the Contribution, which shall be unpaid by the Counties of Northumberland and Cumberland. D

'Ninthly, That if any Person commit any private Insolence it shall be no breach of our Treaty, if upon Complaint made by either Partie, Reparation and Punishment be granted.

'Tenthly, If Victuall be desired upon the Price which shall be agreed upon, and Ready money offered for the same, and refused, it shall be no Breach of Cessation to take E 'such Victualls payng such Prices.

'Eleventhly, No new Fortifications to be made during the Treaty, against either Partie.

'Twelfthly, That the Subjects of both Kingdomes may in their Trade of Commerce freely pass to and fro without any Stay at all: but it is Particularly Provided that no Member of either Army, pass without a formall Pass under the hands of the Generall, or of him that Commands in Chief.

F T His Treaty of Rippon was but previous to another Treatie of higher Importance to be had at London for a Generall concluding and making up all Differences between the King and his Subjects of Scotland. The Earl of Strafford is here censured for Imprudence either in not foreseeing or else in not preventing that Danger then hanging over his head by the Scots Commissioners Treating at London in the time of a Parliament, and that at such time as he lay under the hatred of the Citizens in Generall, and likewise of the greatest and most prevalent part of the Members, for he knew that the Scots were resolv'd to make it one of their chief Errands to put up a Complaint against him, nor could he be ignorant of what kind Acceptance such an Accusation would find amongst Persons so disaffected towards him: from all which he might have secured himselfe, had he either returned to his Government in Ireland, or transported himselfe for Refuge to some other foreign Land; during this Treaty at Rippon, James Earl of Montrose made severall applications to the King by Letters, testifying his Faith and Loyaltie to him, and his Dislike of the Scottish Proceeding, but those his Letters were stolen out of the Kings pockets and copied out and conveyed to the Covenanters by the means of Hamilton, who also had been the cause of his first Confederating himselfe with them, by perswading him, (at such time as he came out of France where he had been Captaine of the Scots Guard) that the King had intents of reducing Scotland into a Province under England and of Oppressing that Nation; and to colour his lie the better he induced the

The Earl of Montrose by Letters offers his Service to the King; which Letters were stolen out of the Kings pocket by the means of Hamilton.

the King to shew him an unkind dis-respect when he came to kiss his Hands. The Covenanters A thus by the discovery of these Letters, understanding his mind, forsook not themselves, but used all convenient means to render the Earl odious to the People, and so unserviceable to the King : And before this time the Kings Secrets had been discovered through the rifling of his Pockets by his corrupted Bed-chamber men ; and now the Peoples Desires were to receive satisfaction by the Convening of a Parliament which was summoned to meet at *Westminster*, by a fatall oversight of the King, who had sufficient Presidents from the Histories of former times, to have caused them to have met at *York*, or some other place in the *North*, more neer the Scene of Action, and that Danger which was the Occasion of their Assembling ; but this was not all the Errour, to *Westminster* he calls them, neer *London*, whose Citizens he had found by experience to be disgusted for the most part, both at him, and his Favourites : And moreover, the *Scots* Commissioners must come thither, and at such a season have an Opportunity put into their Hands, to work upon the discontented Humours of the *Londoners*. B

A Parliament again Assembled.

Tuesday November the third, the Parliament met, having for Speaker of the House of Commons Mr. *William Lenthall*, one of the Benchers and Readers of *Lincoln-Inn* (this is that long Parliament so much talked of) the King comes to them and tells them, That the *Scottish* Troubles were the Causes of their present Meeting, and therefore requires them to consider of the most expedient means for the casting them out ; and then promises them, that he will heartily and cleerly concur with them for the satisfying their just Grievances : after that he propounds to them his want of money for the maintaining of his Army, and how dishonourable it would be to the *English* Nation, if his Army should be disbanded, before the *Scots* were C put out of the Kingdome ; and that they would take into Consideration the Oppression of the Northern-Countries by the *Scots*, during the time of Treary, and withall find out some means for Redress ; and so concluded his Speech, with desire that all reciprocal suspicion might be removed.

That the King should call the *Scots* Rebels was ill-resented by many ; Whereupon he took occasion to tell them, That he must needs call them Rebels, so long as they have an Army that do invade *England*.

Monopolies Voted down.

The first Week was wholly taken up with settling Committees for Grievances, and in receiving Petitions, partly from Counties concerning Exorbitancies of Church and State, and partly from some private persons who had felt the Lash of the *Star-chamber*, *Councell-table*, and *High-D Commission Court* ; And Monopolies were Voted down.

November the tenth, Complaint was made in the House of Lords, that Sir *William Beecher* Clark of the Councell, had violated their Priviledges, in searching the Earl of *Warwick*, and Lord *Brook*'s Studies, Cabinets and Pockets, upon the breaking up of the last Parliament : Whereupon he was committed to the *Fleet-Prison*, notwithstanding his alledging the Command of the Secretary of State for his so doing.

The Earl of *Strafford* impeached of High-treason, and Committed.

The Earl of *Strafford* is now in his Wane, him the Commons are resolved to Charge through and through with their Accusations ; and Mr. *Pym* is sent to the House of Lords with an Impeachment of High-treason against him, upon which he is Sequestred from the House, and also his intimate Friend Sir *George Ratliff*, is sent for out of *Ireland*, by a Serjeant at Armes : *Strafford* is committed to the Usher of the Black Rod, in order to his ensuing Tryall ; yet obtains the Assignation of Councell, and a Solicitor for the better managing of his Defence : In the mean time, the Bishop of *Lincoln* is set free from the *Tower*, and for a while becomes the great Favourite of both Houses of Parliament, and Mr. *Prin*, and Mr. *Burton* are conducted into *London*, in great State and triumph, and upon the third of *December* presented their Petition against their Prosecutors, to the House of Commons. E

The Bishop of *Lincoln* released. *Prin* and *Burton* brought to *London* in triumph. Justice *Howard* stab'd in *Westminster-hall*. Secretary *Windebank* flies.

But the *Papists* began to fear a Cloud, for Justice *Howard* was to deliver up a Catalogue of all Reculants within the Liberties of *Westminster*, to prevent which, he was stabbed by one Mr. *John James* in *Westminster-hall*, for which Fact the Assailant was Imprisoned in the *Gate-house*, in F order to a more severe punishment.

But Sir *Francis Windebank* Secretary of State, fearing to be called to an Account by the Parliament, for reprieving Jesuits and Priests, which he knew would be produced against him, if not worse matters, warily shifted over Sea into *France*.

December the seventh, the House of Commons Voted the Assesment of Ship-money, together with the Opinions of the Judges, and the Writs for it, and the Judgment of the *Exchequer* against Mr. *Hambden*, to be all illegall ; and the Arguments of the two Justices, *Crook*, and *Hutton*, for the illegality thereof to be Printed. As for the other eight Justices, a Committee was appointed to draw up a Charge of High-treason against them, and to begin with the Lord-keeper *Finch*.

The Citizens present a Petition against Church-Ceremonies.

December the eleventh, Alderman *Pennington*, with some hundreds at his Heels, presented to the House of Commons a Petition from the Citizens of *London* (subscribed by fifteen thousand) against the present Church Discipline, and Ceremonies, but that was for that time layd aside, and the Parliament animated by the Congruity of the peoples Inclinations, took the late Convocation and *Canons* into Debate, and upon the fifteenth of *December* Voted ; G

That the Clergy in a *Synod*, or *Convocation*, hath no power to make *Canons*, *Constitutions*, or *Laws*, to bind either Layety, or Clergy, without a Parliament, And next day it was Voted ;

That

A That the *Canons* are against the Fundamentall *Laws* of this Realm, against the Kings *Prerogative*, Property of the Subject, the Right of *Parliaments*, and do tend to Faction, and Sedition.

The Earl of *Strafford* had already felt some Blows of the *Parliament's* Displeasure, the Archbishop of *Canterburie* turn is next, against whom a Committee is ordered to draw up a Charge, as principall Framer of the *Canons*, and for other Delinquencies: This Impeachment was brought up to the House by Mr. *Hollis*, and seconded with another from the *Scotts* Commissioners, upon which he was committed to the *Black Rod*, and ten Weeks after Voted guilty of High-treason, and sent to the *Tower*.

The Archbi-
shop of *Canter-*
bury committed to the
Black Rod.

B The *Scotts* also prefer a Charge against the Earl of *Strafford* (then in durance) and desired Justice upon them both, as the great Incendiaries and Disturbers of the Church and State; and Sir *George Ratliff* the Ears trusty *Achates*, was encountred with this Impeachment.

First, That he had conspired and joyned with the Earl of *Strafford*, to bring into *Ireland* an Arbitrary Government, and to subvert Fundamentall *Laws*.

Secondly, To bring an Army from *Ireland*, to subdue the Subjects of *England*.

Thirdly, That he joyned with the Earl to use Regall Power, and to deprive Subjects of their Liberties and Properties.

Articles a-
gainst Sir
George Ratliff.

Fourthly, To take out Forty Thousand pounds out of the *Exchequer* in *Ireland*, and bought Tobacco therewith, and converted the same profit to their own uses.

C Fifthly, That he hath trayterously confederated with the Earl to countenance Papists, and built Monasteries to alienate the Affections of the *Irish* Subjects from the subjection of *England*.

Sixthly, To draw the Subjects of *Scotland* from the King.

Seventhly, That to preserve himself and the said Earl, he had laboured to subvert the Liberties and Priviledges of Parliament in *Ireland*.

The Lord Keeper *Finch* was now the next man that should fall under their Censure; and therefore prepares to be before hand with a set Speech in his own Vindication, and Courts them highly; but it would not avail, for even that very day he was Voted a Traytor, upon these Accounts.

D First, For refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord-treasurer *Weston*, 4. *Car.* when the Parliament desired it.

Secondly, For solliciting, perswading, and threatening the Judges to deliver up their Opinions for levying of Ship-money.

Thirdly, For severall illegal Actions in Forrest-matters.

Fourthly, For ill Offices done, in moving the King to dissolve the late Parliament, and causing his Majesties Declaration thereupon to be set forth. Next day he was accused before the Lords, but he wisely fore-saw the Storme, and withdrew himself to the Harbour of *Holland*.

He flies over
into *Holland*.

E The Parliament having now removed their Enemies, and encreasing in Reputation, and sensible of their own power, were modelling a Bill for a Trienniall in Parliament; for the promoting of which, Petitions came thick and threefold, one whereof subscribed with above eight hundred Presbyters was directly against Episcopacy, which the King took notice of, and doubting the Parliaments forwardness to entertain it, he calls both Houses together the three and twentieth of *January*, and tells them of their slow proceedings, and inconveniences thereby, in maintaing two Armies in the Kingdome: After which, he told them of two Rocks which he would have them to avoid; the one concerning the Hierarchy of Bishops, which he was willing to reform, but not to alter; the other concerning frequent Parliaments, which he liked well, but not to give his power to Sheriffs and Constables.

F About this time one Goodman a Priest having been condemned at the Sessions at *London*, was reprieved by the King, upon which both Houses petitioned to be informed who were the Instruments of it, and receiving an unsatisfactory Answer, they Remonstrated against the toleration of Papists, and the Popes *Nuncio Rosetti*, and this Goodman who they desired might be left to the Justice of the Law. The King makes answer, That the increase of Popery and Papists in his Dominions, is extremely against his mind, and that he would use all possible means for the restraining of it.

The Parlia-
ment expos-
ture with the
King about
the reprieving
of one Good-
man a Priest.

As for the Popes *Nuncio Rosetti* he hath no Commission but only to preserve Correspondence between the Queen and the Pope, which was allowed her by the Articles of Marriage; notwithstanding he hath prevailed with her for his removall, and is content to remit the particular Cause of Goodman to both Houses.

G Five Months had the *Scotts* been quartered in *England*, during which, a Cessation had been concluded at *Rippon*, but the plenary Pacification was reserved for *London*, in pursuance of which, the former Lords (who treated at *Rippon*) or any ten of them were impowred, November the twenty third, to treat with the *Scotts* Commissioners, or any seven of them, being the Earls of *Rothsay*, and *Dunferling*, the Lord *London*, Sir *Patrick Hepburn*, Sir *William Douglas*, *William Drummond*, *John Smith* Bayliff of *Edinburgh*, *Alexander Wedderburn*, *Hugh Kennedy*, *Alexander Henderson*, and *Archibald Jonson*, to consider of their Demands.

Lords appoint-
ed to treat
with the *Scotts*
Commission-
ers in order
to a full Pac-
ification.

The Commissioners sat on both parties; the Demands of the *Scotts*, and the Answer thereto were as followeth. The *Scotts* demand;

'First,

The King's Demands, with the Answers to each Demand.

First, That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to command, that the Acts of the late Parliament, may be published in his Highnesses Name as our Sovereign Lord, with the consent of the Estates of Parliament, Convented by his Majesties Authority.

To this it is answered and agreed the 30 of December, 1640. That forasmuch as the Kings Majesty at the humble desire of his Subjects, did call and Convene a Parliament to be holden at Edinburgh the second of June, 1640. wherein certain Acts were made and agreed upon, which Acts his Majesty is pleased to publish in his own Name, with the Consent of the Estates; and therefore commands that the said Acts, bearing date the second day of June, 1640. be published with the Acts to be made in the next Session of the same Parliament; and that all the said Acts, as well of the precedent, as of the next Session to be holden, have in all time coming the strength of the Laws, and to be obeyed by all the Subjects of the Kingdome of Scotland.

Secondly, That the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and other strengths of the Kingdome, should with the Advice of the States of Parliament, according to their first Foundation, be furnished and used for defence and security of the Kingdome.

(Answer) It is agreed unto.

Thirdly, That all Scottish men within his Majesties Dominions of *England* and *Ireland*, may be freed from censure for subscribing the Covenant, and be no more pressed with Oaths and Subscriptions unwarranted by their Laws, and contrary to the Nationall Oath and Covenant approved by his Majesty.

(Answer) It is agreed, December the 8. 1640. That all those who in his Majesties Dominions of *England* and *Ireland*, have been Imprisoned or censured any way for subscribing of the Covenant, or for refusing to take any other Oath contrary to the same, shall be freed of these Censures, and shall be fully restored to their Liberties, Estates, and Possessions; and for time coming, that the Subjects of Scotland, as Subjects of Scotland, shall not be constrained to any Oath contrary to the Laws of that Kingdome, and the Religion there established; but such of the Kingdome of Scotland, as shall transport themselves into the Kingdome of *England*, or *Ireland*, and there be settled Inhabitants, either by way of having Inheritance, or Freehold, or by way of settled Trades, shall be subject to the Laws of *England*, or *Ireland*, and to the Oathes established by the Laws and Acts of Parliament in the said Kingdomes respectively wherein they live. And the English and Irish shall have the like Priviledges in Scotland.

Fourthly, That his Majesty would be pleased to declare, That whosoever shall be found upon tryall and examination by the Estates of either of the two Parliaments, (they judging against the persons subject to their own Authority) to have been the Authors and Caufers of the late and present Troubles and Cumbustions, whether by labouring to make and foment Division between the King and his People, or between the two Nations, or any other way, shall be lyable to Censure of the sayd Parliaments respectively.

Answer, It is answered Decemb. 11. 1640. That his Majesty believeth he hath no such doubt; therefore concerning that Point, he can make no other Declaration, then that he is just, and that all his Courts of Justice are to be free and open to all men. Our Parliament in this Kingdome is now sitting, and the currant Parliament of Scotland, neer approaching the time of their meeting: In either of which respectively, he doth not prohibit the Estates to proceed in trying and judging of whatsoever his Subjects. And whereas it was further demanded, that none after the sentence of the Parliament should have Access to his Majesty, or be maintained, or enjoy Places, or Offices, and have Credit, or Authority, to inform or advise his Majesty. It is declared in his Majesties Name, Decemb. 30. 1640. That he will not employ any person, or persons, in any Office or Place, that shall be judged incapable by sentence of Parliament: nor will he make use of their Service, without the consent of Parliament, or grant them Access to his Person.

Fifthly, That their Ships and Goods, and all Damages thereof may be restored.

Answer

A Answer, It is agreed January the 7, 1640. That all Ships taken and stayed should be reciprocally restored on both sides. And that, the Scottish Commissioners having informed, that about eight Ships of Scotland are yet stayed in Ports, and are like to suffer much loss if they shall not be delivered into some hands, who may have care of them; It is agreed, that Warrants shall be presently granted for delivery of all their Ships; And that four thousand pounds be presently advanced for Calking, Sails, Cordage, and other Necessaries, for helping the present setting forth of the sayd Ships.

Demand. 'Sixtly, They desire from the Justice and the Kindness of the Kingdome of England, Reparations concerning the Losses which the Kingdome of Scotland hath sustained, and the vast Charges they have been put unto, by occasion
B 'of the late Troubles.

Answer, That this House thinks fit, that a friendly Assistance and Relief shall be given towards supply of the loss of the Scots: And that the Parliament did declare, That they did conceive that the sum of three hundred thousand pounds is a fit proportion for the friendly Assistance and Relief, formerly thought fit to be given towards supply of the loss and necessities of their Brethren of Scotland, and that the Houses would in due time take into consideration the manner how, and the time when the same shall be raised.

Demand. 'Sevently, That as his Majesty hath appointed the Acts of the late
C 'Parliament, wherein all such Declarations, Proclamations, Books, Libells, and Pamphlets that have been made, written and published against his loyall and dutifull Subjects of Scotland are recalled, and ordered to be suppressed, recalled, and forbidden in England and Ireland; and that the Loyalty, Integrity, and faithfulness of his Majesties Subjects of Scotland, towards his Majesties Royall Person and Government, may at the closing of this Treaty of Peace, and at the time of publick Thanksgiving for the same be made known in all places, and all Parish-Churches
'of his Majesties Dominions.

D Answer, It is agreed upon the tenth of February, 1640. That all Declarations, Proclamations, Acts, Books, Libells, and Pamphlets that have been made and published against the Loyalty and Dutifullness of his Majesties Subjects of Scotland, shall be recalled, suppressed, and forbidden in England and Ireland; and this to be reciprocally in Scotland if any such have been made or published there, in prejudice of his Majesties Honour: And this upon diligent enquiry to be done by Authority of Parliament next sitting in Scotland, of which the Commissioners of Scotland do promise to have an especiall care. And we do also agree, That when it shall please Almighty God to grant an happy Close of this Treaty of Peace, the Loyalty of his Majesties Subjects of Scotland shall be made known at the time of publick Thanksgiving in all places and particularly in the Parish-Churches of his Majesties Dominions.

E 'Demand, That all Monuments, Tokens, and Shews of Hostility upon the Borders of the two Kingdomes, may be taken away. That not only the Garisons of
'Barwick, and Carlile may be removed, but that the Works may be slighted, and the
'places dismantled.

Answer, The House of Commons Concur with their Lordships, that when a Peace shall be established, all things reciprocally be reduced in the terms they were before the Treaty. And do agree with their Lordships, that the Scottish Commissioners shall set down all their particular Heads and Demands at once together, that so their eight Articles which they propound for establishing a Peace, may with all speed be concluded; that being done, this House shall willingly Concur with their Lordships to settle all things for
F their just satisfaction: After which, the Scots brought in their fifteen remaining Heads to their eight Demands, all for Priviledges to their own Nation; and presented their great Account, which was five hundred, and fourteen thousand one hundred twenty and eight pounds, nine shillings, besides the loss of their Nation, to four hundred and forty thousand pounds. This Reckoning startled the English Commissioners, untill the Scots told them, they did not give in that Account with an intent to demand a totall Reparation of their Charges and Losses, but were content in some measure to bear a Remnant, hoping for the rest from the Justice and Kindness of England. Some of the Commons allowed of their Demands, but Sir Benjamine Rudyerd was of another mind, and judged them altogether unreasonable, they being
G wholly contradictory to their own Remonstrance at their first coming in; wherein they professed, That they would take nothing of the English, but for Money, or Security, whereas they had been hitherto defraidd, to the great impoverishing of Northumberland, Newcastle, and the Bishoprick of Durhams, which places would not recover what they then lost in the space of twenty years. That the English had, formerly established the Scots Reformation, and yet bare their own Charges; Whereas the Scots presumed to require a greater sum, then ever was given to the King. Many thought that Sir Benjamins Arguments were compleat and weighty, howsoever Money were raised for the present by way of Loan from the City of London (for supply of both the Northern Armies) as once before this Parliament had done.

A Match proposed between the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, approved by the Parliament.

Some Overtures had been made by the *Dutch* Ambassadour, of a Match between *William* the young Prince of *Orange*, and the Princess *Mary*, the Kings eldest Daughter, which he well liked, and Communicated it to the Parliament, with whom it found a generall and unanimous Reception, in regard of the Alliance to be thereupon concluded with the Prince his Father, and the united Provinces being of the same Protestant Religion with *England*; and so it was soon concluded. But presently after four Members of the Commons delivered a Message to the Lords, of a Popish Design of levying an Army of fifteen thousand in *Lancashire*, and eight thousand in *Ireland*; the main Promoters whereof were the Earls of *Strafford* and *Worcester*: and Sir *Robert Barkley* one of the Ship-money Judges, was accused in *February* of High-treason, and committed Prisoner to the Black Rod.

The King gives his assent to the Bill for a Trienniall Parliament.

The Bill for a Trienniall Parliament was now perfected and had passed both Houses, and nothing wanted to the Consummation, but the Kings Assent, which was also granted upon the sixteenth of *February*: and the King, to let them know what value he put upon this his great Favour, told them, That hitherto they had gone on in those things which concerned Themselves; and now he looked that they should proceed to those things which did concern Him: And then he signed the Bill of Subsidies, and gave them such universall Content, that Sir *Edward Littleton* Lord-Keeper, was ordered to return the humble Thanks of both Houses to his Majesty at *White-hall*, with Bone-fires and Bell-ringing throughout the City, as formerly at the granting of the *Petition of Right*.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* accused by the Commons of High-treason, and ordered to the Tower.

February the twenty sixth, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was accused of High-treason by the Commons, whereupon he was ordered to the Tower, but upon humble Suit, reprieved till the First of *March*, in the mean time, to be under the *Black Rod*. And now Episcopacy it self was called in question; and although the Lord *Digby* made a witty and weighty Speech in defence of it, and the Archbishop of *Armagh* being by them consulted about that and the Liturgy, had delivered his Judgment for the Moderation and Emendation, not Extirpation of them; yet the Wings of Episcopacy were shrewdly clipt; for the Commons, *March* the tenth, Voted, that no Bishop shall have any Vote in Parliament, nor any judiciall Power in the *Star-chamber*, nor bear any sway in temporall Affairs, and that no Clergy-man shall be in Commission of Peace.

Bishops Votes in Parliament voted down. The Earl of *Strafford* brought to his Tryall. The Articles against him, with his Reply to each.

The Earl of *Straffords* Tryall was next, which after various Debates was agreed to be tryed in *Westminster-hall*, the King, Queen, and Prince present, and the Commons to be present as a Committee, at the managing of their Accusation: the day Monday; the Earl of *Arundell* was Lord High-steward, and the Earl of *Lindsey* Lord High-constable: the Earl of *Strafford* (though he had but short warning) yet had gotten his Defence ready against the time; The Accusation was managed by Mr. *Pym*; the Articles and Replies were as followeth:

The first Article was not insisted upon.

Secondly, That shortly after the obtaining of a Commission, dated the One and Twentieth of *March*, in the eighth year of his now Majesties Reign (to wit) the Last day of *August* then next following; he the sayd Earl, to bring his Majesties Liege-people into a dislike of his Majesty, and of his Government, and to terrifie the Justices of the Peace from executing the Laws: (He the sayd Earl being then President of the Kings Councell in the Northern-parts of *England*, and Justice of Peace) did publicly, at the Assises held for the County of *York*, in and upon the sayd last day of *August*, declare and publish, before the people there attending for the Administration of Justice according to the Law, and in the presence of the Justices sitting, That some of the Justices were all for Law, but they should find that the Kings little Finger should be heavier, then the Loyns of the Law.

Testified by Sir *David Fowles*, and others.

‘Reply, That Sir *David Fowles* was his profest Enemy, that his words were cleerly inverted; that his expression was, That the little Finger of the Law (if not moderated by the Kings gracious Clemency) was heavier then the Kings Loyns. That these were his words, he verified;

‘First, By the occasion of them, they being spoken to some whom Favour had then enlarged from Imprisonment at *Tork*, as a motive of their thankfulness to his Majesty.

‘Secondly, By Sir *William Pennyman* a Member of the House, who was then present, and heard these words: which Sir *William* declaring to be true, the House of Commons required Justice of the Lords against him, because he had Voted the Articles as a Member of the House: Whereupon Sir *William* wept:

A 1641. Thirdly, That the Realm of Ireland having been time out of mind annexed to the Imperiall Crown of this his Majesties Realm of England, and Governed by the same Laws: The sayd Earl being Lord-Deputy of that Realm; to bring his Majesties Liege-people of that Kingdome likewise into dislike of his Majesties Government, and intending the Subversion of the Fundamentall Laws, and seiled Government of that Realm, and the Distraction of his Majesties Liegepeople, there, did upon the Thirtieth day of September, in the Eleventh year of his now Majesties Reign, in the City of Dublin, (the chief City of that Kingdome, where his Majesties privy Councell and Courts of Justice
B do ordinarily reside, and whither the Nobility and Gentry of that Realm do usually resort for Justice) in publick Speech before divers of the Nobility and Gentry, and before the Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder, and many Citizens of Dublin, and other of his Majesties Liege-people, declare and publish. That Ireland was a Conquered Nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleased: And speaking of the Charters of the former Kings of England made to that City; He further sayd, That their Charters were nothing worth, and did bind the King no further then he pleased.

C 'Reply, That if he had been over liberall of his Tongue for want of Discretion, yet could not his words amount to Treason, unless they had been revealed within fourteen dayes, as he was informed. As to the Charge he sayd, True it is, he sayd 'Ireland was a Conquered Nation, which no man can deny, and that the King is the 'Law giver in Matters not determined by Acts of Parliament; he conceived all 'Loyall Subjects would grant.

Fourthly, That Richard Earl of Cork, having sued out Proccesses in Court of Law, D for recovery of his Possessions from which he was put, by colour of an Order made by the sayd Earl of Strafford, and the Councel Table, of the sayd Realm of Ireland: The sayd Earl of Strafford upon a Paper-petition, without legal proceedings, did the twentieth day of February, in the eleventh year of his now Majesties Reign, threaten the sayd Earl of Cork (being then a Peer of the sayd Realm) to Imprison him, unless he would surcease his Suit, and sayd; That he would have neither Law, nor Lawyers dispute, or question any of his Orders. And the twentieth of March, in the sayd eleventh year, the sayd Earl of Strafford speaking of an Order of the sayd Councel-Table of that Realm, made in the time of King James, which concerned a Lease which he the sayd Earl
E of Cork claimed in certain Rectories, or Tithes, which he the sayd Earl of Cork alledged to be of no force; sayd, That he would make the sayd Earl, and all Ireland know, so long as he had the Government there, any Act of State there made, or to be made, should be as binding to the Subjects of that Kingdome, as an Act of Parliament: And did question the sayd Earl of Cork in the Castle-chamber, upon pretense of breach of the sayd Order of Councel-Table; and did sundry other times, and upon sundry other occasions, by his words and speeches arrogate to himself a power above the Fundamentall
F Laws, and established Government of that Kingdome, and scorned the sayd Laws and established Government.

'Reply, It were hard measure for a man to lose his Honour and his Life, for an hasty
'word, or because he is no wiser then God hath made him: As for the words, he
'confessed them to be true, and thought he sayd no more then what became him,
'considering how much his Majesties Honour was concerned in him; that if a
'portionable Obedience was not as well due to Acts of State, as to Acts of Parliament,
'in vain did Councels sit. And that he had done no more then what former De-
G puties had done, and then what was agreeable to his Instructions for the Councel-
'Table, which he produced. And if those words were Treason, they should have
'been revealed within fourteen dayes.

Fifthly, That according to such his Declarations and Speeches, the sayd Earl of Strafford did use and exercise a power, above, and against, and to the subversion of the Fundamentall Laws and established Government of the sayd Realm of Ireland; extending such his power, to the Goods, Freeholds, Inheritances, Liberties, and Lives of his Majesties Subjects of the sayd Realm; Viz. The said Earl of Strafford, the twelfth day

of December, An. Dom. 1635. in the time of full peace, did in the said Realm of A Ireland, give, and procure to be given against the Lord Mount Norris (then, and yet a Peer of Ireland, and then Vice-treasurer and Receiver-generall of the Realm of Ireland, and one of the principall Secretaries of State, and Keeper of the privy Signet of the said Kingdome) a Sentence of death by a Councell of War called together by the said Earl of Strafford, without any Warrant or Authority of Law, or Offence, deserving any such punishment. And he the said Earl did also at Dublin within the said Realm of Ireland, in the Month of March, in the fourteenth year of his Majesties Reign, without any legall or due proceedings, or Tryall, give, or cause to be given a sentence of death against one of his Majesties Subjects, whose Name is yet unknown, and caused him to be^B put to death in execution of the said Sentence.

‘Reply, That there was then a standing Army in Ireland, and Armies cannot be ‘Governed but by Martiall Law; That it hath been put in constant practice with ‘former Deputies; That had the Sentence been given unjustly by him, the Crime ‘could amount but to Felony at the most, for which he hoped he might as well expect ‘pardon from his Majesty, as the Lord Conway, and Sir Jacob Astly had, for doing the ‘like in the late Northern Army. That he neither gave Sentence, nor procured it C ‘against the Lord Mount Norris, but only desired Justice against the Lord for some ‘Affront done to him, as he was Deputy of Ireland. That he the said Lord was ‘judged by a Councell of War, wherein he sate bare all the time, and gave no suffrage against him: That also to evidence himself a party, he caused his Brother Sir ‘George Wentworth, in regard of the meerny of Blood, to decline all acting in the ‘process. Lastly, Though the Lord Mount Norris justly deserved to die, yet he obtained his Pardon from the King.

Sixthly, That he the said Earl of Strafford, without any legall Proceedings, and D upon a Paper-petition of Richard Rolstone, did cause the said Lord Mount Norris to be disseised and put out of possession of his Freehold and Inheritance of his Mannor of Tymore, in the County of Armagh, in the Kingdome of Ireland, the said Lord Mount Norris having been two years before in quiet possession thereof.

‘Reply, That he conceived the Lord Mount Norris was legally divested of his Possessions, there being a Suit long depending in Chancery, and the Plaintiff complaining of delay; he upon the Complainants Petition, called unto him the Master of the E Rolls, Lord Chancellor and Lord chief Justice of the Common-pleas, and upon Proofs in Chancery, Decreed for the Plaintiff: Wherein he said, he did no more than what other Deputies had done before him.

Seventhly, The said Earl of Strafford in the Term of Holy Trinity, in the thirteenth year of his now Majesties Reign, did cause a Case, commonly called, the Case of Tenures, upon defective Titles, to be made and drawn up without any Fury, or Tryall, or other legall Process, and without the consent of Parties, and did then procure the F Judges of the said Realm of Ireland, to deliver their Opinions and Resolutions to that Case, and by colour of such Opinions, did without any legall proceeding, cause Thomas Lord Dillon, a Peer of the said Realm of Ireland, to be put out of possion of divers Lands and Tenements, being his Freehold, in the County of Mago and Roscomer, in the said Kingdome, and divers others of his Majesties Subjects to be also put out of possession, and disseised of their Freehold, by colour of the same Resolution, without legall proceedings, whereby many hundreds of his Majesties Subjects were undone, and their Families utterly ruined.

‘Reply, That the Lord Dillon with others, producing his Patent according to a G ‘Proclamation, on the behalf of his Majesty, the said Patent was questionable, upon which, a Case was drawn, and argued by Councell, and the Judges declared their ‘Opinions: But the Lord Dillon, or any other was not bound thereby, nor put out of their Possessions, but might have traverst the Office; or otherwise have legally proceeded, notwithstanding the said Opinion.

Eighthly,

A Eighthly, That he the sayd Earl of Strafford upon a Petition exhibit^d in October, 1635. by Thomas Hibbors against Dame Mary Hibbors Widow, to him the sayd Earl of Strafford, recommended the sayd Petition to the Councell-table of Ireland, where the most part of the Councell gave their Vote and Opinion for the sayd Lady, but the sayd Earl finding fault hitherto, caused an Order to be entred against the sayd Lady, and threatned her, That if she refused to submit thereunto, he would Imprison her, and Fine her five hundred pounds. That if she continued obstinate, he would continue her Imprisonment, and double her Fine every Month by Month, whereon she was enforced
B to relinquish her Estate in the Land questioned in the sayd Petition, which shortly was conveyed to Sir Robert Meredith, to the use of the said Earl of Strafford. And the sayd Earl in like manner did Imprison divers others of his Majesties Subjects, upon pretence of disobedience to his Orders and Decrees, and other illegall Commands by him made for pretended Debts, Titles of Land, and other Causes, in an arbitrary and extrajudiciall course, upon Paper-petitions to him preferred, and no other cause legally depending.

‘Reply, That true it is, he had Voted against the Lady Hibbors, and he had reason so to do, the sayd Lady being discovered, by Fraud and Circumvention, to
C ‘have bargained for Lands of a great value, for a small summe: And he denied that the sayd Lands were after sold to his use, or that the major part of the Councell board Voted for the Lady, the contrary appearing by the Sentence under the hand of the Clerk of the Councell, which being true, he might well threaten her with Commitment, in case she disobeyed the sayd Order. Lastly, Were it true, that he were
‘Criminall therein, yet were the Offence but a Misdemeanour, no Treason.

D Ninthly, That he the said Earl of Strafford, the sixteenth day of February, in the year of his now Majesties Reign, assuming to himself a power above and against Law, took upon him by a generall Warrant under his hand, to give power to the Lord Bishop of Down, and Conner his Chancellor, or Chancellors, and to their severall Officers there to be appointed, to Attach and Arrest the Bodies of all such of the meaner and poorer sort, who after citation should either refuse to appear before them, or appearing, should omit, or deny to perform, or unaergo all lawfull Decrees, Sentences, and Orders issued, imposed, or given out against them, and them to commit and keep in the next Goal, until they should either perform such Sentences, or put in sufficient Bail, to shew some reason before
E the Councell-Table of such their contempt and neglect: And the said Earl, the day and year last mentioned, signed and issued a Warrant to that effect, and made the like Warrant to send all other Bishops and their Chancellors in the said Realm of Ireland, to the same effect.

‘Reply, That such Writs had been usually granted by former Deputies to Bishops
‘in Ireland, nevertheless, being not fully satisfied with the convenience thereof, he
‘was sparing in granting of them, untill being informed, that divers in the Diocess of
‘Down, were somewhat refractory; he granted Warrants to that Bishop, and hear-
F ing of some Disorders in the Execution, he called them in again.

Tenthly, That the said Earl of Strafford being Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy of Ireland, procured the Customes of the Merchandize exported out, and imported into that Realm, to be Farmed to his own use. And in the ninth year of his now Majesties Reign, he having then Interest in the said Customes (to advance his own Gain and Lucre) did cause and procure the Native Commodities of Ireland, to be rated in the Book of Rates for the Customes (according to which the Customes were usually gathered) at far greater value and prizes, then in truth they were worth; (that is to say)
G Every Hide at twenty shillings, which in truth was worth but five; every Stone of Wooll at thirteen shillings four pence, though the same ordinarily were worth but five shillings, at the utmost but nine shillings; by which means, the Custome which before was but a twentieth part of the true value of the Commodity, was enhanced sometimes to a fifth part, and sometimes to a fourth, sometimes to a third part of the true value, to the great oppression of the Subjects, and delay of Merchandize.

Reply, That his Interests in the Customes of Ireland, accrued to him by the Assignment of a Lease from the Dutcheſs of Buckingham; That the Book of Rates by which the Customes were gathered, was the ſame which was eſtabliſhed by the Lord Deputy Faulkland, in 1628. ſome years before he was imployed thither. That as he hath been juſt and faithfull to his Maſter the King, by encreaſing his Revenue, ſo hath he alſo much bettered the Trade and Shipping.

Eleventhly, That he the ſaid Earl in the ninth year of his now Maſtieſties Reign, did by his own will and pleaſure, and for his own lucre, reſtrain the exportation of the Commodities of that Kingdome without his licence, as namely, Pipe-ſtaves, and other Commodities, and then raiſed great ſumms of mony for licencing of Exportation of thoſe Commodities, and diſpenſation of the ſaid Reſtraints impoſed on them, by which means, the Pipe-ſtaves were raiſed from four pounds ten ſhillings, or five pounds per thouſand, to ten pounds, and ſometimes eleven pounds per thouſand; and other Commodities were enhanced in the like proportion, and by the ſame means, by him the ſaid Earl.

Reply, That the Pipe-ſtaves were prohibited in King James's time, and not exported but by licence, paying ſix ſhillings eight pence a thouſand, and that he had not raiſed ſo much thereby to himſelf, as his Predeceſſors had done for ſuch Licences.

Twelfthly, That the ſaid Earl being Lord Deputy of Ireland, on the ninth day of January, in the thirteenth year of his Maſtieſties Reign, did then under colour to regulate the Importation of Tobacco in the ſaid Realm of Ireland, iſſue a Proclamation in his Maſtieſties Name, prohibiting the Importation of Tobacco without licence of him and the Councell there, from and after the firſt day of March, An. Dom. 1638. After which Reſtraint, the ſaid Earl, notwithstanding the ſaid Reſtraint cauſed divers great quantities of Tobacco to be imported to his own uſe; and that if any Ship brought Tobacco into any Port there, the ſaid Earl and his Agents uſed to buy the ſame to his own uſe, at their own price, and if the Owners reſuſed to let them have the ſame at under values, then they were not permitted to vent the ſame: by which undue means the ſaid Earl having gotten the whole Trade of Tobacco into his own hands, he ſold it at great and exceſſive prizes, ſuch as he liſt to impoſe for his own profit.

And the more to aſſure the ſaid Monopoly of Tobacco, he the ſaid Earl, on the twenty third day of February, in the thirteenth year aforeſaid, did iſſue another Proclamation; Commanding that none ſhould put to ſale any Tobacco by whole-ſale, from and after the laſt day of May then next following, but what ſhould be made up into Rolls, and the ſame ſealed with two Seals by himſelf appointed, one at each end of the Roll: And ſuch as was not ſealed, to be ſeiſed, and appointed ſix pence the pound for a Reward to ſuch perſons as ſhould ſeiſe the ſame; and the perſons in whoſe Cuſtody the unſealed Tobacco ſhould be found, to be committed to Goal, which laſt Proclamation was covered by a pretence of the reſtraining of the Sale of unwholſome Tobacco, but it was truly to advance the ſaid Monopoly: Which Proclamation the ſaid Earl did rigorouſly put in execution, by ſeiſing the Goods, Fining, Imprifoning, Whipping, and putting the Offenders againſt the ſame Proclamation on the Pillory; as namely, Barnaby Hubbard, Edward Coven, John Tumen, and divers others; and made the Officers of State, and Juſtices of Peace, and other Officers to ſerve him, in compaſſing and executing theſe unjuſt and undue Courſes. By which Cruelties and unjuſt Monopolies, the ſaid Earl raiſed 100000 l. per annum Gain to himſelf: And yet the ſaid Earl though he enhanced the Customes, where it concerned the Merchants in generall, yet drew down the Impoſt formerly taken on Tobacco, from ſix pence the pound, to three pence the pound, it being for his own profit ſo to do. And the ſaid Earl by the ſame, and other rigorous and undue means, raiſed ſeverall other Monopolies and unlawfull Exactions for his own Gain; Viz. On Starch, Iron, Pots, Glaſſes, Tobacco-pipes, and ſeverall other Commodities.

Reply, That before his time the King had but 10, or 20 l. per annum, for that Cuſtome, which now yeildeth 20000 l. for the Proclamation, it was not ſet out by his means principally, or for his private Benefit, but by conſent of the whole Councell. And this he conceives cannot be made Treason, were all the Articles granted, but only a Monopoly, for which he was to be Fined.

Thirteenthly,

A Thirteenthly, That Flax being one of the principall and Native Commodities of that Kingdome of Ireland, the sayd Earl having got great quantities thereof into his hands, and growing on his own Lands, did issue out severall Proclamations; Viz. One dated the one and twentieth day of May, in the eleventh year of his Majesties Reign, and the other dated the one and twentieth day of January in the same year, thereby prescribing and enjoyning the working of Flax into Yarn and Thread, and the ordering of the same in such wayes, wherein the Natives of that Kingdome were unpractised and unskilfull. Which Proclamations so issued, were by his Commands and Warrants to his Majesties Justices of the Peace, and other Officers, and by other rigorous means put in execution, B and the Flax wrought and ordered in other manner then as the sayd Proclamation prescribed, was seised and employed to the use of him and his Agents. And thereby the sayd Earl endeavoured to again, and did gain in effect the sole sale of that Native Commodity.

* Reply, That he did endeavour to advance the Manufacture of Linnen, rather than of Woollen, because the last would be the greater Detriment to England. That the Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor Loftus, and the Lord Mount Norris, all of the Councell, and Subscribers of the Proclamation were C as lyable to the Charge as himself. That the reducing of that Nation, by Orders of the Councel board, to the English Customes, from their Savage Usages, as drawing Horses by their Tayles, &c. had been of former practice. That the Project was of so ill Avail to him, as he was the worse for the Manufacture thirty thousand pounds at least, by the Loom he had set up at his own Charge.

The Fourteenth Article was not urged.

D Fifteenthly, That he the sayd Earl of Strafford trayterously and wickedly devised and contrived by force of Armes, in a War-like manner, to subdue the Subjects of the sayd Realm of Ireland, to bring them under his tyrannicall Power and Will, and in pursuance of his wicked and trayterous purposes aforesayd, the sayd Earl of Strafford in the eighth year of his Majesties Reign, did by his own Authority, without any Warrant, or colour of Law, Tax and Impose great Sums of money, upon the Towns of Baltemore, Bandenbridge, Talow, and divers other Towns and Places in the sayd Realm of Ireland, and did cause the same to be levied upon the Inhabitants of those Towns, by Troops of Soldiers with force and Armes, in a War-like manner. And on the ninth day of March, in the twelfth year of his now Majesties Reign, trayterously E did give Authority unto Robert Savill a Serjeant at Armes, and to the Captains of the Companies of Soldiers, in severall parts of that Realm, to send such numbers of Soldiers to lye on the Lands and Houses of such as would not conform to his Orders, untill they should render Obedience unto his sayd Orders and Warrants, and after such Submission (and not before) the sayd Soldiers to return to their Garrisons. And did also issue the like Warrants unto divers others, which Warrants were in War-like manner, with Force and Armes, put in Execution accordingly; and by such War-like means did force divers of his Majesties Subjects of that Realm to submit themselves to his unlawful Commands. And in the sayd twelfth year of his Majesties Reign, the sayd Earl F of Strafford did trayterously cause certain Troops of Horse and Foot Armed in War-like manner, and in War-like Array, with Force and Armes, to expell Richard Butler from the possession of Castle-cumber, in the Territory of Idough, in the sayd Realm of Ireland, and did likewise in like War-like manner, expell divers of his Majesties Subjects, from their Houses, Families, and Possessions; as namely, Edward Brenziman, Owen Oberman, Patrick Oberman, Sir Cyprian Horsfield, and divers others, to the number of about an hundred Families, and took and Imprisoned them and their G Wives, and carried them Prisoners to Dublin, and there detained them, untill they did yeild up, surrender, or release their respective Estates and Rights. And he the sayd Earl in like War-like manner hath, during his Government of the sayd Kingdome of Ireland, subdued divers others of his Majesties Subjects to his Will, and thereby, and by the means aforesayd, hath levied War within the sayd Realm, against his Majesty and his Liege-people of that Kingdome.

Testified, Serjeant Sanil.

* Reply,

‘*Reply*, That nothing hath been more ordinary in *Ireland*, then for the Governours ^A
 ‘to put all manner of Sentences in execution by the help of Soldiers; that *Grandison*,
 ‘*Falkland*, *Chichester*, and other Deputies frequently did it: (*Sir Arthur Teningham*
 ‘to this Point deposed, That in *Falkland*’s time he knew twenty Soldiers assailed upon
 ‘one man, for refusing to pay sixteen shillings;) That his Instructions for executing
 ‘his Commission, were the same with those formerly given to the Lord *Falkland*, and
 ‘that in both there is expresse Warrant for it. That no Testimony produced against
 ‘him, doth evidently prove he gave any Warrant to that effect, and that Serjeant
 ‘*Savil* shewed only a Copy of a Warrant, not the Originall it self, which he con- ^B
 ‘ceived could not make Faith in case of Life and Death, in that High-Courr, espe-
 ‘cially it being not averred upon Oath to agree with the Originall, which should be
 ‘upon Record. That he conceived; he was for an *Irish* Custome to be tryed by the
 ‘Peers of that Kingdome.

Sixteenthly, That he the sayd Earl of Strafford, the two and twentieth of Fe-
 bruary, in the seventh year of his now Majesties Reign, intending to oppress the sayd
 Subjects of *Ireland*, did make a Proposition, and obtained from his Majesty an Al-
 lowance; That no Complaint of Injustice, or Oppression done in *Ireland*, should be ^C
 received into England against any, unless it first appeared, that the Party made first his
 Addresses to him the sayd Earl: And the sayd Earl having by such usurped tyrannicall
 and exorbitant Power, expressed in the former Articles, destroyed the Peers, and other
 Subjects of that Kingdome of *Ireland*, in their Lives, Consciences, Lands, Liberties,
 and Estates; the sayd Earl to the intent the better to maintain and strengthen his Power,
 and to bring the People into disaffection of his Majesty as aforesayd, did use his Majesties
 Name in the Execution of his sayd Power. And to prevent the Subjects of that Realm
 of all means of Complaints to his Majesty, and of Redress against him and his Agents,
 did issue a Proclamation, bearing date the 17 day of September, in the eleventh year ^D
 of his Majesties Reign; thereby commanding all the Nobility, Undertakers, and others,
 who held Estates and Offices in the sayd Kingdome (except such as were employed in his
 Majesties Service, or attending in England by his speciall Command) to make their
 personall Residence in the sayd Kingdome of *Ireland*, and not to depart thence without
 Licence of himself. And the sayd Earl hath since issued other Proclamations to the same
 purpose; by means whereof the sayd Subjects of the sayd Realm are restrained from
 seeking Relief against the Oppressions of the sayd Earl, without his Licence; which
 Proclamation the sayd Earl hath by severall rigorous wayes, as by Fine, Imprisonment, ^E
 and otherwise, put in Execution on his Majesties Subjects; as namely, one Parry,
 and others, who came over only to complain of the Exorbitancies and Oppressions of the
 sayd Earl.

Testified by the Earl of Desmond, the Lord Roch, Marcattee, and
 Parry.

‘*Reply*, That the Deputy *Falkland* had set out the same Proclamation; That the
 ‘same Restraint was contained in the Statute of 25 of *Henry 6.* upon which the Pro- ^F
 ‘clamation was founded. That he had the Kings expresse Warrant for the Procla-
 ‘mation. That he had also power to do it by the Commission granted him, and that
 ‘the Lords of the Councell, and their Justices, not only yielded, but pressed him
 ‘unto it. That it was done upon just Cause, for had the Ports been open, divers
 ‘would have taken liberty to go to *Spain*, *Doway*, *Reimes*, or *St. Omers*, which
 ‘might have proved of mischievous Consequence to the State, That the Earl of
 ‘*Desmond* stood at the time of his Restraint, charged with Treason before the
 ‘Councell of *Ireland*, for practising against the Life of one *Sir Valentine Coke*. That
 ‘the Lord *Roch* was then a Prisoner for Debt in the Castle of *Dublin*, and therefore
 ‘incapable of a Licence. That *Parry* was not Fined for coming without Licence, but ^G
 ‘for severall Contempts against the Councell-board in *Ireland*, and that in his
 ‘Sentence he had but onely a Casting Voyce, as the Lord-Keeper in the *Star-*
 ‘*Chamber*.

The seventeenth and eighteenth Articles were not insisted on.

Nineteenthly,

A Ninetcenthly, That the said Earl having Taxed and Levied the said Impositions, and raised the said Monopolies, and committed the said Oppressions in his Majesties Name, and as by his Majesties Royall Command, he the said Earl, in May, the fiftenth year of his Majesties Reign, did of his own Authority contrive and frame a new and unnsuall Oath, by the Purport whereof, among many other things, the Party taking the said Oath, was to Swear, That he would not Protest against any of his Majesties Royall Commands, but submit themselves in all Obedience thereunto. Which Oath he so contrived; to enforce the same on the Subjects of the Scottish Nation inhabiting in Ireland, and out of a hatred to the said Nation, and to put them to a Discontent with his Majesty and his Government there, and compelled divers of his Majesties said Subjects there to take the said Oath, some he grievously Fined and Imprisoned, and others he destroyed, and Exiled; and namely, the tenth of October, An. Dom. 1639. he Fined Henry Steward and his Wife, who refused to take the said Oath, five thousand pounds apeece, and their two Daughters, and James Gray three thousand pounds apeece, and Imprisoned them for not paying the said Fines. The said Henry Steward, Wife, and Daughters, and James Gray, being the Kings Luge-people of the Scottish Nation, and divers others he used in the like manner. And the said Earl upon that Occasion did Declare, That the said Oath did not only oblige them in point of Allegiance to his Majesty, and acknowledgment of his Supremacy only, but to the Cerimonies and Government of the Church established, or to be established by his Majesties Royall Authority; and said, That the Refusers to obey, he would prosecute to the Blood.

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* Reply, That the Oath was not violently enjoined by him upon the Irish Scots; but framed in compliance with their own exprels Petition, which Petition is owned in the Proclamation as the main Impulsive to it. That the same Oath not long after was prescribed by the Councell of England. That he had a Letter under his Majesties own-hand, ordering it to be prescribed as a Touch-stone of their Fidelity. As to the greatness of the Fine imposed upon Steward, and others, he conceived it was not more then the hainousness of their Offence deserved; yet had they Petitioned, and submitted the next day, that would wholly have been remitted.

D

Twentiethly, That the said Earl in the fiftenth and sixteenth years of his Majesties Reign, and divers years past, laboured and endeavoured to beget in his Majesty an ill Opinion of his Subjects, namely those of the Scottish Nation; and divers and sundry times, and especially since the Pacification made by his Majesty with his said Subjects of Scotland in Summer, in the fiftenth year of his Majesties Reign; he the said Earl did labour and endeavour to perswade, incite, and provoke his Majesty to an Offensive War, against his said Subjects of the Scottish Nation. And the said Earl by his Counsel, Actions, and Endeavours hath been, and is a chief Incendiary of the War and Discord between his Majesty and his Subjects of England, and the said Subjects of Scotland; and hath declared, and advised his Majesty, that the Demand made by the Scots in this Parliament, were a sufficient cause of War against them. The said Earl having formerly expressed the height and rancour of his Mind towards his Subjects of the Scottish Nation; Viz. The tenth day of October, in the fiftenth year of his Majesties Reign, he said, That the Nation of the Scots were Rebels and Traytors; and he being then about to come into England, he then further said, That if it pleased his Master (meaning his Majesty) to send him back again, he would root out of the said Kingdome (meaning the Kingdome of Ireland) the Scottish Nation both Root and Branch. Some Lords, and others who had taken the said Oath in the precedent Article only excepted. And the said Earl hath caused divers of the said Ships and Goods of the Scots to be stayed, seised, and molested, to the intent to set on the said War.

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* Reply, That he called all the Scottish Nation Traytors, and Rebels, no one proof is produced, and though he is hasty in Speech, yet was he never so defective of his Reason, as to speak so like a mad man; for he knew well his Majesty was a Native of that Kingdome, and was confident many of that Nation were of as Heroick Spirits, and as faithfull and loyall Subjects as any the King had. As to the other words of rooting out the Scots Root and Branch, he conceives a short Reply may serve, they being proved by a single Testimony only, which can make no sufficient Faith in cause

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of

of Life. Again, the Witness was very much mistaken, if not worse, for he deposeth A
that these words were spoken the tenth day of October in Ireland, whereas he was able
to evidence, he was at that time in England, and had been so near a Month before.

The One and Twentieth and Two and Twentieth Articles were not urged.

Three and twentiethly, *That upon the 13 day of April last, the Parliament of England met, and the Commons House (then being the Representative Body of all the Commons in the Kingdome) did according to the Trust reposed in them, enter into Debate and Consideration of the great Grievances of this Kingdome, both in respect of Religion, and the publick Liberties of the Kingdome: and his Majesty referring chiefly to the said Earl of Strafford, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the ordering and disposing of all Matters concerning the Parliament; He the said Earl of Strafford, with the Assistance of the said Archbishop, did procure his Majesty, by sundry Speeches and Messages, to urge the said Commons House, to enter into some Resolution for his Majesties supply for Maintenance of his War against his Subjects of Scotland, before any course was taken for the relief of the great and pressing Grievances, wherewith this Kingdome was then afflicted; Whereupon, a Demand was then made from his Majesty of twelve Subsidies, for the release of Ship-money only: And while the said Commons then Assembled (with expression of great Affection to his Majesty, and to his Service) were in Debate and Consideration of some Supply, before Resolution by them made: He the said Earl of Strafford, with the help and assistance of the said Archbishop, did procure his Majesty to dissolve the last Parliament, upon the fifth day of May last, and upon the same day, he the said Earl of Strafford did treacherously, falsely, and maliciously endeavour to incense his Majesty against his loving and faithfull Subjects, who had been Members of the House of Commons, by telling his Majesty they had denied to supply him. And afterward upon the same, did treacherously and wickedly Counsell and Advise his Majesty to this effect; Viz. That having tryed the Affections of his People, he was loose and absolved from all Rules of Government, and was to do every thing that Power would admit; and that his Majesty had tryed all wayes and was refused, and should be acquitted both of God and Man; and that he had an Army in Ireland (meaning the Army above mentioned, consisting of Papists, his Dependents, as is aforesaid) which he might employ to reduce this Kingdome to Obedience.*

Reply, That he was not the principall Cause of Dissolving the last Parliament, for before he came to the Council-table, it was Voted by the Lords to demand Twelve Subsidies, and that Sir Henry Vane was ordered to demand no less; but he coming in the Interim, he perswads the Lords to Vote it again, Declaring to his Majesty (then present) and them, the danger of the Breach of Parliament: Whereupon it was again Voted, That if the Parliament would not grant Twelve Subsidies, Sir Henry would descend to Eight, and rather then fail to Six. But Sir Henry not observing his Instructions, demanded Twelve only, without abatement, or going lower; that the height of this Demand, urged the Parliament to deny, and their Deniall moved his Majesty to dissolve the Parliament; so that the chief occasion of the Breach thereof was, as he conceived, Sir Henry Vane. He confesseth that at the Council-table he advised the King to an offensive War against the Scots; but it was not untill all faire means to prevent a War had been first attempted. Again, Others were as much for a Defensive War, and it might be as free to Vote one; or the other. Lastly, Votes at a Council-board are but bare Opinions, and Opinions if pertinaciously maintained, may make an Heretick; but never can a Traytor. And to Sir Henry Vane's Deposition, he sayd, It was only a single Testimony, and contradicted by four Lords of the Junto Tables Depositions; Viz. The Earl of Northumberland, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Bishop of London, and Lord Cottingham, who all affirmed, That there was no question made of this Kingdome, which was then in Obedience, but of Scotland that was in Rebellion: And Sir Henry Vane being twice examined upon Oath, could not remember, whether he sayd this, or that Kingdome; and the Notes after offered for more proof, were but the same thing, and added nothing to the Evidence to make it a double Testimony, or to make a privy Councillors Opinion in a Debate at Council, High-treason.

The Four and twentieth Article was not urged.

A Five and twentiethly, *That not long after the Dissolution of the last Parliament (Viz. In the Months of May, and June) he the said Earl of Strafford did advise the King to go on rigorously in levying of the Ship-money, and did procure the Sheriffs of severall Counties to be sent for, for not levying the Ship-money, divers of which were threatned by him to be sued in the Star-chamber, and afterwards by his Advice were sued in the Star-chamber for not levying the same; and divers of his Majesties loving Subjects were sent for, and Imprisoned by his Advice, about that and other illegall Payments. And a great Loan of an hundred thousand pounds was demanded of the City of London: and the Lord*
 B *Mayor, and the Aldermen, and the Sheriffs of the said City, were often sent for by his Advice to the Council-table, to give an Account of their Proceedings, in raising of Ship-money, and furthering of that Loan, and were required to certifie the Names of such Inhabitants of the said City as were fit to lend, which they with much Humility refusing to do, he the said Earl of Strafford did use these, or the like Speeches; Viz. That they deserved to be put to Fine and Ransome, and that no good would be done with them, till an Example were made of them, and that they were layd by the Heels, and some of the Aldermen were hanged up.*

C *Reply, That there was a present Necessity for money, that all the Council-board had Voted with, yea, before him. That there was then a Sentence in Star-chamber upon the Opinion of all the Judges, for the Legality of the Tax of Ship-money, and he thought he might advise the King to take what the Judges had declared was by Law his own. He confessed that upon refusall of so just a Service, the better to quicken the Citizens to the payment of Ship-money, he sayd, They deserved to be Fined; which Words might perhaps be incircumspectly delivered, but (conceives) cannot amount to Treason, especially when no ill consequence followed upon them: and it would render men in a sad Condition, if for every hasty Word, or Opinion given in*
 D *Councell, they should be sentenced as Traytors. But that he sayd, It were well for the Kings Service, if some of the Aldermen were hanged up, he utterly denieth. Nor is it proved by any, but Alderman Garway, who is at best but a single Testimony, and therefore no sufficient Evidence in case of Life.*

Six and twentiethly, That he the said Earl of Strafford, by his wicked Counsell having brought his Majesty into excessive Charges, without any just Cause; he did in the Month of July last (for the support of the said great Charges) Counsell and Approve two dangerous and wicked Projects; Viz. To seise upon the Bullion, and the Money in the Mint: And to imbase his Majesties Coyn with the Mixtures of Brass. And accordingly he procured 130000 l. which was then in the Mint, and belonging to divers Merchants, Strangers, and Others, to be seised on, and stayed to his Majesties Use. And when divers Merchants of London, Owners of the said Bullion, came to his House to let him understand the great Mischief that Course would produce here, and in other Parts, what Prejudice it would be to the Kingdome by discrediting the Mint, and hindring the Importation of Bullion: He the said Earl told them, That the City of London dealt undutifully and unthankfully with
 F *his Majesty, and that they were more ready to help the Rebels then to help his Majesty, and that if any Hurt came to them, they might thank themselves, and that it was the Course of other Princes to make use of such Moneys to serve their Occasions. And when in the same Month of July, the Officers of his Majesties Mint came to him, and gave him divers Reasons against the Imbasing of the said Money; he told them, That the French King did use to send Commissaries of Horse, with Commission to search into mens Estates, and to peruse their Accounts, that so they may know what to levy of them by force, which they did accordingly levy; And turning to the Lord Cottington then present, sayd; That this was a Point worthy his Lordships Consideration.*

G *Reply, That he expected some Proofs to Evidence the two first Particulars, but hears of none. For the following Words he confessed, probably they might escape the Door of his Lips; Nor did he think it much amiss, considering their present posture, to call that Faction Rebels. As for the last words objected against him in that Article, he sayd, That being in Conference with some of the Londoners, there came to his Hands at that instant a Letter from the Earl of Leicester, then in Paris, wherein were the Gazets enclosed, relating that the Cardinall had given order to levy money by Soldiers; this he only told the Lord Cottington standing by, but made not the least Application thereof to the English Affairs.* Seven

Seven and twentiethly, *That in, or about the Month of August last, he was made A* Lieutenant-Generall of all his Majesties Forces in the Northern parts against the Scots, and being at York, did in the Month of September, by his own Authority, and without any lawfull Warrant, impose a Tax on his Majesties Subjects in the County of York, of 8 d. per diem, for maintenance of every Soldier of the Trained Bands of that County; which Summs of Money he caused to be levied by force; And to the end to compell his Majesties Subjects out of Fear and Terrour, to yeild to the Payment of the same: He did declare that he would Commit them that refused the Payment thereof, and the Soldiers should be satisfied out of their Estates, and they that refused it, were in very little better Condition then of High-treason. B

‘Reply, That at his Majesties coming to York, it was thought necessary, in regard the Enemy was upon the Borders, to keep the Trained Bands on foot for Defence of the County, and therefore the King directed him to write to the Freeholders in *Yorkshire* to Declare, what they would do for their own Defence; That they freely offered a Months Pay, nor did any man grudge against it. Again, It was twice propounded to the Great Councell of Peers at York, that the King approved it as a just and necessary Act, and none of the Councell contradicted it, which he conceived seemed a Tacite C Allowance of it. That though his Majesty had not given him speciall Order therein, nor the Gentry had desired it, yet he conceived he had Power enough to impose that Tax, by vertue of his Commission. But he never sayd, that the Refusers should be guilty of little less then High-treason; which being proved by Sir William Ingram, he was but a single Testimony, and one who had formerly mistaken himself in what he had deposed.

Eight and twentiethly, *That in the Months of September, and October last, he the said Earl of Strafford being certified of the Scottish Army coming into the Kingdom: And he the said Earl of Strafford, being Lieutenant of his Majesties Army, did not provide for D the Defence of the Town of Newcastle, as he ought to have done, but suffered the same to be lost, that so he might the more incense the English against the Scots; And for the same wicked purpose, and out of a malicious Desire to engage the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, in a Nationall and bloody War; He did write to the Lord Conway the Generall of the Horse, and under the said Earls Command, that he should fight with the Scottish Army, at the passage over the Tync, whatsoever should follow; notwithstanding that the Lord Conway had formerly by Letters informed him the said Earl, that his Majesties Army then under his Command, was not of force sufficient to encounter the Scots, by E which Advice of his, he did contrary to the Duty of his Place betray his Majesties Army then under his Command, to apparent Danger and Loss.*

‘Reply, That he admired how in the third Article he being charged as an Incendiary against the Scots, is now in this Article made their Confederate, by betraying Newcastle into their hands. But to answer more particularly, he sayd, That there was at Newcastle the 24 of August, ten, or twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, under the Command of the Lord Conway, and Sir Jacob Ashly, and that Sir Jacob had written to him concerning the Town of Newcastle, that it was Fortified, which also F was under his particular Care, and for the passage over the River of Tine, his Majesty sent speciall Directions to the Lord Conway, to secure it; and therefore that Lord is more (as he conceives) responsible for that Miscarriage then himself.

The Testimony of the Parliament of Ireland, produced against the Earl of Strafford.

THE Commons were resolved to prosecute him to the utmost, and therefore had procured the Parliament of Ireland to prosecute him there also, guilty of High-treason, which being unexpectedly produced to the Earl, extorted from him this passionate Expression; *That there was a Conspiracy against him to take away his life:* Whereupon the Commons cryed out against him as one who standing Impeached of High-treason, durst accuse the Parliament of two Kingdomes G of Conspiracy against him; and besides his great Charge, three other Articles were put to him.

‘First, That he had withdrawn four and twenty thousand pounds, and more, from the Exchequer in Ireland, and converted them to his own Use.

‘Secondly, That in the beginning of his Government, the Garrisons of Ireland had been maintained by the English Treasury.

Thirdly,

A 'Thirdly, That he had advanced Popish and Infamous Persons; as the Bishop of Waterford, and others, to the prime Rooms in the Church of Ireland.

The other Articles against him, with his Answers.

To which he gave these Answers:

First, That England was indebted to Ireland so much, which he took up upon his own Credit, and paid it in again, producing the Kings Authority and Letter for the same.

Secondly, That the Garisons had been formerly burthensome to England, which he so found, and had so improved the Kings Revenues there, that they were not burthensome B at all.

Thirdly, That he never preferred any, but whom he conceived Conscientious and honest, not being able to Prophesie of mens future Conditions: And as for the Bishop of Waterford, he had satisfied the Law.

But besides all these, Secretary Vane had Communicated to the House of Commons the Transactions of the Earl, at what time the King made up a Junto of select Counsellors, to consult about his second Expedition against the Scots; where it was proved, That Strafford had then given the King Advice, to borrow of the City an hundred thousand pounds, to levy Ship-money rigorously, and that his Majesty C having tryed the Affections of his People, was absolved and loosed from all Rules of Government, and might do, what Power would admit; and having an Army in Ireland might employ it for the reducing of [This] Kingdome, which he was sure could not hold out five Months; and London being full of the Nobility, the Commission of Array to be put on foot, and Opposers thereof too smart for it.

His Reply to Secretary Vane's Accusation.

The Earl replied, That he conceived it lawfull for a Privie Councillor to have freedom of Voting with others. and as to the matter of the Irish Army, he thought that the single Testimony of one man (Secretary Vane) was not of Validity in Law in a D Cause of Debt, much less in Life and Death, and that the Deposition of Secretary Vane was dubious, as appeared at his severall Examinations, and that there were present at the Debate but eight privy Councillors, whereof two were not to be produced and four others Declared upon their Honours, that they never heard him speak those words, or any like them. And lastly, That if he had spoken them (which he yet granted not) that the word (THIS) could not imply England (the Debate being concerning Scotland) and there being not the least Intention of Landing the Irish Army in England. And lastly, Concluded his Defence, with telling the Lords that he was accused as guilty of Treason, for endeavouring to subvert the Fundamentall Laws of the

E Land, but it seemed strange to him that this should be Treason together, which was not Treason in any part. And lastly, Desired the Lords to consider how their own Priviledges, and other Ministers of State would suffer by his Condemnation. The Commons must now justify their Charge by Law, to which end they produce the Salvo annexed to the Statute of 25 of Edward the Third, the words were these; Because all particular Treasons could not be then defined, therefore what the Parliament should declare to be Treason in time to come should be punished as Treason: And so this

F Salvo was to be the Ground-work of the Bill of Attainder. The Earl being put upon a Point of Law, moved for Counsel, which after three dayes Canvassing, was granted to him; And April the 17. the Earl by his Counsel (which were Mr. Lane the Princes Attorney, Mr. Gardiner Recorder of London, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Lightfoot) answered, That the Statute which they cited was but a Declarative and a penall Law, and would neither-wise admit of such Consequential and Inferentiall Constructions: And that the Salvo was Repealed by Act of Parliament, in the sixth of Henry the Fourth; And so the Court Adjourned, without prefixing any time of meeting: for the Commons fell to speeding their Bill of Attainder, and April the 19. Voted the Earl guilty of G High-treason upon Evidence of Secretary Vane and his Notes; And upon the 25 day of the same Month, they read the Bill engrossed, and after that went to the Poll, and carried it that way, notwithstanding the discenting of the Lord Digby, and divers others; and that very Afternoon transmitted the Bill to the Lords, to whom it seemed so perplex a Business, that the Commons were faine to send Mr. St. John the Kings Solicitor to confer with them about it, who gave them such satisfaction, that thence forward they shewed greater Propensity to the Earls Condemnation.

He hath Councill assigned him.

The Commons pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford. And send up to the Lords for their Concurrence.

In the mean time the Commons Petitioned the King;

The Commons Petition
against Papists
with the Kings
Answer,

- 'First, For removing of all Papists from Court.
- 'Secondly, For disarming of them generally throughout the Kingdome.
- 'Thirdly, For disbanding the *Irish* Army.
- 'The Kings Answer was;

First, They all knew what Legall Trust the Crown bath in that particular, therefore he shall not need to say any thing to assure them that he shall use it so, as there shall be no just Cause of Scandall.

Secondly, He is content it shall be done by Law.

Thirdly, And for the last, He had entred into Consultation about it, finding many difficulties therein; and doth so wish the disbanding of all Armies, as he did Conjure them speedily and heartily to joyne with him in disbanding those two here, Scots, and English.

It will not be amiss here, to set down a Copy of the Bill of *Attainder*, which was read in presence of the Earl at the Bar.

The Copy of
the Bill of At-
tainder.

W Hereas the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of the *House of Commons* in this present *Parliament* Assembled, have in the Name of Themselves, and of all the *Commons of England*, Impeached *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, of High-treason, for endeavouring to subvert the ancient Fundamentall Laws and Government of his Majesties Realms of *England*, and *Ireland*; and to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannicall Government against Law, in the sayd Kingdomes; and for exercising a tyrannous and exorbitant Power over, and against the Laws of the sayd Kingdomes, over the Liberties, Estates, and Laws of his Majesties Subjects: And likewise for having by his own Authority, Commanded the laying and Assessing of Soldiers upon his Majesties Subjects in *Ireland*, against their Consent, to compell them to obey his unlawfull Commands and Orders, made upon Paper petitions, in Causes between Party and Party, which accordingly was Executed upon divers of his Majesties Subjects in a War-like manner, within the sayd Realm of *Ireland*; and in so doing, did levy War against the Kings Majesty, and his Liege-people in that Kingdome.

And also for that he upon the unhappy Dissolution of the last *Parliament*, did slander the *House of Commons* to his Majesty, and did Counsell and Advise his Majesty, that he was loosed and absolved from Rules of Government, and that he had an Army in *Ireland*, which he might imploy to reduce this Kingdome; For which he deserves to undergo the Pains and Forfeitures of High-treason.

And the sayd Earl had been also an Incendiary of the Wars between the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*: All which Offences have been sufficiently proved against the sayd Earl upon his Impeachment.

Be it therefore Enacted by the Kings most Excellent Majesty, and by the Lords and Commons in this present *Parliament* Assembled, and by Authority of the same, That the sayd Earl of *Strafford*, for the hainous Crimes and Offences aforesaid, stand and be Adjudged and Attainted of High-treason, and shall suffer such pain of Death, and incur the Forfeitures of his Goods and Chattels, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, and Estate of Freehold, or Inheritance in the sayd Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, which the sayd Earl, or any other to his Use or in Trust for him, have, or had at the day of the first sitting of this present *Parliament*, or at any time since.

Provided, That no Judge, or Judges, Justice, or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge, or interpret any Act, or Thing to be Treason, nor hear, nor determine any Treason, nor in any other manner then he, or they should, or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been had or made, preserving always unto all and singular Persons and Bodies Politick and Corporal, their Heirs and Successors (others then the said Earl and his Heirs, and such as claim by, from, or under him) all such Right, Title, and Interest, of, in, and to all and singular such of the sayd Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, as He, They, or any of Them had, before the first day of this present *Parliament*, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

'Provided,

A ' Provided that the passing of this present Act, and his Majesties assent thereunto, shall not be any determination of this present Sessions of Parliament, and all Bills and Matters whatsoever depending in Parliament, and not fully Enacted and determined, And all Statutes and Acts of Parliament, which have their continuance untill the end of this present Session of Parliament shall remaine, continue, and be in force, as if this Act had not been.

B The King fearing the Conclusion, and willing to doe some Good Office to the Lord Lieutenant calls both Houses together, *May* the First, and makes a Speech to them telling them,

That he had been Present at the hearing of that great Cause, and that in his Conscience Positively he could not Condemn him of High Treason; And yet could not Cleare him of Misdeamenours, but hoped a Way might be found out to Satisfie Justice and their Fears without Oppressing his Conscience. And so Dismissed them with their great Discontent.

The Kings Speech to both Houses in behalfe of the Earl.

May the Second, the Prince of *Orange* (who had tarried here ever since the Twentieth of *Aprill*) Married the Princess *Mary* at *White-Hall*, with all the Solemnities appertaining to that Ceremony.

The Prince of *Orange* married to the Princess *Mary*.

The Parliament had taken Offence at the Kings last Speech in Defence of the Earl of *Strafford*, And this Distast was now propagated so far that, *May* the Third, the Citizens to the Number of Six Thousand most Armed with Swords, Cudgells and Staves came thronging down to *Westminster*, Crying out for Justice against the Earl of *Strafford*, Specially applying themselves to the Earl of *Montgomery* then Lord Chamberlain, by whose Perswasions and Promises their Heat was somewhat allaid. But yet they posted upon the Gate of *Westminster* a Catalogue of Names of those who would have acquitted the Earl, and these they Styled *Straffordians*.

Petitioners against the Earl of *Strafford* throng to *Westminster*.

The Parliament upon Information given that some Endeavours were used to breed a Disgust of their Proceedings in the *English* Northern Army; Framed and took a Nationall Protestation to Maintain and Defend with Life, Power, and Estate, the true Reformed Protestant Religion; Expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of *England* against all Popery and Popish Innovations; this was ordered to be Printed and Dispersed over all *England*. *May* the Fifth the Lords, certified, the Commons that they thought it the safest Course to lay aside the Bill of Attainder because it brought the King in for Judge; And next day they fell upon the severall Articles of his impeachment, and Voted the Earl Guilty of High Treason upon Two of them; viz. The Fifteenth for levying of Monies in *Ireland* by Force in a Warlike manner; And the Nineteenth for imposing an Oath upon the Subjects in *Ireland*.

The Parliaments Protestation to defend the Protestant Religion.

The House of Commons had been busie about a Bill for the Continuation of the Parliament which by this time was Compleated; and being approved by the Lords, was rendered to the King to be signed together with the Bill of Attainder; who Answered that on Monday following he would satisfie them. Sunday following the King spent the whole day in Consultation about the Earl of *Strafford*'s Case with the Judges, and Bishops. The Judges told him that in point of Law (the Oath made by Sir *Henry Vane* of the Earls Advice, to raise Horse to Awe this Nation,) the Earle was guilty of Treason; but when he would have hid them Descend to the Particulars of this Accusation he found them shy in it, and all that he could get from them was, that upon the whole matter he was Guilty. In the Evening the Five Bishops of *Armagh*, *London*, *Durham*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlisle*, were called in to the King to Satisfie his Conscience about the thing, all which Agreed that the King might shew Mercy without any scruple, and that he could not Condemn the Earl if he did not conceive him Guilty; And this as to Matter of Fact; but as for matter of Law he was to rest in the Opinion of the Judges. At the Close of this Conference it was observed that the Bishop of *Lincoln* conveyed a Paper into the Kings Hands, which what it did containe the rest knew not; but some have Since believed it to be the Paper-promise which the King had formerly pass't under his Hand to the Earl to save him by his Prerogative; for Bishop *Williams* was observed to tamper with the Lieutenant of the Tower and some other Persons about the Earl. That they should tell his Lordship, that the King did believe him Guilty of High Treason, but yet was Bound by his Conscience from condemning him by a Promise made to him, (which indeed the King mainly insisted upon) for the Bishop knew the Earl to be of so high a Spirit as to Disdaine after so many Services done, to hold his Life upon no other Merit then a bare Promise; and thus was *Strafford* drawne both to acquit the King from his Promise by Letter, and to part with the Originall into such Hands as delivered it to his most Dangerous and Closest Enemy, the Bishop of *Lincoln*, by whom delivered to the King.

The King consults with the Judges about the Case of the Earl of *Strafford* as to matter of Law, and with the Bishops as to matter of Conscience.

Munday the Tenth the King authorised the Earl of *Arundell*, the Lord privy Seale, the Lord Chamberlaine and others for the passing of the two Bills, the one for the continuation of the Parliament During the Pleasure of both houses; the other the Bil of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*

The King gives Commission to severall Lords to pass the Bills for continuance of the Parliament and of Attainder against the Earl.

and the same Day he sent Sir *Dudley Carleton* Secretary of State to acquaint the Earl with what was done and the Motives thereunto, whereat he was greatly astonished; but the next day the King being troubled about the Earl writes a Letter with his own Hands, and sends it by his Son the Prince of *Wales* to the Lords, telling them, That whereas Justice had been satisfied in his Condemnation an intermixture of Mercy would now be not Unseasonable, and therefore he desired them that if it might be done without Discontentment of his People, the Earl of *Strafford* might be permitted to fulfill the Naturall Course of his Life in close Imprisonment, sequestred from all Publick Affaires, provided he never attempt to make an Escape; however he thought it a worke of Charity to Reprieve him till Saturday; but nothing could be Obtained in Favour of him, but one-ly this, That the Lords said their purpose was to be Suters to his Majestie for Favour to be shewed to his innocent Children, And if himselfe had made any provision for them, that the same might hold.

A design laid
for the Earls
escape out of
the Tower.

Some Designs had been laid for the Earls Delivery, and Captaine *Billingsley* should have been received into the Tower with an Hundred men for the better Securing that place as was pretended, but indeed to have Conveyed the Earl into some more habitable Region, for which purpose his Brothers Ship was then in Readiness not far off. Besides the Lord Deputy had offered to give his Daughtre in Mariage with Twenty Thousand Pounds portion to Sir *William Balfores* Son upon Condition that he being then Lieutenant of the Tower would assent to his Escape, But *Billingsley's* entry being Opposed by Sir *William*, and all other endeavours proving Fruitless May the Twelfth the Earl of *Strafford* was conveyed from the Tower by a Court of Guard consisting of the Trained Bands, Marshalls Men, Sheriffs Officers, Warders of the Tower; before him went his Gentleman Usher bareheaded, then followed he himselfe with the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh* and others. As he went to the place of his Execution passing by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterburies* Lodging and spying him in the Window he called to him for his Prayers and his Blessing; but the Prelate at the sight of him in that Condition was so Dismaid that for a good while he could not recollect himself; but being told of it and reprehended by his Friends as one who had shewed himselfe Guilty of an undecent Pusillanimity, he replied, That he doubted not but when that bitter Cup came to his turn, he should tast it with a most Christian Courage.

The Earle being come to the Scaffold Adressed his Speech to the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh* to this Effect.

The Earle of
Strafford be-
headed at
Tower-Hill.

*That he was come to pay the last Debt he owed to Sin, with a good hope of rising again to Righteousnesse, that he Died willingly, forgave all and Submitted to Justice, but professed his intentions innocent from perverting, that he wished nothing but Prosperity to King and People and acquitted him from the Guilt of his Death, as having acted therein no otherwise then as constrained; Advised his Adversaries to Repent of their violent Proceeding against him, withall telling them that he thought it a strange way to write in Bloud the beginning of Reformation and Settlement of the Kingdome; however he wished that his Bloud might rest and not Cry against them. Declared that he Died in the Faith of the Church of England, For whose Happiness he Prayed, and so Concluded that his last Speech, with intreating the Standers by, To Pray for him; After he had ended, he Kneeled downe to Prayer, and then rising up againe, he took his last Leave of all his Friends and particularly of his Brother Sir *George Wentworth*; by whome he sent his Love to his Wife, and his Blessing to his Children, with a most Strict Injunction to his only Son *William Wentworth*, Never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church. And then giving the Token to the Executioner had his Head severed from his Body at the First stroak. After his Death this Petition of his was Found directed to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, in Gratitude for their good will to his Children, manifested in their fore-mentioned Answer to the Kings Letter.*

The Coppy of
his Petition to
the Lords.

The humble Petition of Thomas late Earle of Strafford,

Sheweth,

‘That seeing it is the good will and Pleasure of God, that your Petitioner is shortly to pay that Dury which we all owe to our fraile Nature; he shall in all Christian Patience and Charity conforme and submit himselfe to your Justice, in a Comfortable Assurance of the great Hope laid up for us in the Mercy & Merits of our Saviour, blessed for Ever. G
‘Only he humbly craves to returne your Lordships most humble Thanks for your noble Compassion toward those innocent Children; who now with his late Blessing he must commit to the Protection of Almighty God, Beseeching your Lordships to finish your pious Intentions towards them: and Desiring that the Reward thereof may be fulfilled in you by him that is able to give above all that we are able either to aske or think.

wherein

A Wherein I trust the Honourable House of Commons will afford their Christian Assistance, And so beseeching your Lordships Charity to forgive all his Omissions and Infirmities, he doth very heartily and truly recommend your Lordships to the Mercies of your Heavenly Father, and that for his goodness hee may perfect you in every good Worke.

B This was the end of that great States-man, who is reported, when he heard that the King had signed the Bill of Attainder to have lift up his eyes to Heaven and clapping his Hand upon his Heart to have Cried out (perhaps in Imitation of Cardinall Wolseys complaint) Put not your trust in Princes nor in the Sons of Men, For in them is no Salvation.

The Death of this powerfull Man so started the other great Officers of State that, hoping for more security in retirednesse, many of them resigned their Places; the Lord *Cottingham* Master of the Wards to the Lord *Say*, and Bishop *Furton* Lord Treasurer to Five Commissioners; the Earl of *Leicester* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; And Marquis *Herford* was made Governour of the Prince, and the Earl of *Essex* Lord Chamberlaine of the Kings House-hould instead of the Earls of *New-Castle* and *Pembroke*.

The Lord Treasurer and other great Officers resign up their places,

C In the mean time discontents arose between the Parliament and the English Army in the North, and that upon this occasion. The chief Commanders and Field Officers being at *Westminster* and Members of either Houses, Sir *Jacob Ashley* had the Command of the Army. It was Voted the Nineteenth of *June* that the *Scots* should receive one Hundred Thousand Pounds (of their Three Hundred Thousand Pounds) at *Midsummer* next, 1652: And the rest at *Midsummer*, 1644; but they pretending present Wants required by Writing Twenty Five Thousand Pounds (Tenn Thousand Pounds more then was in readinesse for them) whereupon the Parliament deducted Tenn Thousand Pounds (out of the Fiftie Thousand Pounds which was designed for the *English* Army) to be sent unto them, to the great Discontent of the Lord *Percy*, Commissary Generall *Wilmot*, and Collo-nell *Alburnham* (Officers of the *English* Army, and then Members of the House) so that *Wilmot* openly said that if such Papers of the *Scots* would produce Monys, he doubted not but the Officers of the *English* Army would soon do the Like; but notwithstanding the Parliament continued in their Resolutions, and the *English* Army thinking themselves neglected, constantly affirmed that the Parliament had disobliged them. The forenamed Officers combining together and Swearing mutuall secrecy made up a kind of a J unto among themselves, drawing up a Petition to King and Parliament,

Discontents arise between the Parliament and *English* Army in the North.

E First, for Mony for the Army.
Secondly, for not Disbanding before the *Scots*.
Thirdly, for preserving Bishops Votes and Functions.
And Fourthly, for settling the Kings Revenue.
The Army whose Minds and Affections were not Different from this J unto, Met at *Burroughs-Bridge* and drew up a Petitionary Letter to this Effect.

F That all good men ought to thank God for directing the Kings heart to satisfie the desires of his Parliament, by delivering up into their Hands the chiefest of his Councillours and Servants, and many other things, to gratify them, never done by any of his Ancettors; by Petition of Right, *Trienniall Parliament*, and such like; yet that some turbulent Spirits backt by rude and tumultuous Mechanicks, seemed not to be satisfied without the totall subversion of the Government of State, &c. That therefore the Army, so orderly Governed, though without Martiall Law, nupayment, and few Officers, might be called up to attend the safety of the Kings person and Parliaments Security, or that both Armies should be Disbanded for the Ease of the Kingdome; with a desire, to procure the Officers Hands thereunto; These Actions were advantageous to the King (had they succeeded) and therefore it was thought that he was neither ignorant of, nor averse from them; but alwaies abortively desired and prevented the chief Acto:rs. Sir *James Ashley*, Sir *John Conniere*, Sir *Foulk Hunk*, Colonel, *Vavisor*, *Chudleigh*, *William Legg*, *Onals*, and others all examined about it; but none suffered for it; *Jermin* had a hand in this Business, but he was conveyed over Sea by the Kings Command.

G The payment of Tunnage and Ponnage had been stomached ever since the year 1628. (at what time a sharp Remonstrance was drawn up against it) but now the King at the Request of the House of Commons was content to relinquish his Claime to it, and after that, passed the Three Bills the one for Imposing the Tax of Poll-Money upon the people; and the other two for Putting down the Courts of the Star-Chamber and High Commission; the First he did willingly, the other Two not without such reluctancy as produced some daies delay.

Tunnage and Ponnage relinquish by the King and three other Bills pass,

The Queen Mother of *France* having troubled *England* long enough, takes Leave and is conveyed over into *Holland* by the Earl of *Arundell*, who being a *Roman* Catholick and finding his own Country too hot for such, procured himselfe that imployment together with leave to remain beyond Seas during his own pleasure; from *Holland*, they came at length to *Cullen* in *Germany* where both the Earl and that unfortunate Aged Prince's ended their Lives.

The Queen mother departs out of *England*,

The King sent
Sir Thomas Roe
to the Diet at
Ratisbone to as-
sist his Nephew.

This year the King with consent of Parliament published a Manifesto in favour of the Prince A
Electour Palatines Cause and intrusted it to his Ambassadour Sir Thomas Roe whom he sent over into
Germany to assist his Nephew at the Diet of Ratisbone.

Both Armies
are disbanded
by the Parlia-
ment.

And now comes the time for the Delivery of the Northern Counties, the Parliament Agreeing
to Disband both Armies there; wherefore in February it was Agreed, That the Scots Ships taken
since that War should be restored and Four Thousand Pounds given towards a Supply of the Losses
and Necessities of their Dear (or rather Deer) Brethren of Scotland; for all which the Scots return
Thanks, but especially for the Honour and stile of Brethren which the Parliament had given
them, but notwithstanding all this Care taken, such Occasions intervened that they stayed in
England till there was an Arreare due to them of an Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds over
and above the aforesaid sum; and then, August the Sixth, both Armies were Disbanded, but the B
Scots better payed, and so for present they escaped (as we say) Scotfree; but afterwards they made
Amends for all and payed a sufficient Reckoning.

Bishop Wren
committed to
the Tower to-
gether with the
Five Judges
that were for
Ship-Mony.

December the Twentie Eighth last past, Doctor Wren Bishop of Ely and Dean of the Kings
Chappell had been Charged with Treasonable Misdemeanours in his Diocese; And July the Fifth
the Charge was perfected against him by the Committee, and reported to the House of Commons
who thereupon Voted him unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any Office or Dignity in the
Church or Common-Wealth, and moreover desired the Lords to joine with them to request the
King for his Removall from his Service, and so he was Committed to the Tower; and the Five
Ship-Mony Judges, Judge Bramston, Barron Trevor, Barron Weston, Barron Davenports, and Judge C
Crawley, were now Questioned for their severall Opinions about that Business, but to Judge
Barkleys Charge was laid High Treason.

Sir Robert Har-
low appointed
to pull down
Superstitious
Pictures.

About this time Sir Robert Harlow was employed by the House of Commons for the putting
downe and Defacing all scandalous Pictures Crosses and Figures within the Churches and upon
Signes and Sign-posts.

The King takes
a Journey into
Scotland.

Peace being made with the Scots, the King resolved to ingratiate himselfe with that Nation and
(if possible) to make himselfe some Friends there which might be usefull to him in case a Breach
should happen at home; and therefore gives notice to the Houses of his Intention to Journey to
Scotland and to set out upon the Tenth of August, which he did, having first passed the Bill for
Knighthood and free-making of Salt-peter and Gunpowder, and for the Earl of Essex to be Gene-
rall of all his Forces on this side Trent, with power to raise Souldiers in case of Necessity; but D
Pembroke and Salisbury could not obtaine their desired Places of high Steward and Treasurer.
And because the great Affaires of State necessarily required so speedy a passing of some Bills as
would not admit of tarrying his Returne, he therefore commissioned the Lord Keeper, the Lord
privy Seale, the Marquels of Hertford, the Earles of Lindsey, Essex, Dorset, and Bath; to signe
Bills in his Absence. The day before his Journey the Parliament was taken up with such Import-
tant Business that they were Necessitated to sit all Sunday from Morning to Night, but to shew
that they meant it not for a president they publisht it in print, That for many urgent Occasions
they thought it Necessary to sit, and do declare so much, that no inferiour Court or Councill,
or any person may draw this into Example for their Encouragement in neglecting the due observa-
tion of the Sabbath; and then adjourned till the Twentieth of October, appointing a Committee E
of Fifty Commons.

Lords Justices
manage the
Affairs of Ire-
land.

This year was unlucky to the King, for in it were the seeds of our unparelled intestine War
first sowne; and the Irish Rebellion Commenced, though designed some years before as we shall
come to Relate.

Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace had been made Lord Justices of Ireland upon the Im-
prisonement of the Earl of Strafford late Lord Lieutenant, and the Death of Mr. Wandford his De-
puty.

A Bloody Re-
bellion breaks
forth in Ire-
land.

These applyed themselves to give contentment to the Irish by all gentle meanes, encouraging
the Parliament then sitting there to indeavour the Redressing of their Grievances and particularly
they abated the Subsidies from Forty Thousand pounds (as they were in Straffords time) to
Twelve Thousand pounds; and also were content by Act of Parliament to settle all Estates of
Land in the Kingdome which had been quietly enjoyed for the space of sixteen yeares; and to re-
linquish to them the right and title which the King had to the Four Counties in Connaght and
some other Territories in Mounster and the Countie of Clare; Acting wholly by advice of the
Councill, without admitting any paper Petitions or Bills in civill Causes. But the Irish plainly
shewed by their subsequent courses the baseness and Turbulence of their Natures which were not
to be gained upon by sweetness and Lenity; for towards the latter end of October they had confeder-
ated themselves so strongly and so handled their Matters that all was ready to burst out into a
Flame; and they had almost made themselves Masters of the greatest part of the Kingdome before
the Lords Justices were aware of it; And the Castle of Dublin it selfe should have been seized up-
on the Twenty third of October, 1641. upon which day this Horrid Rebellion broke forth. Sir Wil-
liam Coale had before suspected some such thing, and therefore had written to the Lords Justices
certifying the great resort made to Sir Phelim O'neale in the Countie of Tiron, and to the Lord
Mac Guire in the Countie of Fomanaigh, and that Mac Guire had been frequently with the En-
glish Catholicks of the English pale, and was ever Busied in Letters and dispatches. The same Sir
William also acquainted the Lords Justices, October the 21 of their Design to Murder the Lords Justices
and Councill of Ireland and the rest of the Protestants there, to seize upon the Castle and City
of Dublin, and then upon all the other places of strength in the Kingdome.

But

A But this Intelligence came not to their Hands nor any other till the Evening of the day of Rebellion. That day the Conspirators met at *Dublin* at the Lion Tavern, where they consulted about their Plot and dranke Healths upon their Knees to the good Success of it; but while they were so Joviall and confident, *Owen O Conally* a Gentleman of a meere *Irish* Family, but a retainer to Sir *John Clotworthy*, discovers their Rebellion to the Lord *Parsons* about nine of the Clock at Night, but in such a broken manner that little could be gathered out of his Relation, whereupon he was sent back to learn from *Mac Mahon* (with whom he had been before) something further about it; where he so played his part that he returns (though with a great deal of Hazard) with sufficient instructions: but the double diligence of the Watch had like to have marred all; for as *Conally* was coming back they seized him and would have lodged him in the Prison that Night, had he not been Rescued by one of the Lord *Parsons* Servants who was purposely sent out to see what might be the Reason of his tarrying longer then his prefixed time.

B Being admitted into the presence of the Lords Justices, and Sir *Thomas Rotherham*, and Sir *Robert Meredith* (for the Lord *Parsons* after he had heard his first Newes had ordered strong Guards in every corner, and had sent for the two last who were Members of the Councill to meet him at the Lord *Borlases* House) he gave in this Account upon Oath,

C **T**hat being at *Monimore*, in the County of *London-Derry* on Thursday last, he received a Letter from Colonel *Hugh Oge Mac Mahon* desiring him to come to *Connaght* in the County of *Monaghan*, and to be with him on Wednesday or Thursday last. Whereupon he this Examinant came to *Connaght* on Wednesday night last, and finding the said *Hugh* come to *Dublin*, followed him thither, He came about six of the Clock in the Evening and forthwith went to the lodging of the said *Hugh*, to the House neere the Boat *Oxman* Town and there he found the said *Hugh*, and came with the said *Hugh* into the Towne, neere the Pillory, to the lodging of the Lord *Mac Guire*, where they found not the Lord within, and there they drank a Cup of Beer, and then went back again to the said *Hugh* his lodging. He saith that at the Lord *Mac Guire* his lodging the said *Hugh* told him, that there were, and would be this Night great numbers of Noblemen and Gentlemen of the *Irish* Papists from all the parts of the Kingdome in this Towne, who with himsele had determined to take the Castle of *Dublin*, and possess themselves of all his Majesties Ammunition there to morrow morning, being Saturday, and that they intended first to batter the chimnies of the said Towne, and if the City would not yeild, then to batter down the Houses, and to cut off all the Protestants that would not joyn with them. He further saith, that the said *Hugh* then told him that the *Irish* had prepared Men in all parts of the Kingdome, to destroy all the *English* inhabiting there to morrow morning by tenn of the Clock, and that in all the Sea-Ports, and other Townes in the Kingdome, all the Protestants should be killed this Night, and that all the posts that could be, could not prevent it: and further saith that he moved the said *Hugh* to forbare executing of that Businesse, and to discover it to the State for the saving of his own Estate, who said he could nor help it. But said that they did owe their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him all his Rights, but that they did this for the tyrannicall Government that was over them, and to imitate *Scotland*, who got a priviledge by that Course.

O'Conally's relation concerning the Plot,

F And he further saith, when he was with the said *Hugh* in his lodging the Second time the said *Hugh* swore that he should not go out of his lodging that Night but told him that he should go with him the next morning to the Castle, and said if this matter were discovered some body should dye for it. Whereupon this Examinant feigned some necessity for his Easement, went downe out of the Chamber, and left his Sword in Pawn, and the said *Hugh* sent his Man down with him, and when this Examinant came down into the yard, and finding an opportunity, he this Examinant leaped over a wall and two pales and so came to the Lord Justice *Parsons*.

G **T**his was a seasonable discovery; for the greatest part of the Conspirators were then gotten into the City and should have had for their assistance Twenty from each Countie in *Ireland*; and all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdome that were Papists were engaged in the Plot; so now it was high time for the Lords Justices to look about them, whereupon they set a Watch privately upon the lodgings of *Mac Guire* and *Mac Mahon* and sat up all that Night in consultation, and early the next Morning came to them severall others of the Privy Councill. The first thing was to seize upon *Mac Mahon* and his Man; *Hugh* without much difficulty acknowledged the whole matter; telling them that upon that very day all the Forts and strong places in *Ireland* would be taken, impossible to be prevented, and however they used him now in their Power, his Bloud would be revenged.

Mac-Guire, and Mac Mahon seized on.

Then

Then order was taken for apprehending the Lord *Mac Guire* and others then in the City to the number of Thirty, the rest being befriended by the Citizens, escaped over the River, among whom were *Hugh Birn* and *Roger More*, and *Plunket*, and *Fox*. The next day the Lords Justices and Council (who had for better Security removed into the Castle) proclaimed the Discovery of this Notorious Plot, requiring all good Subjects to prepare for Defence and give them Advertisement of all Passages happening in their respective Counties, and to take care that no Levies be made under pretence of forraign Service, nor any suffered to March upon any such Account. And to close the day the Lord *Blaney* comes to *Dublin* and brings Newes that the Rebels were already Risen in *Monaghan* and had surprized his House with his Wife and Children; and next day Sir *Arthur Teringham* gives them Notice of the taking of the *Nenry*; after which messengers upon messengers bring Relations of the increase of the Rebels in *Visster* and their horrible massacres of the *English* in all Places where they came. *Dublin* it selfe began now to tremble for fear of them, which was increased by false Rumors spread abroad, (some through mistakes, others on purpose,) of their Multitudes and near Approaches to the City; the Council therefore first makes Sir *Francis Willoughby* Governour of the Castle and then took into their Consideration how they were provided of Mony, Armes, and Munition, for the first, it was soone found that there was no Mony in the Exchequer, but for Armes and Munition the Stores were indifferently furnished at this time; there being Armes neere for Ten Thousand men, Fifteen Hundred Barrells of Powder with match and lead proportionably, besides severall Peices of Artillery of diverse sorts.

Forces raised
to goe against
the Rebels.

The whole standing Army in *Ireland* consisting onely of 41 Companies of Foot, each Company containing 44 Souldiers; and 14 Troopes of Horse each Troop containing Fifty Eight Troopers, only the Lord Lieftenant and the Earl of *Ormond* had one Hundred and Seventeen apiece. But these forces were so disperced up and downe the Land in Garrisons so remore from one another, that it was impossible to draw a considerable number together without apparent danger of their being intercepted by the Rebels before they could unite with one another. Yet invincible necessity forced the Council to send for some companies and Troopes to march up from their severall quarters to the Defence of the City of *Dublin*. And having so done then sent away dispatches to the King (then in *Scotland*) by Sir *Henry Spotswood*; and to the Lord Lieftenant then in *London*, by *Owen O Conally*; certifying them of the Rebellion and ill state of the Kingdome, and that they depended on the assistance of God and the old *English* Pale, and of help from *England*; and how they were necessitated to prorogue the Parliament and Adjourn the Terme; they also requested that *Owen O Conally* might be nobly Rewarded for his faithfull Service in discovering the Plot.

The Earl of Ormond and others receive Commission to raise more forces.

The Earl of *Ormond* lying at his House at *Carick* was sent for with all hast to repair to *Dublin* with his Troop and the Vicounts of *Clandeboy* and *Ardes*, and Sir *William Stewart*, and Sir *Robert Stewart*, and other Gentlemen of quality in the North had Commissions sent them by sea for raising the *Scots* there inhabiting with Power either to destroy the Enemy or receive them to Mercy.

The Lords of the *English* Pale at the Council Board made great Protections of their Faith and Loyaltie to the King, & of what they would do for him in this War; yet some of them being *Papists* came thither two or three daies after and told the Lords Justices and the Council, That they thought those Words in the late Proclamation of the discovery, Viz: That Conspiracy of evill affected *Irish* *Papists*, did reflect upon them; wherefore they required that those Words might be better explained for their Satisfaction and that by Proclamation; which was accordingly done, to remove all pretence of Quarrell.

The Chief heads of this Rebellion.

All *Visster* (except the Cities *London-Derry* and *Colraingne*, and the Towne and Castle of *Enckillen*) was by this time gotten into the hands of the Rebels, whose chiefe Commanders were these Sir *Phelim O Neale* (the chief of that Sept and nearest Heir of the late Rebellious Earl of *Tyrone*), *Turbogh O Neale* his Brother, *Rowry Mac Guire* Brother to the Lord *Mac Guire*, *Phillip O Rely*, *Mulmeere O Rely*, Sir *Conno Mac Gennis Cal*: *Mac Briam*, and *Mac Mahon*. Sir *Phelim O Neale* was Generalissimo, a Man of the same parts with *Phocas* the Tyrannicall Emperour of *Constantinople*, neither Valiant nor Mercifull, a bloody minded man and false of his word; for whosoever yeilded to him though upon promise of fair quarter, were surely murdered in cold Blood. With the *Scotch* Planters he colluded, till the *English* were extirpated out of the Province, and then marched towards their chiefe Plantation neer *Lisnagarry* and utterly destroyed it. He had left sufficient Forces to fall upon *Dondalke* in the Countie of *Louth* within the Pale, and tooke it; yet long they stayed not there, but pierced further into *Louth*, coming within seven Miles of *Tredagh*.

The Lord Moore keeps Tredagh against the Rebels.

Here was the First Check given to the Rebels; hither to all places had yeilded to them, and so might *Tredagh* have been compelled to have done, had not the Lord Viscount *Moore* (hearing at *Mellifont* the Newes of the Surprisall of his Sister the Lady *Blaney* and her Children) retired thither for safety with his Troop of Horse and two Companies of foot at midnight: being there he joines in Council with the Maior to prevent Mischiefe both from abroad and within, for even there also was Danger, for besides sundry ill affected Persons in the Towne, Sir *John Netherwile* who commanded one of the Fore-named companies had a Designe to begin a Munity that Night he was to be upon the Watch; but prevented by his Lordships Prudence. The old Pieces were drawne out and scowred and planted at severall Gates, and four others were heaved out of a Marchants ship of the Harbor with some Powder; The Lord *Moore* makes a Journey to *Dublin* where

A he declares the weak Condition of the Towne and the disloyaltie of the Inhabitants to the Lord Justices: whereupon it was resolved that a Regiment should be raised for the relief of the Town; in the mean time the place was greatly distressed by the Rebels who after taking of *Ardee*, *Dro-miskin*, and other holds thereabouts were come nearer unto it.

A solemn Fast is therefore kept, after which some Forces make a stout Salley upon a party of the Rebels whom they routed, and brought away with them many Plundered Goods and Cows, with Two Hundred and Eighty Prisoners; and made a shift to defend themselves till Sir *Henry Tichborne* came from *Dublin* with a Commission to be Governour of the Town, who brought with him an Hundred Horse and a Thousand Foot which had been raised there at the instance of the Lord *Moore*, and that, by a happy Opportunity of the Vice-Treasurers having Three Thousand Pounds in readines in his hands, to be at the Time sent over into *England* for the satisfaction of a Publike Ingagement there, and soone after this the State added three Companies of Foot more, so that besides the Town Armes, they were compleat, (The Lord *Moore's* Forces being reckoned in) Fifteen Hundred foot and a Hundred and Sixty horse, which was but cold comfort to Sir *Phelim O Neale* and his Complices. The Rebels were at first so confident of Successe that they had framed a Declaration, which should have been published after they had done the Worke; In it after a great Profession of their constant Allegiance to the King and his Success, they fall foul upon the Parliament of *England*; which, as they said, had designed the Ruin both of the King and them.

Sir Henry Tichborne made Governour of that Town.

The Declaration of the Rebels.

First Of the King, by drawing his prerogative out of his hand.

C Secondly Of the Irish, by plotting to extinguish their Religion, and to raze the Name of Catholiks and Irish out of the whole Kingdome, by sending over the Scottish Army into Ireland; wherefore they the said Irish resolved to perfect the Advancement of Truth and Safety of their Country, and endeavour the Regainning of his Majesties Prerogative. This Declaration was found in *Tredagh* dropt in the Street in the Night-time.

At *Dublin* the Lords Justices and Councell gave a Commission to Sir *Charles Coote* to raise a compleat Regiment of a Thousand Men, which in a short time they did; the greatest part Those who came up from the North stripped and spoiled by the Rebels, and lifted themselves out of a desire of Revenge.

D November the fifth, the Lords and Councell of Ireland sent their second Letter to the King in *Scotland* and to the Parliament and Councill and Lord Lieftenant in *England*; so that now both King and Parliament had received two Dispatches from them concerning the Originall and Growth of this Rebellion.

The first arrived at *London* the last of *October* and was that Evening delivered, and next Morning were brought down from the house of Lords to the house of Commons by the Lord Keeper; the Lord privy Seal, Lord high Chamberlain, Lord Admirall, Lord Marshall, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Barth*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Leicester*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Berke*, Earl of *Bristol*, Lord Viscount *Say*, Lord *Mandevill*, Lord *Goring*, Lord *Wilmot*, all of them being of the Kings privie Councill. Chaires were provided for these Lords to sit while the Letters were read, and then giving what information they could concerning the Irish Affaires they departed, leaving the Commons to consider further of them, who instantly Ordered,

Letters dispatched away to the King and Parliament for Supply.

E That the House be presently resolved into a Committee, to take into Consideration the matter offered concerning the Rebellion in Ireland. As likewise, To provide for the safety of the Kingdome of *England*. And then falling into a serious debate Voted,

The Parliament take Care to send over Money and men into Ireland.

That Fifty Thousand Pounds be forthwith provided.

That the Lords be moved, that Members of both Houses may declare to the City of *London* the present necessity to borrow Fifty Thousand Pounds to be secured by Act of Parliament.

That a Committee of both Houses consider of the Affairs of Ireland.

F That *Owen O Conally*, the discoverer, shall have Five Hundred Pounds presently, and two Hundred Pounds Per Annum Pension till provision of Land of Inheritance of a greater Value.

That the Persons of all Papists of Quality in *England* be secured.

That no Persons (except Marchants) shall pass to Ireland without a Certificate from the said Committee.

To all which the Lords Consented.

G Then the House of Commons Voted, Twenty Thousand Pounds for present supply. A convenient number of Ships for guarding the Sea-Coasts of Ireland.

That Six Thousand foot, and Two Thousand horse be forthwith raised for Ireland and Officers to be appointed over them.

That Magazines of Victuals be forthwith sent to *Westchester* to be sent to *Dublin*, as Occasion shall require.

That the Magazines at *Carlisle* be forthwith sent over to *Knock-Fergus* in Ireland.

That

That the Kings Councill consider of a Pacification for Rewards to such as shall do Service A in Ireland and for a Pardon to such Rebels as shall submit within a time, and of a Sum of Mony for Rewards to bring in the Heads of the principall Rebels.

That Letters of thanks be returned to the Lords Justices there.

That the Committee do consider how and in what manner to make use of Scotland here.

And a Bill to be prepared for Pressing of Souldiers for Ireland.

An Ordinance passed, *For the Lord Lieutenent of Ireland to raise Three Thousand five Hundred foot, and six Hundred horse, and not to press our dear Brethren of Scotland any further then for one thousand foot to pass from Scotland to the North of Ireland. And B Armes to be delivered out by the Master of the Ordinance out of the store for Ireland for Eight Thousand Foot an a Thousand horse.*

This was the Effect of the First Letter.

Upon which the Parliament Voted Two Hundred Thousand Pounds; and passed this following Order.

The Lords and Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, having a due regard C to the good affections of the City of London, expressed upon sundry occasions, by the Advancing and Lending of great Sums of Mony for the service of the Commonwealth: and particularly the Sum of 50000 l. Lent for the Irish Affaires, and the Sum of 50000 l. more Lent by the said City, unto the Peers attending his Majesty in the Northern parts before the beginning of this present Parliament, which are not yet payed or otherwise secured, shall be fully satisfied and repaid unto the said City of London, with interest of 8 l. per Cent. for one yeare, out of such monies as are or shall be raised by authority of Parliament. And for that purpose an Act of Parliament D to be passed with all expedition. Provided alwaies that this present Ordinance shall not in any waies be prejudiciall to any Members of the said House of Commons, who have formerly Lent any Sums of Mony to this Parliament, nor to the Northern Counties, nor to any persons whatsoever, to whom both Houses of Parliament, or the said House of Commons have formerly Ordred the paiment of any Sums of Mony, nor any Security given to them, before the making of this Ordinance.

The Lords Justices issue out Commissions of Marti- all Law,

In Ireland the Lords Justices and Councill were very carefull about Victualling the Castle of Dublin and issued out Commissions of Marti- all Law to severall persons of Lamister though Papi- E sters, delivering them Armes and Ammunition, as to the Lord Vicount Gernonston and others whom they would seeme not to suspect, hoping thereby to oblige them to be faithfull; but in vaine, for they appeared afterwards not only actuall Abettors of the Rebellion but also principall Contrivers of it. Yet were they for the present impowred, to use Fire and Sword for the destruction of the Rebels and their Adherents, and also to preserve the Lives of any of them and to receive any of them into his Majesties Mercy and Favour.

Dublin in some fear of Surprizall,

Dublin it selfe was about this time indangered, by reason that Four Hundred Irish Souldiers under the Command of Colonel John Barry lay imbarqued within the Harbour of Dublin under Pretense of setting saile for the King of Spaines Service. These Men should have been assistant at the Surprizall of the City and Castle, which sayling, they still continued hovering there to the great Terror of the Protestants within the City; and their Victuals being now spent they desired leave F to land to get Provision, which was at length granted to them, but both they and all other suspected persons were forbidden to come to Dublin or continue there without just and necessary Cause. The City by this time was indifferently well strengthened with the Regiments of Sir Charles Coote and the Lord Lambert and the Troopes of the Earl of Ormond, Sir Thomas Lucas, Captain Armstrong, and Captain Yarnier, and care was taken for the raising of a Regiment which was to be commanded by Collonel Crawford a Scottish-man who was recommended to them by the Prince Electour.

The Parliament of Ireland sit, but presently adjourn.

November the 17 the Parliament of Ireland sat and made a Protestation against the Catholikes, G whom the Papi- sters Members would not endure to stile Rebels, scarcely giving way that they should be called ill affected to the Peace, and men who traiterously and Rebelliously had raised Armes. And it was ordered, they should be treated with, but they growing proud with their Northern Successes contemptuously tore the Order and Letter of the Parliament and sent back a most insolent Answer, and after two daies Session this Parliament was Adjourned.

The private designs of the Popish Lords.

The Lord Dillon of Costelloe, and the Lord Taff had been delegated by the Parliament-Lords to carry over to the King their Advice concerning the readiest means for Quenching the present Irish Flames: they had also some other Instructions (more private) from the Popish Lords, to Negotiate the.

A the stopping of those Forces which were to be sent out of *England*; in their Passage a *S.orne* tooke them and drove them into *Scutland*; from whence they poisted towards *London*; but for all their Cunning and specious Artifice the Parliament had gotten some inkling of their Treachery, and therefore caused their Papers to be seized at *Ware* and their Persons to be committed; yet afterwards (dissension arising between the King and Parliament) found meanes to escape, and they with one *Burk* (who came over for the same purpose) followed the Court at *Tork*, where insinuating into the Kings Favour they perswaded him to hope for great matters from the *Irish* and to think better of them.

B The Earle of *Leicester*, as we have else-where said, was after *Straffords* death made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; to him the Lords Justices and Council, having lately made Sir *Charles Coote* Governour of *Dublin*, send now more particular Account of the *Irish* Affaires; who Answers them that he had acquainted the King at *Edenburgh* with all their dispatches, and that the Parliament by order from the King had undertaken the charge and Mannagement of the War, and had appointed three severall Ports of *England* Viz: *Bristol*, *Westchester*, and one other in *Cumberland* for Magazines and store-houses for severall parts of *Ireland*; and that they would hasten their Succours and likewise intreat his Majesty to encourage all such as shall upon their own Charges advance any Forces for the Service, by rewarding them honourably with Lands of Inheritance there; and that the Heads of the principall Traitors might be Prized.

C After this the Lord Lieutenant yet not willing to go to his Government in *Ireland* Commissioned the Earle of *Ormond* to be Lieutenant Generall of the Forces there which charge was confirmed to him by the King in *Scotland* and for his greater Incouragement Twenty Thousand Pounds were sent over to him.

November the 21, Sir *Henry Tichburne* Governour of *Tredagh* sent an Expreß to *Dublin* to give Notice that the *Rebells* were within sight of the Town by whom he expected a present Siege. The *Irish* sent one Captaine *Stanley* and the Countie Sheriff as Commissioners to Treat with the Town, as was pretended, but indeed to espy their Actions; yet were they received, for protracting the time till retournes came from *Dublin*. These comming to the Lord *Moor* made large expressions of the Generall affection which the Catholicks bore to him, Councelling him to retreat to his House *Mellefont*, profering to make him Generall of all *Meach* and *Louth*, and to satisfy him and his Tenants for all Damages received, upon Condition that he would side with them, which yet he nobly refused, and having intelligence of the Treachery of some of the Lords of the pale prevented about a Thousand Armes in their way which were directed to them by the Lords Justices, who were ignorant of their Projects, and Five Hundred Armes which had been granted to the Lord *Gormonston* upon his Petition being way-laid by the Enemy, were rescued by the Lord *Mainman* and brought into *Tredagh*, with a fortnights pay for the Regiments; after which the Lord *Moor* came to *Dublin* and offered to raise Six Hundred men with Clothes and pay till Supplies from *England*, upon condition that Four Companies in *Tredagh* not yet belonging to any certain Regiment might be added to his, to compleat the number of a Thousand.

E These passages of his so enraged the *Rebells* that they presently sent a party of thirteen Hundred foot to *Mellefont*, who after a pretty stiff Resistance from fifteen Troopers and four and twenty Musqueteers, and the loss of a Hundred and Forty of their Men, mastered the House, which they plundered and defaced to the loss of two Thousand Pounds, murdered an Old Gentleman of Eighty years of Age and a blind Man, and stripped the Women and so departed. And when the Parliament sent to treat with them, their Conditions were so high and insolent as shewed that they had no thoughts of Peace, desiring among other things, That they might have a Deputy of their own Nation.

F The rumour of the *O Relys* rising in the County of *Cavan* and advancing towards *Tredagh*, joyned with the consideration of Sir *Henry Tichburnes* late Letters, so wrought upon the Councell of *Dublin* that the designed Supplies were hastned, being Six Hundred Foot commanded by Maior *Rosper*, and Fifty Horse of the Earle of *Ormonds* Troop, commanded by Sir *Patrick Weames*, who making less speed then was convenient, both mist the opportunity of meeting with Sir *Henry Tichburne* (who was marched out of *Tredagh* to secure their march) and by reason of a fog stumbled upon two thousand of the Enemy near *Gillingston* Bridge, whom they descried not, till they were within Musquet shot, Sir *Patrick Weames* not trusting to the carriage of the new raised and inexperienced foot, and perceiving the Enemies to be treble their number, wheeled about with his party of horse and came safe to *Tredagh*; but Maior *Rosper* fought and was over powred, yet he and one Captaine *More* escaped thither also with a Hundred of their men. This Victory so much bragged of, was achieved by the *Rebells* under the conduct of *Roger Moor*, *Hugh Birn*, and *Phillip O Rely*, upon the 29 of *November*.

G Hitherto the Lords of the Pale had pretended great Loyalty and Affection to the Kings Service; but now they began to shew themselves open Correspondents with the *Irish*. *Gormonston* summons the County to a Generall meeting at *Dulick*, and after to the Hill of *Croßy* where all the Lords and Gentry met to the number of a thousand, and spending two or three houres in Consultation, there came towards them Colonel *Mahon*, *Phillip O Rely*, *Hugh Boy-Rely*, *Roger Moor*, *Hugh Birn* and Captaine *Fox*, attended on with a Guard of Musquetiers who in the names of the Northern *Irish* entered into an association with them to live and die in the same Cause; and after this they met againe at the Hill of *Taragh* where they deliberated about answering the Summons sent them from *Dublin* for their appearance there. And thus was the confederation perfected, which had been long hammered

The Lords
J then send
an account of
the Irish At-
tains to the
Earle of L.
cester Lord
Deputy, with
his Answer.

The Earle of
Ormond is made
Lieutenant
Generall of the
Forces there.

The Lord
Moor's con-
fidence ex-
pects the *Re-
bells* against
him.

A party of the
English put to
he worst by
the *Rebells*.

The Lords of
the pale prove
false.

The Lords
Justices mes-
sage to the
Lords of the
Pale, with the
L. Gormanston's
Answer.

hammered between the Lord *Gormanston* and *Roger Moor*. The Northern *Rebells* encamped within the River of *Boyn* and stopt all intercourse between *Tredagh* and *Dublin* so that the City being greatly distressed the Council assembled and sent to the Lords of the Pale to desire them to repair thither to confer about the present State of the Kingdome and its safety, but the Lord of *Gormanston* in the name of the rest returns Answer.

'That understanding Sir *Charles Coote* the Governour had declared his intention at the Council-Board to execute a generall Massacre upon those of their Religion, they were constrained to stand upon their guard, for they knew Sir *Charles's* mind, by his late Cruelties at *Wicklow*, and *Santry*.

'Indeed Sir *Charles* about the time of *Gillingham* Fight had marched into the County of *Wicklow* against the *Birnes* and the *Tooles* (who had committed severall outrages upon the *English* inhabitants, and possessed themselves of the chief Forts and Places of strength thereabouts) And entering the Towne of *Wicklow*, executed some few Men and one Woman for Murders proved upon them; and in his returne beate *Luke Toole*, who with a Thousand *Irish* would have intercepted him: and the businesse of *Santry* was this;

'The Officers of the Army were enformed of a certaine Robbery committed by some of the *Rebells* within five miles of the City, and of the Murder of one Mr. *Derrick Herbert* a Dutch Merchant, whereupon two Officers with forty foot were commanded out against those *Rebells* having the informer for their guide, who led them directly to *Santry*, where finding some strangers with Weapons lodged in suspicious places, they slew four of them, and this was termed a Massacre.

Those of the
Pale are in-
crease by addi-
tionall Forces
under the com-
mand of *Luke*
Nestervill.

The Lord *Gormanston* having sent in the forementioned Answer to the Lords Justices, the Gentlemen of the Pale assembled in Armes and gathered great numbers of Men unto them, the command of whom was conferred upon *Luke Nestervill*, second Son to the Lord *Nestervill*, who presently quarters his Shouldiers at *Swords* within six miles of *Dublin*: the Lords of the Council issue out an Order *December 9.* for their separating, with a Command that Nine of the principall of them should repair to them by Ten of the Clock the next day.

They refuse
the Lords
Justices sum-
mons and form
an Army.

These Summons they not only refused to obey, but also threatned to come downe and encamp at *Clontarf* a little Village standing upon the very Harbour of *Dublin*, most commodious for the blocking it up, and stopping all relief from *England* from coming to that City. By these Actions the inclination of the Pale, was manifested; so now the maske is taken off, The Lord *Gormanston* is declared Generall of the Forces within the Pale; *Hugh Birn* Lieutenant Generall, and the Earle of *Fringale* Generall of the horse; and all things there tend to the forming of a considerable Army.

The Lords
Justices desire
10000 Men to
be sent them
out of *Scotland*.

About the time of the Kings returne from *Scotland* the Lords Justices sent fresh Advertisements of their condition and of the daily encrease of the *Rebells*, to the Lord Lieutenant, with their desire, that seeing *Scotland* had been lately in Armes, and consequently was well provided for war; Ten Thousand Men might be sent from thence to their Reliefe. Commissioners out of *Scotland* came to *London* to treat with the Parliament about it, who made offer of Ten Thousand Men upon condition of Thirty Thousand Pounds advance Mony, Ships for their transportation and a Hundred Horse to be ready to joine with every Thousand Foot of theirs at their landing, and to obey the Order of the Scottish Generall.

Which at
length is re-
solved on

These propositions were readily assented unto by the house of Commons and by them sent up to the house of Lords, who were content to agree to them, provided that the House of Commons would give Assurance for the sending over Ten Thousand *English* at the same Time. This tooke up some Debate between the two Houses, but in Conclusion the Lords yielded to the desires of the Commons; and great hopes there was that Succour should have been seasonably sent into *Ireland*; when on a suddain all was dashed, by quarrels arising between King and Parliament about priviledges; by these means many who had hitherto kept themselves Neuters were encouraged to declare for the *Rebells*; and about the middle of *December* the whole province of *Munster* revolted, and began to spoyle the *English*; and although a party of them had been routed neare *Waterford* by the Lord president, yet he having no other forces at Command, then his own Troop, and some few Country Gentlemen that sided with him, was not able to hinder their joining againe in greater bodies, so that now they grew more formidable, and made themselves Masters of all the province excepting onely *Cork*, *Youghall*, *Kingsale*, and some few other places. Thus were the *Rebells* strengthened by the accession of *Leinster* and *Munster*, and *Dublin* it selfe greatly distressed. *Luke Nestervill* with his undisciplined Regiment, had removed his quarters from *Swords* to *Santry* nearer *Dublin*, and another party of them was come within two miles of it to *Finglas* with great boast and threatsof what they would doe; but *Nestervill* was beaten back to *Swords* by Sir *Charles Coote*, and the others were dislodged by Collonell *Cranford*. Yet the City continued shrewdly straitned and surrounded on every side by the Enemy, nor had they any considerable help from

The Supplis
for *Ireland* hin-
dered by the dif-
ferences that a-
rose between
King and Par-
liament.

The *Rebells*
increase in
strength.

A from *England* till the last day of *December*, and then Sir *Simon Harcourt* being by the Parliament designed Governour of *Dublin* arrived there with his Regiment. The *Rebells* Army consisted of 20000: besides stragling Parties which infested the Country in all places where the *English* had any thing to doe; and now they Stiled themselves the Catholick Army.

They besiege *Tredagh*.

The maine body sits downe before *Tredagh* blocking it up on all sides; hereupon the Governour bestirs himselfe, increases the fortifications of the Towne and so orders all things that the *Irish* had little or no hope of taking it otherwise then by famining; long they stayed not before they had occassion to make tryall of one anothers mettles; for the Towne having sent out some carriages for Corn from the green Hills, halfe a mile off, Three hundred and fifty foot and two Troopes of horse were ordered to sally out for the security of them; these were incountred in the middle way, by Three thousand *Irish*, at whose sight and shout the horse were so dismayed that they instantly fell back to the Gates leaving the foot to shift for themselves, where they had all perished, but that the Governour *Tichburne* courageously led out a party himselfe to their succour who had already stood too charges of the Enemy with great resolution, and now the Governour comming on to their rescue, the *Rebells* betake themselves to their heeles with the loss of two hundred men, and the *English* had the chase for a mile or more within sight of the Town walls and rook a competent booty of Mony Cloathes and Armes.

They are repuls'd by the Governour sallying out upon them.

After this the Enemy sent Father *Darcy* a Fryer lately, a Prior, as their Ambassador to the Town to require an absolute surrender of it: But the Governour told him that they were better able to keepe the Towne, then the Country was to keepe them, and that neither their Spirits nor their Power was so meane as to entertaine so unworthy thoughts: with this Answer the Fryar takes leave, leaving with them for their greater Terror the Coppy of an Oath taken by the Lords of the Pale and the rest of the *Papists English* and *Irish*.

Their Summons with the Governours Answer.

I, A B. In the presence of Almighty God, and all the Angells and Saints in Heaven, Promise, Vow, Swear, and Protest, to maintain and defend as far as I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate, the publick and true Exercise of the true Catholick Roman Religion, against all Persons that shall Oppose the same.

The Coppy of an Oath taken by the Catholicks.

I Further Swear, That I will beare Faith and true Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King Charles, his Heires, and Successors and that I will defend him and them as far as I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate, against all such Persons as shall Attempt any thing against their Royall Persons, Honours, Estates, and Dignities, and against all such as shall Directly or Indirectly endeavour to suppress their Royall Prerogatives, or do any Act or Acts contrary to Royall Government; As also the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, the Lawfull Right and Priviledges of the Subject, and every Person that makes that Vow, Oath and Protestation, in what soever he shall doe in the Lawfull Pursuance of the Same.

And to my Power as far as I may, I will Oppose, and by all waies and means endeavour to bring to Condign Punishment, even to the loss of Life, Liberty, and Estate, all such as shall either by force or practise, Councells, Plots, Conspiracies, or otherwise, Doe, or Attempt any thing to the contrary of any Article, Clause, or any thing in this present Vow, Oath, and Protestation, Contained. So help me God.

This Oath of the Catholicks induced the Governour and Councell to fall upon a Protestation and Oath to this Effect.

G Whereas we are beset with such who pretend their Attempts in taking of this Towne to be for the Advancement of his Majesties Service (which notwithstanding is but a pretext to delude the Vulgar) we the Governour and Captaines for the further Manifestation and Approbation of our Loyalty and Faith to his Majesty, by whose immediate Commnad, we are charged for the Defence of his Royall

The protestation and Oath of his Governour and Councell.

Title in it, doe likewise hereby Unanimously make this following Protestation and A
Oath:

To defend this Towne, against all outward and inward Attempts whatsoever, for his Majesties Service. And discover any Plot, Conspiracy, or Combination, which may or shall come to my Knowledge, from without, or within, which may be any way intended to the Prejudice of the whole Town or Governours and Councill. Nor consent that the Town shall be given up upon any Pretense or Cause whatsoever, without the Consent of the Governour and Officers; or without B
the Speciall command from his Majestie, or Chiefe Governour or Governours of this Kingdome.

Some Women
within give
secret intelli-
gence to the
Enemy.

The Souldiers
make severall
sallys out of
the Town
with success

The Enemy
made a strong
attemp upon
the Town but
are repuls'd.

The Maior and Aldermen of the Towne refused this Oath as fearing thereby, to hazard the favour of fair quarter; and some of the Aldermens Wives hired a boy to advertize the Enemy of an opportunity of coming unexpectedly upon the Towne by night time, by reason that the River Boyne was frozen hard enough for their passage; but the Enemies diffidence to the Womens advice and the suddain thawing of the River was the cause that this Plot tooke no Effect, and the C
Souldiers no whit daunted in their resolutions, upon New-years day agreed amongst themselves, to beat up some quarters Northwards; but the Gates were so frozen as not to be conveniently opened, yet one companie got over the Walls, killed fiftene Irish and a Centinell, fired a Village and returned; and a week after a greater party of Three Hundred foot and Eighty horse made another successfull sally, killed an hundred and forced as many into the River, where they were drowned and among them *Arte Ro Mac Moghen* a principall Ringleader; and so returned safe with the acquett of fifty Armes, some Cows and other pillage. Yet these small games could not keep the Towne from being in distress, Provision now growing short, and Souldiers and Townsmen beginning to droop in their Spirits; but just then as it were at the last gaspe comes Reliefe to the Towne in some small Vessels laden with Bisket and Munition which put the poore besieged into D
such a fit of Jollity, as was like to have cost them deere. For the Souldiers out of Joy gave themselves so liberally that night to drink strong Ale, which the Popish Aldermen out of a design invited them to, that Watches, Centinells and all became less serviceable in case of invasion from the Enemy; who receiving Advice from their secret Friends within, tooke the offered opportunity, and early that morning made a Breach in the Wall, at which Five hundred of the chiefe Commanders entered (who looked upon it as a great peice of Gallantry, not doubting Success) these for an houre and halfe passed undescried, till giving their accustomed shout as a Token to their Complices, the Governour himselfe perceived the danger, and hastning to his own Company which then was the main Guard and causing the Drums to beat, he put his Forces into as good a posture as the suddenesse of the Alarum would permit, and so marching against the Enemy E
gave so fierce a charge upon them that they began presently to shrink; by this time Lord Moor came in which fiftene horse and assisted the Governour in chasing the Irish up the Hill. Thus was the Towne cleared and the Irish who made cock-shure of their enterprize were repelled with the loss of Two hundred slayn, and such a number taken as Glutted the Prisons. The besieged waxing more carefull, now sent out a Pinnace for more Provision; and meditating revenge upon the Irish for their late attempt made three severall successfull Sally's in which they routed divers parties of the Enemy, brought in some stacks of Corne, about eight Cowes with other Provision and Apparell and some Prisoners.

Oneale on mes
to the Siege of
Tredagh which
is relieved with
men and Pro-
vision from
Dublin.

Oneale storms
the Town but
is beaten back
with losse.

The heads of
the chiefe Re-
bels prized by
Proclamation.

Generall O Neale was come to the siege from the North, and resolves upon storming the Town; but just the day before, being Sunday, two Pinnaces, six Gabbards, three Frigots and a Shallop arrived safely from Dublin within the Barr, bringing with them, three months provision, and a F
Prize taken from the Rebels laden with Herrings, besides so urcompanies of fresh men sent for the compleating the Lord Moor's Regiment, so that now they feared not any undertakings of their Adversaries. Monday following O Neale falls to storming, and having applyed his scaling Ladders to the Wall near St. Lawrence Gate, the Irish began to climbe (and the Centinel mis-
sing fire) got up to the top whence he knockt them down with the butt-end of his Musket and then calling for more helpe, they were glad to fly leaving thirteen scaling Ladders behind them. The next thing done in Tredagh was the publishing of a Proclamation from the State brought with the reliefe from Dublin, wherein the Heads of the chiefe Rebels were prized, O Neales at a Thousand Pounds, others at Eight hundred and others at Four hundred Pounds; each according to their quality. Many tricks were used by the Rebels for the redeeming of the Lord Mac Guire; G
as the exchange of the Lady Blaney and her Children and Sisters and all their Prisoners in Ulster for him and two other Prisoners at Dublin, but whether the Lords Justices, and Councill durst not trust such perfidious dealers, or what ever was the matter, the motion did not take effect; The Pinnaces which brought the late Supply were sent back again for more; yet left such Courage in the Relieved that they would needs goe out and try the temper of their Enemies weapons. Hereupon Two hundred and twenty foot and an Hundred and twenty horse issued out and marched to Smiths Towne

A Towne, burning *Bambeck* in their way; here they met with Five Companies of the *Irish* whom they charged and vanquish't, killing Three hundred and taking two Collonels and an Hundred and Sixty Cowes, *Preston* himselfe, being hard put to it by Sir *Patrick Weims*, left his Baggage and Good booty, and fled; and here were Letters taken by which divers Lords of the *English Pale* were discovered to be Traitors.

Severall other
succesfull sal-
ly's upon the
Enemy.

The Lord *Moor* and the Governours, finding the success of this sally to be so good, made another with four Companies, and met with two companies of the Rebels, routed them flew, thirteen, tooke a Captaine of *O Neale's* Prisoner, compelled the rest to fly to *Stamms*, tooke the Castle of *Calpe*, and put Four and twenty therein to the Sword. After this they made many other bold attempts upon the Enemy, among which that of the Lord *Moors* upon *Mac Brian* at *Tallagh Hallon*, deserves to be mentioned; he had but Four hundred Foot and Eighty Horse, the Enemy thrice the Number; yet wanting in Valour what they exceeded in multitude were easily put to flight, and *Moyle Mac Mogham* carried Prisoner to *Tredagh*. These and other fortunate achievements, together with the great store of Corne which they brought in daily, and fresh provisions by Sea, to heartned the *English*, and amazed the Spirits of the Besiegers, that Generall *O Neale*, despairing of taking the Towne, privately raised his Siege and retired to *Dundalk*, and then the Governour opened the Gates and marched out, firing and pillaging round about where ever the Enemy had any thing to do. And thus was *Tredagh* delivered, *March* the Twentieth. After which the Market was abundantly increased (to the great refreshment of the Souldiers) by the coming of the Country people with Provisions. Lieutenant Generall *Ormond* had now gotten together a considerable Army of Three thousand Foot and Five hundred Horse, with which he sets forward to find out the Enemy, burning the County of *Meath* and so comes to *Tredagh*, the *Irish* dispersing all the way before him; there he calls a Councill of War, where it was resolved, That the Rebels should be pursued and unkenelled from their lurking holes; but the Earl of *Ormonds* presence could not be spared so long from *Dublin*: wherefore he returns and leaves the performance of that exploit to the Lord *Moor* and the Governour *Tichburne*.

The Siege of
Tredagh ray'd

The first of these Marches out with a Thousand foot and Two hundred horse, and finds the Enemy in two divisions neer a Town called *Aberdee*, each division consisting of Twelve hundred men, between these and the Towne a party of horse placed themselves, and another gets between them and a bog to hinder their escape that way; in the mean while a forlorn of an hundred scoures the Ditches, beats out the Ambuscado which was laid for them, and then the *English*, falling upon their body, discomfit them and kill Four hundred. And now these two noble Commanders bend themselves to the attempting of *Dundalk* it self, their Recepracle and Magazine, well fortified with double Walls, double Ditches, marches on the one side and the Sea on the other. The cowardly *Irish* presently clap up the Protestant Prisoners close, meaning, if the Towne came to hazzard, to sacrifice all those poore Soules to their Revenge. The *English* come on, their forlorn gives fire at the Gate, yet could not enter till Lieutenant Colonel *Waman* with three hundred men pick-axed the Wall and forced his passage through the breach and made way for the Horse, and on they go, but comming against three brass-pieces maintained by Five hundred men they were faine to retire and take another way; so firing the Houses about the Castle, by advantage of the smoke got undescried under the walls to the very Gate, which they blew open and entered at it into the Castle and made themselves masters of it, and leaving a sufficient number of Musquetiers to man the Streets drew up the Ordinance against the inner Gate and discharged them in such a manner that the Enemy astonished at their hardy Resolution, betook themselves to their heeles leaving their Guns loaden.

The Lord
Moor defeats
the Enemy
neer *Aberdee*.

He and *Tich-
burne* besiege
Dundalk.

Generall *O Neale* seeing all in confusion steales away over the River, while Sir *Henry Tichburne* and the Lord *Moor* enter at severall waies, and take possession of the Towne, with the death of an hundred *Papists*, and of their own side but fourteen; viz. Ensigne *Fortescue* eldest Son to Sir *Faithfull Fortescue*, and three other Officers, and Ten common Souldiers, all slain by shot from the Castle. *O Neale* in his flight, out of Revenge, Burns *Bally Muscumilen*, a Castle of the Lord *Moors*, who in requitall for his Losses, and for his good Services, is by the Lords Justices Commissioned to be Governour of *Dundalk*. And thus the Protestants becoming Masters of the Field in those parts, the Action between *Papists* and Protestants in *Ireland* tooke end for this year.

And take the
Town.

During the Kings abode in *Scotland* the two Maquisses of *Hamilton* and *Arguile*, being informed that there were some Plots upon their Persons, for some daies forbore their appearance in Parliament and absented themselves from *Edenburgh*. This comming to the knowledge of the Parliament, in *England* wrought in them such Jealousies and feares of the Kings designs, that immediately the Committee, during the recess, and then the Houses tooke order for a Guard, for the defence of *London*, *Westminster* and the Parliament. In this discontented humour, the King finds them at his returne which, was about the latter end of *November*; the Citizens feast him Magnificently and at *Hampton Court* are Banqueted by him and diverse Aldermen Knighted.

The Parlia-
ment entertain
jealousies of
the Kings de-
signes.

The King re-
turns from
Scotland.

December the Second the King Summons both Houses together, and tells them;

'That he had tarried in *Scotland* longer then he was expected, yet not fruitlessly, for he had given full satisfaction to that Nation, but cannot chuse but take notice of, and wonder at the unexpected distractions which he finds at home.

'Lastly, he commends to them the State of *Ireland*, minds them of their slowness in sending

‘ sending reliefe thither, and desires them to appoynt a Committee to consider with
 ‘ two *Scottish* Commissioners whome he had brought along with him to treat with the
 ‘ Parliament about transporting Auxiliaries out of *Scotland*, as was desired by the Lords
 ‘ Justices of *Ireland*.

The next thing the King did was to publish a Proclamation for Obedience to the Laws (then in force) concerning Religion, and the performance of Divine Service without Innovation of Rites and Ceremonies,

He causeth the two Houses to appear before him to consult about severall affaires.

The Parliament take exceptions at some things in the Kings Speech and draw up a Petition and Remonstrance to be presented to him.

Then he issues out a Command for compeering of all Members of both Houses of Parliament at or before the Twentieth of *January*; and being come, upon the Fourteenth of *December*, he reminds them of the *Irish* Affaires and conjures them by all that is or can be dear to them or him to hasten that Businesse with all possible Speed; but withall he takes notice of a Bill for pressing Souldiers for *Ireland*, depending in the House of Lords, in Reference to which, because some Dispute had been started concerning Bounds of Prerogative therein, he was content for avoiding such Debates, that the Bill should pass so it were with a *Salvo Jure* both for King and People. This provisionall *Item* caused a conference between both Houses; wherein it was agreed that a Petition should be presented to his Majesty to acquaint him with the disgust of his Parliament at the breach of their Priviledge in taking notice of the forementioned Bill for impress, which he ought not to have done otherwise then by their Information; and for putting in that provisionall clause of *Salvo Jure*, before it was presented; desiring to know the names of those who had so unduly given him such Information, that they might be brought to condigne Punishment.

The Petition was ill resented by the King, yet they resolved not to desist till they had obtained a satisfactory Answer; Whereupon a select Committee was ordered to draw up another Petition and a Remonstrance for the further prosecution of the Businesse. The Petition was thus;

Most Gracious Sovereign.

Your Majesties most humble and Faithfull Subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament, do with Joy acknowledge this Favour of God for your safe returne into England, when the Dangers and distempers of the State, have caused them to desire your presence and Authority to your Parliament for preventing of eminent Ruine and destruction to your Kingdomes of England and Scotland, somented by a malignant party for alteration of Religion and Government, the increase of Popery by the practice of Jesuits and other Engineers and Factors of Rome, corrupting the Bishops and privy Council. They being the cause of the late Scottish War and the Irish Rebellion: now, for prevention, they pray that your Majesty would concur with your Parliament, to deprive the Bishops of their Votes, To take away Oppression in Religion, Church Government and Discipline; To purge your Councils of such as are Promoters of these Corruptions, And not alienate any escheated Lands in Ireland by reason of the Rebellion. And these being granted they will make him happy.

After this comes out the Remonstrance very long and prolix setting downe all the Mistakes and misfortunes and pressures which had happened since the beginning of his Reigne; As

First, the roote and ground of these Dangers and Evils;

Secondly, their Maturity and ripenesse;

Thirdly, the effectuall means used for their extirpation and the progres therein made;

Fourthly, the Obstructions and oppositions interrupting; And

Fifthly, the best Meanes for removing these Obstacles, and for accomplishing the Parliaments good Intentions, for the restoring of this Nation to its antient Renoune.

The Acters and Promoters of these Evils were described to be;

First, the Jesuited *Papists*;

Secondly, the Bishops and corrupted Clergy; And

Thirdly, Interrested Councillors and Courtiers.

The roote of the mischief was the Malignant party whose principles were branched into Four particulars.

First, to soment differences and discontents between King and people about Prerogative and Priviledge, for their own principall Advantages;

Secondly, to suppress the purity and Power of Religion;

Thirdly, to unite and conjoine *Papists*, *Arminians* and Libertines, and out of them all to compose a body sufficient for the carrying on of their Designs; And

Fourthly, to disaffect the King to the Parliament by Slanders, and by putting him upon other waies of Supply then Parliamentary Subsidies; And that the ends of these Malignants were to subvert the fundamental Laws and Principles of Government.

Then the Remonstrance charges this Malignant party more particularly, as main Causers of the dissolution of three severall Parliaments without Relief of Grievances, imprisoning and fining some of the Members; raising great sums of Mony by Loan, Privy-seales and Excise; and blasfing the Petition of Right.

The Substance of the Parliaments Remonstrance,

A Successless attempts upon *Spain* and *France* and Peace made with the former without content of Parliament. The loss of *Rochell* occasioned by the Loan of part of our Fleet to the *French King*. The deserting the *Palsgraves* cause; Charging the Kingdome with billeted Souldiers; and the designe of *German Horse* to inflave this Nation to Arbitrary Contributions.

And then the Remonstrance falls upon Scandalous Declarations published against the Parliament, injustice, oppression, violence, illegall enlargements of Forreits, Coat and Conduct money, Corrupt Councillis and Designs, projects, Monopolies, and Mis-actions of Courts of Judicature and Councill-Table; Then it chargeth the Bishops with many Enormities, particularly for contributing towards the raising of an Army for the contraining of the *Scots* to a conformity with their Superstitious Ceremonies; And Lastly, mentions

B What they had done for the Reformation of the said Abuses.
To their Petition the King returns this Answer,

That he knowes not any wicked or malignant Parsons whom he doth either Countenance or imploy;

The Kings Answer to the Petition,

That he would concur with his people in a Parliamentary way against all Popish designs, but would not consent to the depriving of the Bishops of their Votes
C in Parliament;

That he Judged the power of the Clergy sufficiently moderated by the taking away of the High Commission Court, so needed no further abridgement;

That he was willing to concur with them for the removall of any innovations in Religion by a Nationall Synod.

That he had no Counsellors or Ministers of State whome he will not at any time expose to tryall and leave to the Law, but cannot agree that any others should have
D the Choice of them but himselfe.

That he concurs with them for the not altering the forfeited Lands in Ireland, but thinks it not seasonable to resolve before the Event of War be seen; And doubts not of their loyall endeavours for the support of his Royall Estate.

In Answer to the Remonstrance the King issues out a Declaration to his Subjects, the sum of which was,

His Answer to the Remonstrance,

E That he thought he had given sufficient Satisfaction to his Peoples Feares and Jealousies concerning Religion, Liberty, and Civill Interests by the Bills which he had passed this Parliament; desiring that misunderstandings might be removed on either side, and that the bleeding Condition of Ireland might perswade them to unity for the reliefe of that unhappy Kingdome.

F Soon after this hapned the insolent Mutiny of the London Prentices, who in a tumultuary manner resorted to *White-Hall* and *Westminster* to the great affrightment of the King, who thereupon commanded the Maior and Common Councill to take order for a double Watch and Guard to keep the riotous rabble in better order for the future and especially the ensuing Christmas Holydayes.

The tumultuous Concur of the London Apprentices,

December the Twenty Eighth the King sends a Message to the House of Lords to signifie to them that he would raise ten thousand Volunteeres for the Succour of *Ireland* if the Commons would undertake to pay them and upon *New-years* day comes out a Proclamation of the *Irish* Rebellion wherein the *Irish* (then in Armes) with all their Adherents and Abettors were denounced Rebels and Traitors.

The Irish proclaimed Rebels and Traitors,

G But two daies after the King upon Information given that the Lord *Kimbolton* and Five Members of the House of Commons viz: Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Hazelrig*, Mr. *Pim*, Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. *Stroudes*, had designed a Correspondence with the *Scots* and countenanced the late City Tumults; Ordred Sir *William Killegrey* and Sir *William Fleming* to seale up their Trunks, Studies and Chambers and to seize their persons; for the latter they were prevented, for the Members having timely notice of it had conveyed themselves away; the former was done and their Truncks and Papers seized; against wick the House the same day Voted;

The Kings proceedings against the 5 Members,

That if any Persons should attempt to seize the Persons or Papers of any Parliament men; such Members shall require the Aide of the Constable to secure such Persons till further order of the House; and that it is lawfull for any person to assist the said Members, and that the said Mem-

bers may stand upon their Guard and make resistance according to the Protestation for defence of A the Priviledges of Parliament.

The King Fears of this, and speeds these Articles against the Five Members, and the Lord Kimbolton.

First, *That they have traiterously endeavoured to subvert the Fundamentall Laws and Government of this Kingdome, and deprive the King of his legall power, and to place on Subjects an Arbitrary and Tyrannicall power.*

Secondly, *That they have endeavoured by many foul Aspersions upon his Majesty and his Government to Alienate the affections of his People, and to make his Majesty odious unto them.* B

Thirdly, *That they have endeavoured to draw his Majesties late Army to Disobedience to his Majesties Commands, and to side with them in their trayterous Designs.*

Fourthly, *That they have traiterously invited and encouraged a Forreign Power to invade his Majesties Kingdome of England.* C

Fifthly, *That they have traiterously endeavoured to Subvert the very Rights and Being of Parliament.*

Sixthly, *That, for compleasing of their traiterous designs, they have endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by Force and terror to compell the Parliament to joine with them in their traiterous Designs, and to that end have actually raised and countenanced Tumults against the King and Parliament.* D

Seventhly, *That they have traiterously Conspired to levy, and actually have levied War against the King.*

The King comes to the House of Commons with a company of Armed Men to Arrest the 5. Members.

The next day the King attended with his Guard of Pensioners and some Courtiers almost five hundred, went to the House of Commons to arrest the Five Members, at whose entrance the Speaker arises and the King sits downe, views the House round, and perceives that the Birds he looked for were all flowne; for, being forewarned, they had withdrawne themselves into London; hereupon he tells them, That he came to looke for those Members whom he had accused of High Treason, and was resolved to have them wheresoever he found them, and expected to have them sent to him as soone as they should come to the House; but would not have them think that this Act of his was any Violation of Parliament.

The House very much distressed at this Act adjourn'd and publish a Declaration concerning it

And so failing of his purpose departed, leaving the House so extreemly distast'd at his Proceeding that the very next day January the Fifth they Voted it a Breach of Priviledge and adjourned till Tuesday following, appointing in the mean time a Committee to sit at Guildhall to consider of the most effectuall meanes for their Vindication and Security, with power to advise any Person or Persons, and to send for parties, Witneses, Papers and Records.

It was also ordered; *That the Committee for the Irish Affaires should meet in the same Place at what Time they should think best; and both Committees to report their Results to the House.*

And then they publish their Declaration,

THAT whosoever shall arrest any Member of Parliament by Warrant from the King only, is Guilty of the Breach of priviledges of the Parliament, and likewise that all those who attended the King when he came to demand the Five Members were guilty of a traiterous Designe against the King and Parliament; That the Proclamation for apprehending and imprisoning the said Members, was false, scandalous and illegall, and not of validity enough to hinder them from attending the House; and that the publishing of severall Articles of High Treason was a Breach of priviledges: wherefore they intreat his Majesty to discover the Names of those Informers and evill Counsellours, declaring all such Persons to be publike Enemies to the King &c. G

The Londoners throng to West. With Petitions against the Bishops.

In the mean time the Londoners came thronging to Westminster with Petitions and were over lavish of their tongues, bitterly inveighing against severall Peers whom they judged bad Advisers to the King, but more especially against the Bishops whom some of them affronted going to and coming from the House, which put them into such a fright that they sequestered themselves from the Parliament and drew up an inconsiderate Protestation against all Lawes, Orders, Votes, Resolutions

A Resolutions and Determinations, as in themselves nul and of none effect which had passed or should pass during the time of their forced absence, desiring that their Protestation might be entered by the Clarke of the House of Peers. This was signed by Twelve of them, and proved afterward a maine Break-neck of Episcopacy in England; for presently upon it at a Conference between both Houses it was agreed, That this Protestation of the twelve Bishops was extending to the deep intrenching upon the fundamentall Priviledges and Being of Parliament.

12 Bishops absent themselves from the House and protest against their Actions.

And not long after they were accused of High Treason, seized and brought on their knees to the Lords Barr, Ten of them committed to the Tower, and the other Two, in regard of their age, to the Black Rod.

They are charged with Treason and committed, 10 of them to the Tower and 2 to the Black rod.

B The House of Commons, upon suspicion of some designs upon their Persons, Petition the King for a Guard to be commanded by the Earl of Essex; which the King denied as not willing to have them too strong; Yet promised to take such care for their Security from violence as he would for the Preservation of Himselfe and Children.

The Parliament Petition the King for a Guard. And are backed by a Petition out of the City.

But that Answer being unsatisfactory, the City joyned with them and in their Common Council drew up a Petition wherein they complaine;

C *That the Trade of the City was decayed to the utter Ruine of the Protestant Religion and the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects; by the designs of Papists, forrainers and Domesticks, more particularly their fomenting the Irish Rebellion; by changing the Constable of the Tower, and making preparations there; by the fortifying of Whitehall, and his Majesties late Invasion of the House of Commons; wherefore they pray, That by the Parliaments advice the Protestants in Ireland may be relieved, the Tower be put in the hands of Persons of trust, a Guard appointed for the safety of the Parliament, and that the Five Members may not be restrained nor proceeded against, but by the Priviledges of Parliament.*

Before this, the King riding in his Coach into the City, Citizens by heaps flocked to his Coach side as he passed along the Street, beseeching him to agree with his Parliament and not to violate their Priviledges.

To their Petition the King returned Answer.

D **T**hat he could not express a greater sence of Ireland then he had done. That meerly to satisfie the City he had removed a worthy Person from the Charge of the Tower, and that the late Tumults had caused him to fortifie White-Hall for the security of his own Person.

The Kings Answer to the Petition.

E *That his going to the House of Commons was to apprehend those Five Members for treason to which the Priviledges of Parliament could not extend, and that yet he would proceed against them no otherwise then Legally.*

Soone after this the County of Buckingham Petition the King for Mr. John Hambden their Knight of the Shire.

The County of Buckingham Petition in behalf of Mr. Hambden.

That he and the Rest that lie under the Burden of Accusation may enjoy their just Priviledges.

The King removes to Hampton Court.

F And now such increase and numbers of ordinary people gathered together in a tumultuous manner about White-Hall and Westminster that the King mistrusting their Intentions, and fearing some danger from them thought good to retire to Hampton Court taking with him the Queene, Prince and Duke of Yorke, where he had retinues and Guard quickly increased by the Accession of divers of the Gentry. But the next day the Five Members were triumphantly guarded to Westminster by Water by a great number of Citizens and Sea-men, with Hundreds of Boats and Barges with Gunns in them Braving and Threatning as they passed by White-Hall; and making large Protestations at Westminster of their constant Fidelity and adherence to the Parliament.

G The King now at Hampton Court gives the like Answer to the Buckingham Petition as he had given to the City; but in the mean time the Parliament receives information, that the Lord Digbey and Colonel Lunsford were gathering some Troopes of Horse at Kingston, where the County Magazine was lodged; Whereupon they order, That the County Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace and the Trained Bands shall take care to secure the Counties and their Magazines, and to suppress all unlawfull Assemblies; And so Lunsford was apprehended and committed to the Tower, but Digbey escaped over Sea. The Court removing now to Royston, the Attorney Generall Sir Edward Herbert is summoned to appear at the Lords Bar to answer concerning the Articles against the Five Members, where it had gone hard with him if the King at his earnest Supplication had not taken him off by his Letter to the Lord Keeper Littleton (who succeeded Finch) wherein he clears the Attorney Generall and takes the whole businesse upon himself; Yet concludes, That finding cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the Persons accused, he had commanded his Attorney Generall to proceede no further therein, nor to produce nor discover any proof concerning the same. And so this Breach between King and Parliament was for a while stitched up. January the

Colonel Lunsford apprehended for raising Forces at Kingston. The Lord Digbey escapes beyond Sea.

Thirdly, *That for erecting Mannours, creating Corporations, and regulating of plantations, A Commissioners shall be empowered by Parliament.*

Fourthly, *All undertakers to subscribe before severall daies prefixt in reference to the distance of abode from London.*

Fifthly, *Their Monies to be paid into the Chamber of London at four payments, Viz: a Fourth part in ten daies after subscribing, and the Third payment at three Months.*

Sixthly, *At subscribing to pay downe the twentieth part of his totall sum, and if he faile of his residue of the first fourth part within ten daies, he shall forfeit the twentieth part of the totall deposited; and so much more of his fourth payment, to be added thereto, as shall make up the one moiety of the said first payment. And if he faile in any other of the three payments, he shall then forfeit his entrie first fourth part, and all his Subscription to accrue to the common Benefit of the rest of the undertakers: Which the King confirms, February 26.*

And the Committee of the Irish affaires issue out their Warrants to the severall parishes for the sending a Certificate of what sum of Mony they collected, and for the bringing of the said Monies to them; and indeed the people were generally free in their Contributions.

The King now returning to Greenwich considers of the Parliaments Petition about the Business of the Militia, and sends them this Answer.

That he is willing to condescend to all the Proposals concerning the Militia of the Counties and the Persons mentioned. But not of London and other Corporations, whose Government in that Particular, he thought it not either Justice or Policy to alter. But would not consent to derest himselfe of the Power of the County Militia for an indefinite time but for some limited space.

This Answer satisfied not, so that the Breach growing daily wider, the King declines those parts and the Parliament, progressed and to Theobalds, taking with him the Prince and Duke of York.

March the first, He receives a Petition from the Parliament, wherein they require the Militia more resolutely then before, affirming;

That in case of deniall the eminent dangers would constraine them to dispose of it by Authority of Parliament, desiring also that he would make his abode neere London and the Parliament, and continue the Prince at some of his Houses neere the City, for the better carrying on Affaires; and preventing of the peoples jealousies and feares: all which being refused, they presently order, That the Kingdome be put into a posture of defence in such a way as was agreed upon by Parliament, and a Committee to prepare a publique Declaration from these two heads.

First, *the just causes of the feares and jealousies given to the Parliament and to cleere them from any jealousies conceived against them.*

Secondly, *to consider of all matters arising from his Majesties Message, and what was fit to be done.*

And now began our Troubles; such preparations were made by Sea and Land all of a suddain. And the Earl of Northumberland Admirall of England is commanded to rigg the Kings Ships and fit them for Sea; and likewise all Masters and Owners of Ships were perswaded to doe the like; the Beakons were new made up; Sea-markes set up, and extraordinary posting up and down with paquets, all sad prognosticks of the civil War ensuing.

To Royston (whither the King was now come) the Earles of Pembroke and Holland bring the Parliaments Declaration and read it to him, March the Ninth, wherein they represent unto him some of his former misactions: As, The Attempts to incense the late Northern Army against the Parliament; The Scottish troubles, Jermines Treasons, and transportation by the Kings Warrant, the Petition delivered to Captain Leg with the Kings own hand, with the direction signed C. R. The Business of the Lord Kimbolson, and the Five Members, the suspitions designing a guard about his Person

The Kings Answer to the Parliaments Petition concerning the Militia.

The King goes to Theobalds where he receives another Petition about the Militia.

The Parliament set forth a Declaration and make preparations for War both by Land and Sea.

The Parliaments Declaration brought to the King to Royston by the Earls of Pembroke and Holland.

A Person, and under-hand promoting the *Irish* Rebellion; the ordering of Sir John Pennington to Land the Lord Digby beyond Sea, from thence to alienate the King from his Parliament, and to procure forein Forces for his Assistance, which now appeared more credible, by reason of his removall with the Prince, and the manifold Advertisements from *Rome, Venice, Paris*, and other parts, certifying, that the Popes Nuntio had solicited the King of *France* and *Spain*, to lend his Majesty Four thousand men apeece, in reference to some Design against Religion, and the Parliament.

And lastly, They desire him to turn away his wicked Counsellors, and put his Trust in Parliament, which if he would do, they would sacrifice their Lives, Fortunes, and utmost Endeavours, to the supportation of his Sovereignty.

B The Lords after the reading of the Declaration, would have perswaded the King to come neer the Parliament, and to grant the *Militia* for a time, which was refused; and then he told them in short, that their Fears, and Doubts, and Jealousies were such as he would take time to satisfy the whole World of: but that his own were not triviall, occasioned by so many scandalous Pamphlets and seditious Sermons, sundry publick Tumults hitherto uninquied into, and unpunished: but sometime after he publishes a Declaration in answer to theirs, and to the people.

The Summe of which was;

C * That he had no evill Counsellors about him, but leaves such to their Censure where they should find them.

* That he desired the Judgments of Heaven might be manifested upon those, who had any Design against the Protestant Profession.

* That the *Scottish* Troubles were buried in perpetuall silence by the Act of Oblivion passed in Parliaments of both Kingdomes.

* That their charging him with any Inclining to the *Irish* Rebels, was a high and causeless Injury to his Royall Reputation.

D * That he never intended to exasperate the late Army, or in any wise to use them against the Parliament.

* That Captain Leg's Petition was brought to him Subscribed by the Officers of the Army, desiring that the Parliament might not be hindred from Reforming the Church and State, to the Modell of Queen Elizabeths Dayes; And was Advantagious unto them, and to assure Sir Jacob Asbly of his Opinion therein, he writ C. R

* That the Lord Digby, and Mr. Fermin, neither were at *White-hall*, nor had any Warrant from him after the Restraint.

E * That he had given sufficient Answers about *Kimbolton*, and the Five Members.

* That the Care of his own Safety caused him to raise a Guard at *White-hall*, and to receive the Royall Tender which the Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court* did make him of their Service: And that he looked upon their forein Advertisements by them mentioned, as meerly wild and irrationall.

The Kings Answer to the Parliaments Declaration.

The Kings Message to the Parliament from *Huntington*.

The Parliament declare against the Kings absence, & impute it to evil Council.

The King arriving at *Tork* repeals his Grant to the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage.

The King removes on his way Northward, whilst in the mean time the Parliament Voted the Ordinance for the Defence of the Kingdom, no whit prejudiciall to the Oath of Allegiance, but to be obeyed as the Fundamentall Laws. And that the Kings Commands for Lieutenancy over the respective Counties, to be illegall and void: But he coming to *Huntington*, sends them a Message, March the Fifteenth, That he means to make his Residence at *Tork*, and desires them to hasten their Succours for *Ireland*, and not upon any pretense of Order or Ordinance, (to which he is not a Party) of the *Militia*, or any other thing, to do or execute against the Laws, which he himself was to keep, and his Subjects to obey; declaring his Subjects not to be obliged to obey any Act, Order, or Injunction, to which he hath not given Consent.

In answer to which, they resolve that the Absence of the King so far from his Parliament was Obstructive to the Relief of *Ireland*: And therefore all those Counsellors which advised him to it, are to be suspected as Favourers of that *Bloody-Rebellion*; as likewise those who perswaded his Majesty to question, or contradict their Votes, which was a high breach of Priviledge of Parliament.

March the Sixteenth, The King at *Stamford* Proclaims for putting the Laws against Papist-Recusants in Execution; And from thence proceeded North-wards till he came to *Tork*, and there March the Twenty Fourth, Repeals his Grant for the passing of the Bill against Tonnage and Poundage, June the twenty Second last past, Commanding payment thereof for the future, according to the Act 1 Jac. and so ends this year.

The King and Parliament differ about who should be chief Commander at Sea.

It was now the Eighteenth Year of King *Charles* his Reign, being the year 1642. which Commenced with a fresh Difference between King and Parliament. The Earl of *Norshumberland* Admirall of *England* being indisposed, the King Ordered Sir *John Pennington* Vice-admirall, to take the Charge of that Summers Fleet for the Narrow Seas, but the Parliament earnestly desired that it might be conferred upon the Earl of *Warwick*, but were refused by the King, which bred more ill Blood.

The people of *Yorkshire* Petition the King to endeavour an Agreement with the Parliament.

During the Assises at *York*, the Gentry, Ministers, and Free-holders of that County, *April* the Fifth, presented the King with a Petition, Wherein they humbly Requested Him to Declare the best Expedients for the taking away all Mis-understandings between Him and the Parliament.

To this he Replies (after a profession of his good Will) in severall Particulars, That the only way of good Understanding, was, For the Parliament to consider of his Message the Twentieth of *January* last, and find out some way for settling the *Militia* by Act of Parliament, without prejudice to his Honour, or the Safety of the Kingdome; Advised them to apply to the Parliament for the Good of All, *April* the Seventh: And next Day certifies the Houses by Message, that he intended to raise his Guard out of the Counties neer *Chester*, Two Thousand Foot, and Two Hundred Horse, to be supplied with Armes from the Magazine at *Hull*, taking the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance; That if the Parliaments Undertakings for that War, would not suffice to defray the Charges of Raising and Paying them, he would pawn, or sell his Land, or Houses; desiring them withall to quicken their Levies for *Munster* and *Connaugh*, as the *Scots* already did theirs of *Ulster*, and offers his Person against the Rebels.

The Parliament oppose the Kings Designs for the raising of a Guard, and sending the Magazine of *Hull*. Sir *J. Hotham* is sent down to keep *Hull* for the Parliament. The Parliament disallow of the Kings intention to go in Person into *Ireland*.

The Parliament who did all along suspect his Journey North-wards to be out of a Design of seizing the Magazine at *Hull*, thought it neither safe for them now to let him bring that about, nor yet to trust him with an Army; and therefore pray, that, that Magazine might be removed from thence to the Tower of *London*, as a Place of more safety, and easier Transport for *Ireland*. And that the Reprieve for the six Priests in *Newgate* may be taken away, and they Executed: and to make the surer Work, Sir *John Hotham* a Member of the House of Commons, is sent down to take upon him the Government of that Place, who coming thither sooner then he was expected, excluded the Earl of *Newcastle*, to whom the King intended that Prefecture; Whereat he being Irritated, sends a sharp expostulating Letter to them about it, to know the Reason why they should presume to make themselves their own Carvers, and to act things in such a manner without his Privy; yet in the end of it he leaves the six Priests to Justice, the time of their Reprieve being expired; But continues his Resolution for a Personall Voyage into *Ireland*. To put him off from which, they Petition him not to hazard his own Person, whose Absence would only interrupt the Proceedings of Parliament here. That they must suppress all Levies otherwise raised then they should Advise and direct, and could not submit to any Commissioners, but must Govern by Consent of Parliament, till his Return.

This was ill taken, and the King tells them, That though he regards them as his great Council, yet they must know, they were called by his Writ and Authority to Council, and not to Command him who was not Devested of any Right he had before their Sitting; that their Reasons did not satisfy him, nor their Menacing Advice deter him from his settled Determinations. Which coming to the knowledge of the Lords Justices, Parsons, and *Burlace*, and the Council of *Ireland* they returned him their Humble Thanks, to the great Discontent of the Parliament.

The King demands entrance into *Hull*, and being denied, proclaims Sir *John Hotham* Traytor.

The King encouraged by a Petition from the County of *York*, that the Magazine might not be removed from *Hull*; Taking with him his Guard, mostly consisting of Lords and Gentlemen, came thither in Person the Twenty Third of *April*, where he finds the Gates shut upon him, and the Bridges drawn up: But from the Wall *Hotham* appears, and upon his Knees entreats his Majesty not to Command that, to which, without the breach of his Trust he could not yeild Obedience: Whereupon the King finding his Entrance prevented, caused *Hotham* instantly to be Proclaimed Traytor, and sent up to the Parliament to demand Justice against him, and Commanded the Mayor and Fraternity of *Kingston* upon *Hull*, and the Garrison therein not to adhere to *Hotham*, nor permit any part of that Ammunition to be removed without his Assent. Then stomaching his Affront, he again demands Justice upon *Hotham* from the Parliament, and the delivery of the Town and Magazine, till both which be done, he would intend no other business: But receiving no Answer, Scouts are said to intercept Letters and Messengers between *Hull* and the Parliament, which they Voted to be a high breach of their Priviledges, and ordered the Sheriffs and Justices of the Counties of *York* and *Lincoln* to suppress all Forces that should be levied against *Hull*.

The King denies to signe the Bill for the *Militia*.

The Bill of the *Militia* was now passed in Parliament and presented to the King, who refused absolutely to sign it, because of some alterations in it, from what he had designed to be done by his Council.

The Parliament justify Sir *John Hotham's* keeping the King out of *Hull*.

The next thing by them done to Answer the Kings Message concerning *Hotham*, whose Commission and Action they justified as necessarily occasioned by the desperate Designs of Papists, and other Jealousies grounded upon the Lord Digbeys intercepted Letters, and the Suspitions of the coming of Captain *Leg*, the Earl of *Newcastle* and the King himself to that Town, concluding it a breach of Priviledge in Proclaiming *Hotham* Traytor, without a Legall

A Form, and resolved to send a Committee of Lords and Commons to reside there, for the better securing *Hull*, and Him.

Hotham had already a thousand in Garrison, yet the Parliament doubting that Number would not be sufficient for the Defence of the Place, Authorise him to encrease his Strength by the Counties Trained Bands, or other Levies; Whereupon he issues out his Warrants: In Obedience to which Divers of them march thither with their Armes, some of whom he retains, others he Disarmes and sends back; the King declares these Proceedings of the Parliament, and *Hotham*, utterly Illegal, and Commands the high Sheriffs to take care that no Soldiers, or Trained Bands, Muster, or March without his Immediate Warrant.

B And forthwith he summons the Knights and Gentry of the County of *York*, to whom he Declares some Reasons, why it was necessary for him to encrease his Guard, and thoroughly perswaded them of it; that they were willing to Contribute their best Assistance thereunto, whereby the King had pretty well strengthened himself, and more had done, had not those Members of Parliament (who came with the last Message to the King to *York*, and did still reside there in Quality of a Committee) prevailed with some of the Free-holders to Protest against it. And the Parliament Declare, That the Subjects unless bound to it by special Service, could not without Transgression of the Laws Attend him at his Pleasure, but if they did, were Disturbers of the Peace, and ought to be suppressed by the Sheriff, with the Power of the County.

The King summons the Gentry of *York* shire to his assistance.

C In the mean time, Sir *Thomas Gardner*, who had been Recorder of *London* for six years, being Impeached by the Parliament, and in danger of Hanging, was glad to snuff for himself, and by Flight escaped to the King: who using all waies and means of his Prerogative for adjourning the next Term to *York*, was obstructed by the Parliament, who Voted it illegal, and forbad the Lord Keeper to Issue out Writs, or Seal any Proclamations to that end.

The Recorder of *London* impeached by the Parliament, escapes by flight to the King at *York*.

About this time the Parliament began to put the People into a Military Posture, requiring all persons in Authority, to put their late Ordinance of the *Militia* in Execution, which the King by Edict forbids. But for the peoples satisfaction, the Parliament publish a scurrilous Declaration to the same Effect, with their former Remonstrance, only one Thing was added; *Viz.* That the King at his being in *Scotland* had Countenanced the *Irish* in their Rebellious Designs, and that his Connivance was manifested by his tedious with-holding the Proclamation (whereby they were Declared Traytors) till the Second of *January* (being almost a Quarter of a Year after the breaking out of the Rebellion) and then had appointed but Forty Copies to be Printed, and none of them to be Published without his Pleasure signified; Whereas his Proclamations against the *Scots* had been dispersed throughout all the Kingdome with publick Prayers and Execrations.

The Parliament publish another Declaration.

The King makes Answer speedily to it, not much differing from what he had sayd before; yet tells them, That as to the Business of the *Irish*, that his Councill in *Ireland* had desired the Proclamation no sooner, nor so many Copies by Twenty, as he had Signed and sent them.

Which is answered by the King. The Kings Letter to the Councill in *Scotland*. With their answer perswading him to adhere to his Parliament.

E His Majesty had written a Letter to his privy Councill in *Scotland*, to take away from them all Suspicion of those Imputations so frequently laid to him at Home; as Namely, to be *Papishly* Affected, to be Guilty of the Blood-shed in *Ireland*, to bring in Foreign Forces. Wherewith they seemed to be so satisfied; that they returned a most respectfull Answer, and forthwith interposed their Mediation, to heal the Breach, before it grew deeper; humbly Desiring the King to hearken to his Parliament, as his greatest, his best, and most unparalleled Councill, and discouraging him from any personall Journey into *Ireland*: And with this Message was sent the Earl of *Lowdon*, Chancellor of *Scotland*; and after this, the *Scots* Petition the Kings privy Councill there, not to meddle with any Verball, nor reall Engagement for the King against the *Parliament* of *England*.

F Hereupon the *English* Parliament publish a protestation, wherein they Vindicate their own Proceedings, and Declare the great Sense they had of the Affection of their *Scottish* Brethren, manifested unto them in so many Particulars, and more especially in the late mentioned Petition.

The parliaments Protestation.

The Earl of *Brissoll* an old Experienced States-man, prudently foresaw that such unlucky Beginnings must necessarily come to no less an unlucky Issue, and therefore was willing and ready to labour a timely Accommodation; and to that end states the Case to the Lords, and laies down the Offers of the King on the one side, and the Professions of the Parliament on the other side; and shews them the Effects of a Civill War (then likely to ensue) by the Example of *Germany*, and the late expensive Troubles with *Scotland*. And so he proceeds to propose some waies for prevention of the Dangers imminent.

The Earl of *Brissoll* labours to bring about an accommodation between the King and Parliament.

G First, A select Committee of Parliament, truly to state the matters in Difference, with the most probable waies of Reconciling them.

Secondly, To descend into the Particulars which may be expected, either in point of supporting the King, or relieving his People.

And lastly, How these Conditions agreed upon may be secured. And to shew the Necessity of this Course, he summs up these Reasons; The Deplorable Estate of *Ireland*, The Debts, and Necessities of the Crown, The Distractions likely to produce Confusion of Religion, most dangerous and destructive to a State; besides the generall Distraction of the Subjects, who between Commands and Countermands, know not whom to Obey.

This was admitted as good and solid Reason, but Divine Justice would not so permit the Sins of the *English* Nation to go unpunished; and *Brisfolls* Speech though well received, yet proved ineffectuall.

Much Clashing between the King and Parliament, by Declarations, Orders, and Counter-commands.

In the mean time, the Kings Guard encreases at *York*, which the Houses Voted a Preparation for War against the Parliament, a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of his Government, and all such as serve him there, are Traytors to the Laws of the Kingdome, 11 *Rich. 2.* and 1 *Hen.* After this, the Parliament publish another Remonstrance, or Declaration of the Kings Mis-actions, and their own Priviledges, which the King Answers, and they again Reply to: And receiving Answer from the King, they Ordain *May* the Twenty Eighth, That all high-Sheriffs, Justices, &c. within an hundred and fifty Miles of the City of *York*, do make stay of all Armes and Ammunition carrying to *York*, and the Persons so conveying to be apprehended, and likewise that all Sheriffs within the Kingdome of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, shall by the Power of the Countie, suppress all Forces of Horse and Foot, coming together by the Kings Commission or Warrant, and all people of what Rank soever, are to be Aiding to their Suppression; and these to be published in all Market Towns and Churches. The King Cries Quits with them, forbidding all his people belonging to the Trained Bands, or *Militia* of the Kingdome, to obey any Order or Ordinance of any of the Houses, according to a Statute 7 *Ed. 1.* And forthwith he requires all Ministers, Free-holders, Farmers, and substantiall Copy-holders of the County of *York*, to meet at *Hayworth Moor*, near *York*, upon *Friday Whitsun Week*, by Nine in the Morning, to the Sheriff of the County of *York*. Which the Parliament Declared to be against Law, and of none effect and Command all people to disobey it, for so doing the Parliament will protect them.

Divers of the Lords and Commons withdrew themselves to the King.

Divers Members of the Commons, as well as of the Lords, misliked of those Proceedings of Parliament, and therefore with-drew themselves to the King, which the House observing, Ordered, That all such as did not make their personall Appearance by the Sixteenth Day of *June* ensuing, should be Fined One hundred pound towards the *Irish* Wars, such only excepted, as were employed by the Parliament.

The Parliament declares against pawning the Crown Jewels. XIX. Propositions sent from the Parliament to the King.

They knew that the Queen had Pawned the Crown-Jewells in *Holland*, for Money to be transported to the King, which to prevent him of, they Order, That whosoever hath, or shall pay, lend, send, or bring any Money *in specie* into this Kingdome, for, or upon those Jewells, or accept of any Bill hereafter, shall be an Enemy to the State.

June the Second, the Parliament sent to the King Nineteen Propositions.

I. That all the Kings privy Councell, great Officers, and Ministers of State, may be put out, excepting such as the Parliament shall approve, and to Assigne them an Oath.

II. That all Affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except such Matters as are transferred by them to the privy Councell, and to be concluded by the Major Part of the Nobility under their Hands, the full Number not to exceed Five and twenty, nor under Fifteen: If any Place fall voyd in the Intervall of Parliament, then the major Part of the Councell to choose one to be Confirmed at the next Session of Parliament.

III. That all the great Officers of the Kingdome shall be Chosen with Approbation of Parliament, and in the Intervall, &c. before sayd.

IV. The Government and Education of the Kings Children by Parliament, &c. *ut supra.*

V. Their Marriages to be Treated and concluded by Parliament, &c.

VI. The Laws against Papists, Priests, and others, to be Executed without Toleration, no Dispensation except by Parliament.

VII. No Popish Lord or Peer to have Vote in Parliament, their Children to be Educated in the Protestant Faith.

VIII. To Reform Church-Government as the Parliament shall Advise.

IX. To settle the Militia as the Parliament have Ordered, and for the King to recall all his Declarations published against their Ordinances therein.

X. All privy Councillors and Judges to take Oath for the maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other Statutes which shall be made this Parliament, &c.

A 'XI. All Officers placed by *Parliament* to hold their Places, *Quam diu bene se gesserint.*

'XII. All Members of *Parliament* put out during this time, be restored again.

'XIII. The Justice of *Parliament* to pass upon all Delinquents, and they to appear or abide their Censure.

B 'XIV. The Generall Pardon to pass with Exceptions, as the *Parliament* shall Advise.

'XV. All Forts and Castles of this Kingdome to be disposed of by *Parliament*, *ut supra.*

'XVI. The King to discharge all his Guards and Forces now in being, and not to raise any other, but in case of Actuell Rebellion.

C 'XVII. The King to enter strict Alliance with all Reformed States, for their Assistance, to recover the Rights of his Sister, and her Princely Issue, to those Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them.

'XVIII. To clear the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the Five Members by Act of *Parliament.*

'XIX. No Peer hereafter to be made, shall sit in *Parliament* without their Consent.

D These Propositions were by the King rejected, as inconsistent with his Regality, So that now men began to despair of any good Issue of the Business. The King for his part Careless the County of *York*, and Declares to the *Commons* the Reasons of his Summoning the Gentry (and not them) together with his Intentions of Protecting them against all Oppressions, and to ease the Charge of Billet-money, and to put the Trained Bands of the Kingdome under Persons of Honour and Loyalty.

They are rejected by the King.

B sh sides make preparations for War.

The *Parliament* on the other side, Order *June* the Fourth, That all the Deputy-Lieutenants of *England* and *Wales*, that be not Members of the *House of Commons*, be present at the severall Daies, and Places of Training and Mustering the Counties: And all Lords Lieutenants are Ordered to dispatch their Warrants and Commissions accordingly, and that some Members of both Houses shall be sent down to be present, and to Countenance the Service.

This Order was vigorously put in Execution, and six daies after, *Viz. June* the Tenth, comes out another for bringing in of Money, or Plate, to maintain Horse, Horse-men, and Armes, for the publick Peace and Defence of the King, and both Houses of *Parliament.*

In the mean time, the Kings Agents in *Holland* are busie about getting Armes and Ammunition for him upon Pawn of the Crown-Jewels, whilst he himself sends abroad his Letters with Commissions of Array, beginning with the County of *Leicester*, Directing it to the Earls of *Huntington*, and *Devon*, Authorizing them to Muster all the ancient Trained Bands, and Freehold Bands of the Country, and over them to appoint Colonels, Captains, and Officers, and to Issue Warrants for Assembling the people for discharge of that Service. This Commission was Declared by the *Parliament* to be against the Law, the Liberty, and Property of the Subject, and the Actors therein to be Disturbers of the Peace, and Betrayers of the Subjects Liberty.

The King issues out the Commissions of Array.

F The Lord Keeper *Littleton*, having delivered the Great Seal to one *Eliot*, whom the King had sent to him for that purpose, durst not stay behind, for fear of being questioned about it, but shifted away to the King to *York*, as likewise many of the Peers had done, whose Names we find thus Recorded;

The Lord Littleton flies to York with the Great Seal

The Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis *Hartford*, the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntington*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorset*, *Salisbury*, *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, *Cambridge*, *Bristol*, *Westmoreland*, *Barkshire*, *Munmouth*, *Rivers*, *Newcastle*, *Dover*, *Carnarvan*, *Newport*, the Lords of *Mowbray* and *Matravers*, *Willoughby of Erisby*, *Rich*, *Howard of Carleton*, *Newark*, *Pages*, *Chandas Faulconbridge*, *Pawlet*, *Lovelace*, *Savile*, *Coventry*, *Mohun*, *Dunsmore*, *Seymore*, *Gray of Ruthen*, *Capell*, *Falkland* Master Controller, Secretary *Nicholas*, the Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, chief Justice *Bancks*. These Noblemen, and the privy Councell were by the King summoned, to whom he Declares, and Protests, that he would not usurp any illegall Authority over them, but is ready to maintain them against all others that would; And that he would Defend them from all Votes and Orders of *Parliament*, together with the true Protestant Religion, the lawfull Liberty of the Subject, and the just Priviledges of the three Estates of *Parliament*: Nor will he engage

Also divers of the Peers.

The Kings Protection to them.

The King forbids the Lord Mayor of London to raise Armes, or Money.

The Kings general Declaration.

The Kings Proclamation forbidding all Levies, except by his Order.

The K. takes a Journey into Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, to win those places to his party.
The Kings resolution to reduce Hull.

The Earl of Warwick made Admirall by the Parliament Sir John Pennington by the King.
The Parliament become Masters of the Navy.

An Army raised by the Parliament under the Command of the Earl of Essex.

The Parliament Petition refused by the King.

The King furnish'd with Money from the Queen, & from divers Lords and Gentlemen.

them in any War, but what shall be for the necessary Defence of his, and their Rights. Whereupon they all engaged to him their Duty and Allegiance in a most solemn Protestation; Sir Richard Gurney was then Lord Mayor of London, to whom, and his Brethren the Aldermen, and Sheriffs of London, the King sends his Letters, forbidding them (upon Perill of having their Charter questioned) to levy Armes, or raise Money, upon pretence of a Guard for the Parliament, or any other Account, excepting only the Relief of Ireland, or the payment of the Scots Subjects.

And now comes out the Kings generall Declaration, wherein he Descants upon all the Parliaments Declarations for the last seven Months, and especially upon the last; professes, that henceforward he expects they should break out into disloyall Actions, Declaimed against their making the Defence of the King to be the pretence for their raising Forces, Pretends his own constant Resolution for the preserving of Peace, Religion, the Laws and Subjects Liberties; And expects all his Subjects to assist him against the Trayterous Attempts of such men as would destroy his Person, Honour, and Estate, and bring on a Civill War; engaging that whosoever should bring unto him Money, or Ammunition, Horse, or Armes, should receive Eight pounds per Cent. Considerations, and have good Assurance of both Principall, and Interest, upon his Forest Lands, Parks, and Houses.

In the mean time the Lords Subsign a Protestation, wherein they disallow all Meanings of War against the Parliament, and affirm their Endeavours only to tend to the maintaining of the Protestant Religion, the Laws of Peace, and Prosperity of the Kingdome.

About this time the King by publick Proclamation forbid all Levies of Forces, and all Contributions to such Levies, without his express pleasure, grounding his Prohibition upon sundry Statutes, as 7. of Ed. 1. 2 Ed. 3. 11 Rich. 2. and the Earl of Shrewsburies Case in the Reign of Hen 8. Then he minds them of their Oath of Allegiance, by which they were bound to be faithful not to the King only, as King, but to his Person as King Charles, contrary to the Parliaments Distinction betwixt his Person and his Authority, his Person at York, his Authority in Parliament.

Lastly, Concludes with a Justification of his Commissions of Array, which by this time were Issued into the severall Counties of England and Wales: To this the Parliament Reply, and he again to them, and they to him, and he to them again; All which Messages rather hindered, then allayed the Difference: And now began England to be divided, as once was Italy, into Guelphs and Gibellines; Royallists, and Parliamentarians, Cavaliers, and Roundheads.

The King to strengthen his own Party, makes a Progress from York into Nottinghamshire, and summoning the Gentlemen and Freeholders of that County to Newark, Caressees them with the most Obliging Expressions imaginable, for their Forwardness and Affections to him, Declaring his Resolutions of Acting according to the Protestation at York: The like he did to those of Lincolnshire, at Lincoln, and then July the Eleventh, sends a Message to the Parliament, to certifie them of his Intentions, to reduce Hull by Force, if not forthwith delivered to him, which if they should do, he would then admit of their further Addresses, and return such Propositions as may best conduce to prevent the Inguent War; together with the Message he sent them a Copy of that Proclamation, which he published against Sir John Horham, wherein he Complains of the Affront done to his Person by Sir John, and of the Parliaments justifying that Action by their Votes, and Orders, That Horham having Fortified the Town, and drowned the Country, had also set out a Pinnace at Sea, which had intercepted his Packet-Boat with the Queens Letters, and that the Earl of Warwick contrary to the Kings Command, had taken upon him the Command of the Fleet; for which Reasons, the King was resolved to punish Horham, and all other his Assistants. Indeed the Earl of Warwick had been by the Parliament commended to the King, as the fittest man for Admirall, the Earl of Northumberland being then sick, but he was Rejected by the King, who conferred that place upon Sir John Pennington; yet afterwards the Parliament conceiving it necessary, to get the Fleet into their Hands, the Earl of Warwick was by them Declared Admirall, who found such means, that in a short time, notwithstanding all the Opposition of Pennington, and his Adherents, he drew the Sea-men to his side, and completing his Design, Exauctorated the Captains of the opposite Patty, and put in Others in their stead: Soon after which, a good Ship, called the Lyon, Laden with Armes and Ammunition for the King, from Holland, being ignorant of these last Passages, fell in amongst them, which was by Warwick taken, and sent up to the Parliament.

The Parliament now thought fit to Arm, and therefore resolve, that an Army shall be raised for Defence of King and Parliament, and the Earl of Essex to be Captain-Generall, and the Earl of Bedford to Command the Horse.

The Earl of Holland, Sir John Holland, and Sir William Stapleton were Ordered to carry a Petition to the King then at Beverley; the Effect whereof was, To pray him to Disband all his Forces, to recall his Commissions of Array, dismiss his Guards, and return to the Parliament: All which the King refused. The Parliament consider of raising Moneys, and so Declare for Loan upon Publick Faith, to promote which, the Endeavours of the Ministers were not a little Serviceable unto them, whereby in a small time a very considerable Mass of Money, Plate, and Ammunition was brought in; the King was pretty well furnished with Moneys from the Queen upon the Pawned Jewells, and some Contribution from the Cavalier Lords, and Gentlemen, besides a liberall Loan from the University of Oxford: From Beverley the King removes to

Leicester,

A *Leicesters*, and caresses the Inhabitants of that County in like manner, as he had done to those of *Nottinghamshire*, and *Lincolnshire*; only the Earl of *Stamford* was Proclaimed Traytor for removing the County Magazine from the Town, to his own House at *Bradgate*, and setting a Guard over it; but shortly after the *Parliament* (whose Lord-Lieutenant he was for that County) Vindicated him by a publick Declaration.

The Earl of *Stamford* proclaimed Traytor by the King.

August the First, the King comes back to *Yorkshire*, Informs the Gentlemen there of the *Parliaments* forwardness to a War, desires them to spare him some Armes, and to Compleat Prince *Charles* his Regiment for the Guard of his Person, under the Command of the Earl of *Cumberland*.

A Regiment to be raised for Prince *Charles* under the Command of the Earl of *Cumberland*.

B Nor was the *Parliament* slack in their Business, but Declare for the raising of all their Power and Force against all Traytors which disturbed the State, and the Peace of the Kingdome, the Principall of which were Declared to be the Commissioners of Array, *Viz.* Of the *Northern* Counties, the Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Dunsmore*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Son to the Earl of *Lindsey*, *Henry Hastings*, and others, of the Counties of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Leicester*, *Warwick*, *Oxfordshire*: And for the *Western* Counties, the Marquis *Hartford*, the Lord *Pawlet*, Lord *Seymour*, Sir *John Stowell*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and *John Digbey*, and Others, in the County of *Summerset*. To oppose whom, the *Parliament* Authorize their Generall *Essex*, and Chiefs also, to be Lieutenants of the severall Counties; *Viz.* The Lord *Say* of *Oxon*, the Earl of *Peterborough* of *Northampton*, Lord *Wharton* of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Standford* of *Leicester*, Earl of *Pembroke* of *Wiltshire*, Earl of *Bedford* of *Summersetshire*, and *Devon*, Lord *Brook* of *Warwick*, Lord *Crambone* of *Dorsetshire*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* of *Lincolnshire*, *Densill Holla* of the City and County of *Bristol*.

The Commissioners of Array proclaimed Traytors by the *Parliament*.

Lieutenants of severall Counties constituted by the *Parliament*.

The King deals with their Commanders, as they did with his, and Proclaims Generall *Essex*, with all his Colonells and Officers, which would not instantly lay down Armes, to be Rebels and Traytors: And to Counterplot their Designs of sending some Forces *Northward*, against himself and others *Westward*, to take in *Portsmouth*, he Commands Colonel *Goring* the Governor thereof to oppose them, and orders *William* Marquis of *Hertford*, his Lieutenant-General of his Forces, within the Counties of *Devon*, *Cornwall*, *Sommerset*, *Dorset*, *Wilt*, *Southampton*, *Glocester*, *Berks*, *Oxford*, *Hereford*, *Monmouth*, *Radnor*, *Bregnock*, *Glamorgan*, *Carmarthen*, *Pembroke*, *Cardigan*, the Cities of *Exeter*, *Bristol*, *Glocester*, *Oxford*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *New Salisbury*, and *Hereford*, the Town and County of *Pool*, *Southampton*, and *Havenport*, and of all the Trained Bands, and other Voluntiers, to March against the said Earl of *Essex*, and his Complices, and them subdue, especially in behalf of the Town of *Portsmouth*, the Isle of *Wight*, and *Southampton*.

The Earl of *Essex* and the rest of the *Parliaments* Commanders proclaimed Traytors by the King.

The Marquis of *Hertford* ordered to March against the Earl of *Essex*.

August the Twelfth, the King publishes his Proclamation, requiring all his Subjects on the *Northside* of *Trent*, and twenty Miles *Southward*, to Aide and Assit him, and to that end to meet him on the twenty second of that Month, with Armes and Furniture at *Nottingham*, where, and when he intended to Erect his Standard, and promises to repay what Money and Armes they shall think fit to lend him.

The King summons in the Country.

E *August* the Twelfth, the King publishes his Grand Declaration, which will be too tedious to be here repeated; Wherein he sets forth his own Freeness and Forwardness to call this *Parliament*, before the meeting of the Peers at *York*; accuses them of Partiality, in expelling divers Members upon an Account of Monopolies, and yet Conniving Sir *Henry Mildmay*, and Mr. *Laurence Whicaker*: then he reckons up his severall Acts of Grace, *Viz.* His passing a Bill for a Trienniall *Parliament*, putting down *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commission Court*, relinquishing Ship-Money, and the Business of Knightwood, and easing the Subjects in Matters of Forest Lands, and regulating the *Stannery Courts*, and the Clerk of the Marker. And lastly, His passing the Act for the Continuance of this *Parliament*, untill the Peace of *England* and *Scotland*, and all their Desires in reference thereunto, were provided for: Then he Accuseth them for Not supplying his Wants, Miking their own private Advantages of Offices, and Places of Profit, Keeping up the *Scotts* Army for their own Ends, Voting down Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, Deviling false Reports of Designs and dangerous Plots against them, Erecting and Countenancing Unlearned and Seditious Lecturers; Their publishing Protestations, Declarations, and Remonstrances, Charging him with all the Mis-haps and Misfortunes during his Reign, purposely to render him Odious to his Subjects; Their changing and unsettling the *Militia*, Encouraging Tumults, and Tumultuary Meetings, whereby such Members of either House as disliked the Violence of their Proceedings, were terrified into a Compliance, and himself constrained for his own Security, to remove further off the City. Then the King complains of the Business at *Hull*, and *Horham*, their seizing his

The Substance of the Kings Grand Declaration.

G Goods, and Money, their Calumniating him, as intending to levy War, Voting his Actions Illegal, and Issuing out Warrants for the Apprehension of all the Great Officers of State, which resorted to him; their seizing his Navy, and making the Earl of *Warwick* Admirall, raising an Army, and making the Earl of *Essex* Generall: Taking Tonnage and Poundage without his Consent, and converting the Money designed to the Relief of *Ireland*, and the discharge of the Kingdome Debts to serve their Turn, to War against the King, besides the Insolent Speeches of divers Members, *Viz.* Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Martin*, Sir *Henry Ludlow*, and others, in the House hitherto unpunished: Next he takes notice of the unworthy Carriage of the Earl of *Warwick*,

who was not ashamed to require a Confirmation of the Letter-Office to him for three Lives, at the same time that it is complained of as a Monopoly, and without the alteration of any Circumstance for the ease of the Subject; and this with so much Greediness, and Authority, that whilst it was complained of as a Monopoly, he procured an Assignment to be made of it to him, from the person complained of, after he had by his Interest stopped the Proceedings of the Committee, for five Months before the Assignment made to him, upon pretence that he was concerned in it, and desired to be heard.

Lastly, He justifies his own Proceedings against the Lord Kimbolton, and the five Members, whom together with Mr. *Martin*, Sir *Henry Ludlow*, *Pennington*, and Captain *Ven*, he is ready to prove Guilty of High-treason, and threatens to cause Indictments of High-treason upon the Statute of the 25 *Ed. 3.* against the Earls of *Warwick*, *Essex*, and *Stamford*, Lord *Brook*, Sir *John B. Hotham*, Major-Generall *Skippon*, and those who shall henceforth exercise the *Militia*, by vertue of the Ordinance; And Protest, that his Quarrell is not against the *Parliament*, but against the fore-named particular men, and concludes with an Offer of a Generall Pardon to all that shall desire it, the above-mentioned Persons only excepted.

The Parliament convert some of the money design'd for Ireland to their own use, and justify it to the King.

The *Parliament* had passed an Act for raising of Four hundred thousand pounds, for Relief of *Ireland*, but wanting Money now, for their more neere Occasions, they Vote that the Treasurers appointed to receive that Money, do forthwith lend them One hundred thousand pounds of it upon the *Publick Faith*, whereupon the King remembers them of the Act of *Parliament*, that no part of that money should be employed to any other purpose then the reducing of those Rebels, and therefore charges them to retract their Order, which they retort upon him as a high breach of Privilege, and Accuse his Counsellors of raising the *Irish* Rebellion, to suppress which, they had a Design to raise a Million of Money, and to send thither Five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, under the Lord *Wharton*, for Relief of *Munster*, all which was dashed by the Kings with-drawing to the *North*, and that his Forces Quartered in, and about the Common Roads to *Ireland*, had seized Apparell, Provision, Armes, Ammunition, and Waggon-Horses, directed towards *Chester* for their Service, and that he had recalled two Ships appointed for the Guard of those Seas, by which Courses the Rebels had Opportunity to strengthen themselves, that they were forced to borrow the forementioned Summ to supply the present Exigencies of the Army, which absolute Necessity had compelled them to raise for Defence of King and Kingdome: And now for the forwarding of their Forces, the *Parliament* Order their Deputy-Liutenants in the *Northern* Counties, to put in Execution the Ordinance of the *Militia* with other particular Advices and Orders, and further they promise the Gentry of the Counties, that what Damage they sustained from the *Cavaliers* by Plundering, and Pillaging, shall be fully repayed out of the Estates of those persons who shall persist to Act for the King against the *Parliament*.

The King sets up his Standard at *Nottingham*.

He sends to treat with the Parliament.

August the twenty second, the King comes to *Nottingham*, and there Erects his Standard, to which some Numbers resorted, but far short of what he expected; so three dayes afterward he sends a Messige to the *Parliament* to propose a Treaty, the Messengers were the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, Sir *John Culpeper* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and Sir *William Udall*, none of which were suffered to sit in the House, for to deliver their Errand, wherefore it was sent in by the Usher of the *Black Rod*, to which the *Parliament* made this Reply.

'That untill his Majesty shall recall his Proclamations and Declarations of Treason against the Earl of *Essex*, and them, and their Adherents; And unless the Kings Standard set up in pursuance thereof, be taken down, they cannot by the Fundamentall Priviledges of *Parliament*, give his Majesty any other Answer.

The King Replies, That he never intended to Declare the *Parliament* Traytors, or set up his Standard against them, but if they shall resolve to Treat, either Party shall revoke their Declarations against all Persons as Traytors, and the same day he to take down his Standard.

Which they deny, unless he forsake his evil Counsellors.

'To this they Answer, That the Differences could not any wayes be concluded, unless he would forsake his evil Counsellors, and return to his *Parliament*; And accordingly *September* the Sixth, they Order and Declare, That the Armes which they have, or shall take up for the *Parliament*, *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Liberties* of the Kingdome, shall not be layd down untill the King with-draw his Protection from such Persons that are, and shall be Voted Delinquents, and shall leave them to Justice, to the end, that their Estates may discharge the Debts and Loan-moneys of the *Common-wealth*.

A The War being now begun, the new-raised Soldiers began to commit sundry Out-rages upon the Country-people, which both King and Parliament, upon Complaint, laboured to Rectifie, Sir Thomas Barrington, and Mr. Grimston, being sent down into Essex by the Parliament, upon that Business, seized Sir John Lucas and his Lady, at Conlchester, and committed them to the Jayle, and soon after, Lucas is proclaimed Traytor by the Parliament, brought up to London, and Committed to the Gasehouse in Essex; one Mr. Newcomen was likewise Imprisoned, both of them to be brought to a speedy Tryall: The Parliament had formerly Voted, that money should be borrowed upon the Publick Faith, but because the people might look for some Assurance for the re-payment of such Loans: they now Declared, That all such persons as shall Assist them by Moneys, or otherwise, at their own Charges, shall receive satisfaction out of the Estates of those men which are, or shall be Noted Delinquents; of whom James, Lord Strange, Son and Heir to the Earl of Darby, was not the least, who was Impeached of High-treason by the Parliament, for Summoning the Lancashire men on the fifteenth day of July last past, to Manchester, to Support and Aide the King against the Parliament, and for railing of Forces, by some of whom, one Richard Percivall a Linnen Webster, was killed. The King at Shrewsbury by Advice of Judge Heath, Adjourned Michaelmas Term, and hearing of the proceedings against the Lord Strange, at Bridgenorth, he proclaims Thomas Nicholls, Humphrey Macworth, and Thomas Hunt, Esquires (notable Scicklers for the Parliament) to be Traytors.

The Parliament go about to borrow money upon the Publick Faith. The Lord Strange Impeached of Treason by the Parliament Mr. Hunt, Mr. Nicholls, and Mr. Macworth proclaimed Traytors by the King.

C September 29. The Lord Fairfax for the Parliament, and Mr. Bellasis for the King, had concluded Articles of Neutrality for York-shire, at which the Parliament taking Exceptions, Declared October 16. the Lord Fairfax and his Party not bound to observe the Articles, but to Assist the Parliament in Defence of the Common Cause: The Earl of Essex gave a deep Yellow for his Colours, which was also generally followed, but especially by the zealous City Dames, but others out of some Design, set up a Colour by themselves, which being Interpreted to Disaffection, and Distinction by those Ribbons, it was Declared to be a matter meriting Commitment, and the Brand of Malignancy.

The Lord Fairfax concludes Articles of Neutrality with Mr. Bellasis, at which the Parliament is displeased. The Parliament hearing of the preparation made in Holland for the Kings supply, sent over Mr. Strickland with a Declaration.

D The Queen was very Active in Holland to promote her Husbands Affairs, and by her Interest with the Prince of Orange, and the Industry of the Lord Digbey, had procured from the States of the united Provinces, some Experienced Officers, with Armes and Ammunition, to be sent over to the Kings Army, which coming to the Parliaments knowledge, they presently send over Mr. Walter Strickland, a Member of the House of Commons, their Residentary there to present them in their Names, with this ensuing Declaration.

E 'VV E the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled, taking into serious Consideration, the Means of Composing the great Distempers and Com-bustions begun in this Kingdome, which threaten the Destruction and Ruine, and of all other Protestant Princes and States, have thought good to make this Declaration to the high and mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces; That we understand, by a Letter of the Lord Digbey, a Person fled out of this Kingdome for High-treason: That as he often endeavoured by his wicked and malicious Counsells to make Division between his Majesty and the Parliament, and hath been in great part the Cause of that miserable and unnaturall War, which is made against us by his Majesty, so he hath laboured by all means in the United Provinces to provide Armes, Powder, and Ammunition, for the Fomenting of that War, and making it more dangerous to the Kingdome; and for this purpose did Address himself to the Prince of Orange, by whose Countenance and Help (as we are informed by the Lord Digbey's Letters) he hath made Provision for great quantities of Ordnance, Powder, Armes, and divers other sorts of Warlike Provision.

G , And we are further informed by credible Advertisement, that the Prince of Orange in Favour of the Lord Digbey, and those other wicked Councillors, and Incendiaries, who being joyned together in these mischievous Practices against the Peace of this Kingdome, hath not only Licenced (but the better to encourage divers Commanders, experienced Officers and Soldiers, to resort into this Kingdome, in Ayde of them against the Parliament) hath promised to reserve their Places for them in their Absence, and doth cause other Provision of the same kind to be made, and prepared to be sent over for their Supply, to the great hurt of this Kingdome, and the danger of the interrupting the most necessary, profitable, and long continued Amity between the two States.

'We further desire to let them know, that we cannot believe that this is done by any Authority or Direction from their Lordships, considering the great help that they have received from this Kingdome, when heretofore they lay under the heavy Oppression

'Oppression of their Princes, and how conduceable the Friendship of this Nation, A
 ' (concurring with the Wisdome, Valour, and Industry of their own people) hath
 ' been to the present Greatness and Power which they now enjoy; Neither can we
 ' think, that they will be forward to help to make us Slaves, who have been usefull
 ' and assistant in making them Free-men. Or that they will forget that our Troubles
 ' and Dangers issue from the same Fountain with their Own: And that those who are
 ' set awork to undermine Religion, and Liberty in the Kingdome, are the same,
 ' which by open force did seek to bereave them of both. It cannot be unknown to that
 ' wise State, that it is the Jesuiticall Faction here, that hath corrupted the Counsellors B
 ' of our King, the Consciencés of a great part of our Clergy, which have plotted so
 ' many mischievous Designs to destroy the *Parliament*, and still endeavour to divide
 ' *Ireland* from this Kingdome, by a most wicked and cruell Rebellion there, and to
 ' divide the *King* from the *Parliament* here, and by false Slanders and Imputations of
 ' things never done nor intended by us, hath incensed his Majesty, so as that after
 ' many bitter Invectives published against us, without any just Cause given, He hath
 ' now at last resolved to set up his Royall Standard, and to draw his Sword for the De-
 ' struction of his most faithfull and obedient people, whom by the Laws and Consti- C
 ' tutions of this Kingdome, he is bound to preserve and protect; The Cases and For-
 ' tunes of both Estates being so Involved and United, we cannot expect to be hindered
 ' by them in our Just Defence: Or that they will do any thing to aggravate the Mife-
 ' ries and Troubles of this Kingdome, in the peace and happiness whereof they have
 ' found much Advantage, and by such unfriendly and unseasonable Supplies of our
 ' common Enemies, make way to their own as well as our Ruine.

' We therefore desire they may betimes look into this Mischief, and having searched
 ' it into the bottom, to stop the further progress of it: That they will not suffer more D
 ' Ordnance, Armor, or any other Warlike Provision to be brought over to strengthen
 ' those, who as soon as they shall prevail against the *Parliament* (according to their
 ' principles and Interests by which they are guided) will use that strength to the ruine
 ' of those, from whom they have had it. We desire they would not send over any
 ' Country-men, to further our Destruction, who were sent to them for their preser-
 ' vation: That they will not anticipate the spilling of English Blood in an unnaturall
 ' Civil War, which hath been so cheerfully, and plentifully hazarded and spent, in
 ' that Just and Honourable War, by which they have been so long preserved, and
 ' to which the Blood of those persons, and many other Subjects of this Kingdome, is E
 ' still in a manner Dedicated, but rather that they would Cashire and discharge from
 ' their Employment those that will presume to come over for that purpose: And
 ' in satisfying these our reasonable and necessary Desires, they shall thereby not only
 ' secure us, but themselves, yea, they shall most of all advantage his Majesty, for
 ' whose Service those things are pretended to be done. The Question between his Ma-
 ' jesty and the *Parliament* is not, Whether he shall enjoy the same Pretogative and
 ' power which hath belonged to our former Kings, his Majesties Royall Predecessors,
 ' but, Whether that Prerogative and Power should be employed to our Defence, or to
 ' our Ruine: We expect nothing from him but Security, and protection from those F
 ' mischievous Designs, which have been so often multiplied and renewed against us,
 ' though hitherto (through Gods providence) are often frustrated; It cannot be
 ' denied by those, who look indifferently into our Proceedings and Affairs, but that it
 ' will be more Honour, and Wealth, Safety, and Greatness to his Majesty, in con-
 ' curring with his *Parliament*, then in the course in which he now is: but so unhappy
 ' hath his Majesty been in those who have the greatest influence upon his Counsellors,
 ' that they look more upon the prevailing of their own party, then upon any those great
 ' Advantages both to his Crown, and Royall person, which he might obtain by
 ' joyning with his people: And so cunning are those Factors for popery, in profe- G
 ' cution of their own Aymes, that they can put on a counterfeit Visage of Honour,
 ' Peace, and Greatness, upon those Courses and Counsellors which have no truth and
 ' reality: but of Weakness, Dishonour, and Miseries to his Majesty and whole King-
 ' dome. We have lately expressed our earnest Inclinations to that Nationall Love
 ' and Amity with the united Provinces, which is nourished and confirmed by so many
 ' Civill Respects, and Mutuall Interests, as makes it so naturall to us, that we have,
 ' this *Parliament*, in our humble Petition to his Majesty, desired we might be joyned
 ' with

A 'with that State, in a more neer and strict League, and Union; And we cannot but expect
 'some Returns from them of the like Expressions; and that they will be so far from
 'blowing the Fire which begins to kindle amongst us, that they will rather endeavour
 'to quench it by strengthening and encouraging us, who have no other Design, but to
 'preserve our Religion, save our selves, and the other Reformed Churches of *Chri-*
 '*stendome*, from the Masacres and Extirpations, with which the Principles of the *Po-*
 '*pish Religion*, do threaten us and them, which are begun to be Acted in *Ireland*, and
 'in the Hopes, Endeavours, and Intentions of that Party, had long since been Execu-
 'ted upon us, if the Mercy, Blessing, and Favour of Almighty God had not supera-
 B 'bounded, and prevented the Subtilty and Malignity of Cruell, Wicked, and Blood-
 'thirsty men.

And now we enter upon Military Effects, the King himself is *Generalissimo* over his Own, his Captain Generall first Marquis *Hertford*, and afterward the Earl of *Lindsey*: and the Earl of *Essex* of the Parliamentarians.

The King returning to *Tork*, divers of his Forces were Quartered so neer *Hull*, that it seemed as if they had some Design upon the Town: Upon this, Sir *John Hotbam* and his Assistant Sir *John Meldram*, with a small Party made a sudden Eruption, and unawares surprizing them, C forced them to shift for themselves, killed some, took others, and so returned Victors; and shortly after receiving a Supply to the number of Five hundred from *London*, Sallied out again upon the *Cavaliers*, whom they compelled to a disorderly Retreat, killed twenty, seized their *Colours*, and seventeen Muskets, with some fifteen Prisoners, and burnt the Barn where some Armes and Ammunition was laid up for the King.

The Kings Forces repulsed from *Hull* by Sir *John Hotbam*, and Sir *John Meldram*.

In these Encounters was the first Blood drawn: *August* the Fourth, the King had summoned all his Subjects North of *Trent*, to a Generall Rendezvous, from whence he Marches to *Nottingham*, where, as we said, he set up his Standard, thence Westward to *Strafford*, then to *Leicester*, so towards *Wales*, and settles at *Shrewsbury*, where his Army encreased into a considerable Body.

The King takes up his Quarters at *Shrewsbury*.

D The *Parliaments* Forces formed at *London*, Rendezvous at *St. Albans*, and March Northward to meet the King, carrying with them a Petition of the two *Houses*, who prescribed these Directions to their Generall.

First, To restrain all Prophanes in his Army.

The *Parliaments* Directions to their Generall.

Secondly, To March and Fight the Kings Army, and, by Battell, or otherwise to rescue his Majesties Person, the Prince, and Duke of *Tork*, out of the hands of those about him.

E Thirdly, To take his Opportunity in some Honourable way to cause the Petition of *Parliament* to be presented to his Majesty, who if he be pleased to withdraw himself from his Forces, and to resort to his *Parliament*, you shall cause those Forces to Dis-band, and shall serve and defend the King with sufficient Strength in his Return.

F Fourthly, To Declare, that if any will (within ten daies after publication) withdraw from Assisting the King, and return to the *Parliament*, they shall have their Pardon, Except Delinquents already Voted, or to be Voted, or Impeached; Or who stand Impeached of High-treason, or have been Eminent, or Active against the *Parliament*: And except the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earls of *Cumberland*, *Newcastle*, *Rivers*, and *Carnarvan*; Viscounts *Newark* and *Falklands*, principall Secretary to the King, Secretary *Nichols*, Mr. *Endimion* Porter, and Mr. *Edward* Hide.

Fifthly, To receive Loans, or Contributions of Money, Plate, or Horses for the Support of the Army, certifying the summs of Money, weight of Plate, value of Horses, that the parties may thereby be repaid upon *Publick Faith*.

Sixthly, To protect the Good people from Violence of the *Cavaliers*, and to restore to them their Lollies.

G Seventhly, To apprehend all persons Impeached as Traytors, and other Delinquents, and secure them to the *Parliament*.

Eighthly, To observe such further Directions as he shall receive from the *Parliament*.

Besides these Directions, he had a Committee, any Four of whom, whereof himself to be One, were Impowred to Consult of things concerning the good of the Army, to punish, or discharge Malignants, and to take Subscriptions of Money, Plate, or Provisions, to be repaid at Eight per Cent. by *Publick Faith*: Colonel *Goring* held *Portsmouth* for the King, which the County

Portsmouth taken by the *Parliament* Forces.

County-Bands intended to Surprise, but he having timely notice met them by the way, Skirmished, and retired; but the *Parliament* Espousing the Quarrell, and the Assaultants having good Correspondents in the Town, Sir *John Merick's* Regiment, and a Troop of Horse were sent to their Assistance, who began the Siege, and with some other Helps so freightned *Goring*, that although Marquis *Hartford* hastened to his Relief, yet he found it his best way to Surrender the Town, and take Ship for *Holland*: However Marquis *Hartford* seized *Sherburn* Cattle, and giving the Earl of *Bedford* a Brush by the way, marched over *Serdown* towards *Shrewsbury*, where the King then Resided.

Sir John Byron takes Worcester for the King.

Sir *John Byron* had raised some Troops for the King in *Oxford*, but was unexpectedly set upon at *Brackley* in his march towards *Oxford*, by sundry Troops of the *Parliamentarians*, and the Townsmen of *Brackley*, by whom he was forced to retire to the Heath with some loss, yet on he comes to *Oxford*, and after a small time of tarrying, he marches to *Worcester* with Five hundred Horse, and takes the Town, and the next News we hear of him, is an Encounter with Colonel *Nathaniell Pines*.

Prince Robert, and Prince Maurice arrive in England.

About the beginning of *September* Arrived in *England* the two Princes *Palatines*, *Rupert*, and *Maurice*, who were presently entertained, and put into Command by the King their Uncle.

The King had now gotten together a Potent Army, to whom between *Stafford* and *Wellington*, after a short Speech he made a solemn Protestation of his Candid Intentions, and sincere meaning to defend the Protestant Religion, the Laws, and Liberties of the Subject, and Privileges of *Parliament*, according to his former Protestation at *York*.

The Earl of Essex Marcheth out of London to his Army.

Ten daies before this, *Viz. September* the Ninth, the Earl of *Essex* in great Pomp, attended on by the *Parliament*, set forth out of *London* towards *St. Albans*, and from thence to *Northampton*, where all his Forces met, amounting to the number of Fourteen thousand, having with him the *Parliament's* Petition, which he was to present to the King, the Effect whereof was;

The *Parliament's* Petition to be presented to the King by the Earl of *Essex*.

That his Loyall Subjects, the Lords and Commons in *Parliament*, cannot without tenderness of Compassion behold the pressing Calamities of *England* and *Ireland*, by the Practises of a prevailing Party with his Majesty, to alter true Religion; and the ancient Government of this Kingdome, introducing Superstition into the Churches, and Confusion in the State, Exciting, Encouraging, and Fostering the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and as there, so here begin the like Massacres, by drawing on a War against the *Parliament*, leading his Person against them, as if by Conquest to establish an unlimited Power over the People, seeking to bring over the Rebels of *Ireland* to joyn with them: And all these evill Counsellors are Defended and Protected against the Justice of *Parliament*; Who have for their just Defence of Religion, the King, Crown, and Dignity, of the Laws, Liberties, and Power of *Parliament*, taken up Armes, and Authorised the Earle of *Essex* their Captain-Generall against these Rebels and Traytors. And pray the King to withdraw his Person, and leave them to be Supprest by his Power, and to return to his *Parliament*, and that they will receive him with Honour, and yeild him Obedience, secure his Person, and Establish Him, and his People, with all the Blessings of a Glorious and Happy REIGNE.

Which he refuseth to accept.

This Petition was never delivered, notwithstanding that Generall *Essex* twice sent to the King, for a safe Conduct for those who should be employed therein; for the King refused to receive any Address by those whom he had accused of High treason, of whom the Earl of *Essex* was one: The King having Caresed the Inhabitants of *Denbighshire*, *Flintshire*, and *Shrewsbury*, furnished himself with money by melting in his new Erected Mint, such Plate as many of the Nobles and Gentlemen brought in plentifully; takes his March towards *London*, whereof the

The King marcheth from Shrewsbury towards London.

Parliament being informed, Order the Trained Bands of their sociate Counties, of *Essex*, *Hartford*, *Middlesex*, and *London*, to Rendezvous, and be ready at an Hours Warning, and Fortifie all the Passages about the City with Posts, Chains, and Courts of Guard. And for further Security they Voted, That such as will not Contribute, shall be Secured and Disarmed; in which Business the Mayor of *London* now Elect (instead of Sir *Richard Gurney* Ejected) was employed: And further, that the Fines, Rents, and Profits, of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, and other Delinquents, shall be Sequestred for the Service of the *Common-wealth*: And that all the Kings Revenue, arising out of Rents, Fines, and Courts, or Composition for

The *Parliament* order the Lands of the Bishops, &c. to be sequestred.

A for Wards be Sequestred for the State: And a Committee for Sequestration appointed.

Sir John Biron had taken Worcester, to dilodge whom, Colonel Nathaniel Pines, and Colonel Sandys Marched with a Brigade of Horse, and some Volunteers of Foot of the County, raised by the Lord Say, and Assaulted the Town on the West-side of Severn, supposing that Essex had been at hand to fall upon the other side, as he was mis-informed by a Spy, but too late repented, is mistaken, when instead of Essex, comes Prince Rupert, whose Horse rushed upon the

Colonel Sandys routed at Worcester by Prince Rupert. The Kings Forces quit that City upon the approach of the Earl of Essex. Gloucester, Bristol, and other places Garrisoned for the Parliament.

B from thence sent out the Earl of Stamford with a Party to Hereford, to hinder the Forces of South Wales, from joining with the King; from Hereford the Earl of Stamford with his Regiment of Foot, and two Troops of Horse, removes to Gloucester, entering the City as Governour, but not long after being called away into the West, Massy his Lieutenant Colonel is left behind as Deputy at first, but afterwards hath the sole Government conferred upon him: Colonel Thomas Essex was Commanded to Bristol, which he Garrisons, and after the Generals departure, is made Governour of Worcester; two more Regiments and ten Troops were sent to Kidderminster, and Bendly, to joyn with the Lord Wharton and Sir Henry Chamleys Regiments; and at Coventry and Warwick lay the Lord Peterborough, Sir William Constable, and Colonel Brown with their Forces, all to oppose the Cavaliers, marching to London: and at Tarmouth was seized a Ship

C coming from Holland for the Kings Service, with an Hundred and forty Cavaliers, and Three hundred Barrells of Powder. But in York-shire the Kings Party grew Potent, being headed by the Earl of Cumberland, Sir Francis Wortley, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir John Kay, Mr. Francis Nevill, and Sir Thomas Glenham, who forced Captain Hotham to forbear ranging the Country, and retreat to Hull. In Cornwall near Pendennis, Sir Nicholas Slanning the Governour, Sir Bevil Greenwill, and others of the Gentry had gathered together a considerable Body of an Army, wherewith they possessed themselves of Lancaſton, and with their Generall Sir Ralph Hopton performed divers Exploits against the contrary Party, who held Plymouth, and some few other adjoining Places for the Parliament; In Wales the Earl of Worcester bestirred himself notably for the King, and drew a great Number of Welshmen to side with him, insomuch, that seeing his

The Kings Party powerful in the North. In Cornwall.

And in Wales.

D Army increased, he resolved to march towards London, and was gotten one daies Journey before Essex, who perceiving his error of staying so long at Worcester, hastens after him to the Relief of his Masters: The King disdaining to be pursued by a Subject, turns back to meet him, and October the Twenty third, both Cavaliers and Essexians, drew into the Field, between Kinton and Edgehill in Warwick-shire; the Cavaliers had gained the Top of the Hill, from whence the King took a view of the Parliaments Army, by whom he was saluted with three Pieces of Cannon, which was answered with two Shot of theirs, and the Fight Commenced about two of the Clock in the Afternoon, both Generalls performing their parts with great Courage, and Gallantry: The Earl of Lindsey now Generall for the King, led on his Forces with a Pike in

The Battell at Edgehill.

E his hand, and so did Essex, but was afterwards advised to retire from that Danger, as more becoming a private Soldier, then a Generall; the greatest Body of the Kings Horse was on the right Wing, Commanded by Prince Rupert, who furiously charged the left Wing, of the others Commanded by Colonel Ramsey, Commissary Generall, whom he Routed and pursued to Kinton-down, and further, making great Slaughter all along; but the left Wing consisting of Horse and Dragoons, had not the same Success being over-powered by the right Wing of the Parliamentarians, which was Commanded by Sir William Balfour, Sir Phillip Stapleton, the Lord Feilding, and Colonel Hurry: Generall Lindsey who Commanded the main Body, being too far engaged in the Fight, was taken Prisoner, and died presently after of the Wounds which he received in the Battell, and with him was taken the Lord Willoughby of Eresby, and Sir Edmund Varney Knight Martiall, and Standard-Bearer was killed, and the Standard taken, but instantly rescued by Mr.

F John Smith, who for that Service was Dubbed Knight and Baronet in the Field, and made Standard-Bearer: Night parted the Fray, and both Armies Retreat, each accounting themselves Victors; on both sides were lost between Five and six thousand men, the most remarkable on the Kings Side, being the Earl of Lindsey, and Sir Edmund Varney; On the Parliaments, Colonel Thomas Essex, who was come to the Fight from his Government at Worcester, and Lieutenant Colonel Ramsey, and the Lord St. John of Blets was taken Prisoner, and soon after died; the left Wing of Horse on both sides was Routed, and the Foot being left to themselves, were fain to shift for their Lives the best they could: Next day both the Parties quit the Field, the King Marches towards Ayno, and Essex towards Coventry: From Ayno, October the Twenty seventh, the King sends a Proclamation of Pardon to the Cities of London and Westminster, wherein Alderman Fulk, and Manwaring were excepted: The Battell of Edgehill was fought on Sunday the same day Twelve Month, that the Irish Rebellion brake out.

G Banbury stood yet out against the King, which he now resolves to fall upon, but both Town and Castle Surrendered without any Blows, and the two Regiments of Foot, and a Troop of Horse then in the Town, took Armes under him; So the King brings his Army to Oxford, whence Prince Rupert Marched against the Lord Say's House at Broughton, and takes it, and with a flying Party makes Excursions so neer London, that the Parliament thought good to desire their Generall Essex to bring his Army neerer the City, for their Safeguard, who accordingly Obeys,

Banbury surrendered to the King.

The Earl of
Essex comes to
West. and is
received with
great honour.

The Parlia-
ment inco-
rage Apprenti-
ces to lift them-
selves in their
Service.

And invite the
Scots to come
in to their
Assistance.

Severall of the
Lords and
Commons pre-
sent a Petition
to the King.
At Colebrook.

The fight at
Brainsford.

A Letter from
Holland to the
King intercept-
ed in which
he is advertiz'd
of great store
of money and
Ammunition to
be sent him
from thence.

As also Sup-
plies from Den-
mark.

Obayes, and comes to Westminster November the seventh, where he is honourably entertained by the Parliament, and presented with a Gratuity, of Five thousand Pounds, and a Declaration set out concerning this late Valiant and acceptable Service in that Bloody Battell at Edgill. The Recusants of Lancashire Judged this a reasonable time to Petition the King, to take them into his Protection, and to suffer them to have and bear Armes in his and their own defence, which was granted; Whereby he incurred this Censure; That he favoured Papists, and entertained them in his Army. The Parliament to recruit their Army, declare; That all Apprentices that will Lift themselves in their Service for the publike Cause shall be secured from Indemnity of their Masters during their Service, and their time included, to go on towards their Freedome, and all their respective Masters are to receive them again when they shall returne; By which meanes an infinite number of Apprentices were induced to Lift themselves in the Army; And now they declare to the Scots, That the King was so addicted to the prelaticall Party and the Papists, that unless they joyned their helping hand, the Protestant Religion was in danger here of being subverted, that he had a Designe of bringing in Forraigners into the North, which were to joyne with a Party of Papists there while himselfe conducted the prelaticall Army, wherefore they desired them to take care for the securing of their Borders, and to Assist here against the Popish and forraigne Forces.

The King heares of this, and by a Letter to the Lords of his Privy Councill, in Scotland endeavours to turne the Scales, but in vaine.

The Parliament had Voted an Address to the King, and desire a safe conduct for these Persons to present their Petition, Algernon Earl of Northumberland, Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and Four Members of the Commons Mr. Perpoint, the Lord Waiman, Sir John Evelin of Wilts, and Sir John Hippislie, all which were admitted by the King, excepting only Sir John Evelin who had been proclaimed Traitor at Oxford; which exception so irritated the Houses that they voted it to be a refusal of a Treary, and Ordered a Committee to acquaint the City Common Hall therewith, but this heat being somewhat allayed the King at Colebrooke November the Eleventh receives the Parliaments Petition from the rest of the Delegates without Sir John Evelin, which was in Effect to desire him to appoint some convenient place, not far from London; for his Residence, untill Committees of Parliament may attend him with some Propositions for removall of these Distempers; To which he answered; He would expect them at his Castle of Wind-
sor, and desires them to hasten the Treary.

The Delegates were scarcely departed, when Intelligence was brought to the King, that the Earl of Essex had drawne his Forces with his Ordinance out of London towards him, And that unless he gained Brainsford, he would be hemmed in by the Parliaments Forces, who possessed most of the Townes round about him; whereupon he advanced thither the same night, In the Town were quartered part of Colonel Hollises Regiment who taking the Alarm made bold Resistance and defended themselves till the Lord Brookes Regiment and Colonel Hamdens came in to their Rescue and maintained the Fight against the Cavileers, till night drew on, and then being overpowred by Numbers, retreated out of the Town, which the King presently took possession of, together with some Prisoners, Armes and Ammunition, Eleven Colours and Fifteene peices of Ordinance. This was acted, November the Thirteenth, but Generall Essex hearing of this Fight, with all speed makes towards Brainsford, whither followed the City Militia and Trayned Bands, which together made a formidable Army, insomuch that the King thought it his best Course to march back againe, taking Kinslon in his way then newly quitted by the Parliaments Forces, from thence to Oatlands, Reding and so to Oxford; This Action of the Kings in a time of Treary, was so ill resented of the Houses, that they thereupon Voted, To have no accomodation, Yet upon the Kings Message to them, That he intended to march, at such a distance from London that should take away all pretence of misapprehension from his Army, which might hinder them from preparing their Propositions, they againe petition him to desert his Army and returne to his Parliament, And this with the same Success as formerly; In the mean time, a Letter from one of the Kings Agents in Holland to Secretary Nicholls is intercepted; which
saies;

That the Prince of Orange hath advanced all those Sums we are to expect from him, of which Twenty thousand pounds are sent towards you, as much to New-Castle, and as much at least we bring with us, besides the great Business, we expect a finall end of this day, which will advance Sixty thousand pounds more. We have sent over Ten thousand Armes, Two thousand Horse-Armes, Twenty peices of Cannon, we bring over Wagons and all Accomodation to march so soone as we arrive, with considerable Officers from hence; And by the advice we receive from that side, there are Eight thousand foot already, Six troopes of horse, and the rest will not be long a raising after we come there, Generall King is designed for Lieutenant Generall, He hath been with the Queene, and will be suddainly there.

From Denmarke are likewise sent Armes for Ten thousand foot; and Two thousand five hundred Horse, with a trayne of Artillery, and every thing proportionable to the very Drums and Halbarts, two good men of War come their Convoy, and in them an Ambassadour to his Majesty, a Person of great Quality from Denmarke, Cockram comes along with him.

In Yorkshire the Earl of New-Castle had raised great Forces for the King, with which he comes to York, and joynes with the Earl of Cumberland making up a Body of Eight thousand horse and foote, whereof above two thousand were horse Dragoones. The Lord Fairfax was the most considerable man that stood up for the Parliament in those parts, between whome and the Earl of

New-Castle

A *New-Castle*: was a sharp Incounter, at *Tadcaster*, from eleven of the Clock, till four in the Evening, wherein the Lord *Fairfax* being overmatched, and not able to stand a second Incounter, the next day quitted the Town and marched away to *Selby* for recruits, from whence he sends out his Son Sir *Thomas* with Five companies and two troopes to *Leeds*, whom the Cavileers force back againe, and now the whole strength of the Parliament in the North is reckoned to be but one and twenty companies of foot, and five troopes of Horse and one company of Dragoones, too weak to resist the Earl of *New-Castle*, whose Forces now we find to be about *Hallifax*, and the cloathing Townes, and masters of the field; The Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Hereford*; *Cambridge*, the Ile of *Ely*, and the City of *Norwich*, are Authorized by the Parliament to associate under the command of the Lord *Grey of Warke*, as Major Generall, and *Winchester* and *B. Chester* are gained by the Parliament.

Severall countie
ties associate.

December the fifteenth lands Colonel *Goring*, with the Queens Standard, Four score old Commanders, and store of Warlike provision, to joyne with *New-Castle*; About this time the City petitioned the King, and professe their griefe for his default of their Loyalty with large Protestations of their zealous intentions to defend him, with all that love and Duty which became good Subjects.

Goring lands
with men and
Ammunition.

The City of
London petiti-
on to the King
with his An-
swer.

The King replys, That he hath a good opinion of many of them, and could freely and willingly pardon all except *Pennington* the present Maior, and *Venn Foulke*, and *Minwaring*, and concludes with Threatnings to such as shall continue acting and assisting his Adversaries. Many of them were startled with this Answer, yet take heart againe, being revived with what Mr. *Pym*, and the Parliament Committee told their Common-Councell, of the Parliaments great love and Affection to the m, and Resolution to live and dye in their defence; In the North the Parliamentarians grow bold againe, Sir *Hugh Colmely* defeats severall parties of the Enemy, at *Malton*, and January the Sixteenth, joyning with Sir *Matthew Boynton*, fell upon a party, of Six hundred horse and foot at *Gisbrough*, commanded by Colonel *Slingsbey*, whom they routed, killed many, took an Hundred and fifty prisoners, (among whom was *Slingsbey* himselfe) and two hundred Armes. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had failed of his first Designe, against *Leeds*, but the second time he carries it with little loss, wherein he tooke Four Colours, and Five hundred prisoners, (Six of which Commanders) with many Armes and much Ammunition; after which the Kings Forces relinquish *Wakefield*, and *Doncasters*, which are forthwith invested for the Parliament. The Earl of *New-Castle* drawes downe his Forces to *York*, to prepare for the Queens entertaynement; and January the Seventeenth proclaimes the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas* and others Traitors, as the Earl of *Cumberland* had done the first of December last; which the Parliament resenting doe as much against the Earl. Some desires of the Parliament had been presented to the King at *Oxford*, February the First, by the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*, and *Holland*, with Eight of the Commons; Viz

The Parli-
ments Forces
in the North
rout Collonel
Slingsby.

Leeds taken by
Sir *Thomas*
Fairfax.

The Earl of
Newcastle pro-
ceedings at
York.

To disband his Army, and to returne home to his Parliament, leave Delinquents to tryall, Papists to be disarmed;

E Bill for abolishing of Church Governours, and Government, and to pass such other Bills as shall be devised for a New Reformation, Recusants to abjure Papacie, to remove Malignant Councillors, To settle the Malitia's as the Parlyament please, To prefer to the great Offices, and places of Judicature such of the Parliament as they shall name, and to take in all such as have been put out of the Commissions of peace.

The Parlia-
ments Propo-
sitions to the
King.

A Bill to vindicate the Lord *Kimbolton* and the Five Members; To enter Alliance with his protestant Neighbours, for Recovery of the Palatinate; To grant a Generall pardon with Exception of the Earl of *New-Castle*, the Lord *Digby*, and some others.

F To restore such of the Parliaments Members as have been displaced, to their Offices, and places, and to satisfy for their Losses.

The King on the other side Proposed;

That his own Revenue, Magazines, Townes, Ships, and Forts, be Restored.

That what hath been done contrary to lawe, and the Kings Rights, may be renounced and recalled;

The Kings
propositions to
the Parliament.

G That all illegall power claymed or acted by Orders of Parliament be disclaimed, as the King will readily consent to the Executio of all Laws made or to be made, concerning Popery, and Reformation; so he desires a Bill for preserving the Booke of Common Prayer against Sectaries, That all persons excepted against in the Treaty, may be tried per pares; and with the cessation of Armes, and for a free Trade.

The Cessation of Armes was thus limited.

The cessation of Armes how limited.

That all Armes, Victuals, Money, Bullion, and all commodities passing without safe conduct, may be seized on either side, and the Persons so passing, That the Kings Forces in Oxfordshire shall advance no neerer Windsor, then Wheatly, and in Buckinghamshire no neerer to Alisbury then Brill, and in Berk shire either Forces to continue as they are; The Parliaments Forces in Oxfordshire to advance no neerer to Oxford, then Henley, Buckinghamshire no neerer then Alisbury, the Kings Forces shall take no new Quarters, no neerer then twelve miles from Oxford any way, nor the Parliament twelve miles from Windsor, where the Parliaments Army lay. That no Siege shall be against Gloucester, but the Kings Forces to returne, and that the Parliaments Forces remaine as they are in Gloucestershire.

Commissioners appointed by the Parliament for a treaty.

The Queen lands with money and ammunition.

Sudley castle taken for the Parliament by Colonel Massey

Cirencester taken for the King by Prince Rupert

The Earl of Worcester's Forces defeated by Massey and Waller

The Scots enter England with an Army to assist the Parliament.

The Pope sends into Ireland to encourage the Rebels.

Thus way was made for a Treaty, but no more done in it for the present, till the Fourth of March That it was revived by the advise of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd a Member of the House of Commons, who in his Speech told the Parliament plainly, *That the War would soone ruine all; So the Parliament appoynt for their Commissioners, the Earl of Northumberland Mr. Perceps, Sir William Ermine, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Whitlock, to attend the King at Oxford. February the 22, the Queene lands at Burlington Key, with Officers, Munition and Money from Holland, from whence the Earl of Montrose and the Lord Ogley with two troopes of horse conveyed her to York where all things are prepared for her Honourable reception by the Earls of Cumberland and Newcastle, and there she begins first to forme her Army.*

Glocestershire now began to be the scene of Action, where Captain Bridges kept Sudeley Castle for the Lord Chandoise with Sixty Souldiers, and all other things sufficient; against him Lieutenant Colonel Massey advances, and offers to storm the Castle, but is repulsed, next day some horse and Dragoones possessed the Garden under the Castle and fired the Hay, and straw, and smothered the House, by opportunity whereof they had the advantage, to bring up and plant their Ordnance in such a convenient place, as necessitated the Besieged to surrender upon quarter, leaving their Armes behind them, and to ingage for payment of Five hundred pounds in six daies for the goods in the Castle, or loose them, yet could not the Parliament boast of this Victory for within a few daies space comes Prince Rupert, with Four thousand Horse and foot, making shew as if he meant to regaine it, but marches by to Cirencester where the strength of the County, and a great part of the Magazine lay, and on the first of February, masters the Guard, and forces his passage into the Town, which in two houres he gayned, putting the Earl of Stamfords Regiment and many others to the Sword, taking Eleven hundred prisoners and Three thousand Armes; And the next day summons Gloucester; which Massey resolves to hold out, and to strengthen it the better defects Sudeley and the other outward Garrisons.

The Welch Army neer 1500 raised by the Earl of Worcester and his Son the Lord Harbert marched forward for the King, to the Forrest of Deane and beat Colonel Boroughs Regiment out of Coford a small Towne neere Monmouth, and come on to Hingham, two miles off from Gloucester, where they intrench and their Major Generall Brett demands the Towne, and is answered with Scorne, so there they stay and spend five Weeks without any memorable Actions performed, and at last come off with dishonour; for Massey assisted by Captaine John Fines from Bristol, with Two hundred horse and Dragoones weakened them with continuall skirmishes, till Sir William Waller having taken Malmesbury, came to Gloucester and joyned his Forces with the other, Massey then draws out all his Horse with Five hundred foot, and some Ordnance, and held them in play for the first day, next morning Alarums them with the Great Guns and then both sides encounter fiercely and the Welch were likely to route the others and seize their Ordnance at which instant Waller comes up and charges them to the great comfort of his almost defeated Friends, who taking courage joyntly run upon their Enemies and drive them back into the house which they begin to batter with their cannon; Whereupon the Welch found a party and conclude to render the place and themselves prisoners, but the Officers should receive quarters as to their qualities and so the next day Waller and Massey lead their prisoners in triumph to Gloucester.

The Parliament had formerly desired the Assistance of the Scots which was granted, and now having compleated their Army March the thirteenth, they crosse the Tine and march southward to find worke for the Earl of Newcastle.

The Pope thought good to imitate St. Peter the supposed patron of that Church, he resolves to Fish but chooses troubled waters Irelands lakes and loughs must be the places of his games; the Rebels there notwithstanding their Defeats at Tredagh and Dondalk were much encreased in numbers, and many who were shie at the beginning now publicly declared for them, in so much that all parts of the Land were overwhelmed as with an inundation and it was high time now for this ghostly father to cast in his Baits, which he doth by two Letters, the one subscribed to Owen O Neales, and the other to all Archbishops, Bishops, Nobles and people of the Kingdome of Ireland, in both which he commendeth those who had already appeared in the quarrell, and exhorts

A horts others to the same, undertaking, declares his Joy for their late Actions and bestowes upon them all his Fatherly Benediction and a Plenary abolition, and so ends this year, unfortunate to the German Emperour, whose Forces receiv'd several Discomfitures from the Swedes and French. Lamboy one of the Imperiall Generals is defeated about Bohemia by the French count Guebrian and carried prisoner to Bois de Vincennes in France to keep company with John de Werde formerly taken; also Archduke Leopold and Piccolomini were overthrown at Leipfick by the Swedish Generall Torstenfon, but somewhat to recompence that loss Piccolomini relieved Fribergh which was streightly besieged by the Swedes. And not long before he had succoured Woblfenbottell beleaguer'd by the Duke of Brunfwick and the Protestant Forces; and in France this year was rendered notable by the death of the great Cardinall Richlieu the Famous Bontefew and disturber of Europe and particularly of these Nations of whose distractions he was both a principall causer and fomentor; he was the Harbinger, and led the way to his Master Lewis the thirteenth who deceased soone after in the midst of his Catalanian Conquests, leaving for his Successor his eldest Son Lewis the fourteenth under the Queene Dowagers Government, and Cardinall Mazarini in Richelieu's stead.

The Emperour defeated by the Swedes and French.

The death of Cardinall Richelieu and Lewis the 13 King of France

King Charles's nineteenth year being the year 1643 begins with a Treatie of peace which had been formerly agreed upon but proceeded stickly till revived at Sr. Benjamin Rudygards perswasion. At Oxford the Delegates of both parties, mett, and began to treat of the Kings Propositions concerning his Revenue, Magazines, Forts, and Ships, and the Parliaments Propositions concerning the disbanding of Armies, which Points taking up longer time then was Expected by the King, He sends this message to the Parliament Aprill. 12.

A Treaty begun at Oxford between the King and Parliament.

C **T**HAT as soone as he was satisfied in his first Porposition concerning his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and Forces, in which he desired nothing but his Just Legall and known Rights to be restored to him, and to persons trusted by him, and as soone as the Members of both Houses should be restored unto the same capacitie of sitting, and Voting, in parliament, as they had upon the first of January 1641. (exclusively of such whose Votes had been taken away by Bill or by new Elections, or new Writs) and that as soon as his Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies as to the high dishonour of the parliament had awed the Members of the same, (which he conceived could not otherwise be done but by adjourning the parliament to some place Twenty miles from London such as the Houses should agree upon) his Majesty most cheerfully and readily would consent to the disbanding of the Armies, and would return speedily to his two Houses of parliament according to the time and place which they should agree upon.

The Kings message to the Parliament

Upon this the Parliament resolved to call back their Commissioners, and so the Treatie took end Aprill the 15. In the beginning of March last the Lord Brooke had marched towards Northampton, and seized on the Cavaliers Ammunition there, from whence he passed on to Warwick and to Stratford-Avon, and beats Collonel Crocker and Lieutenant Collonel Wagstaffe and their Forces out of the Towne, which he plundered, and from thence retreated to Warwick to refresh his Souldiers, and then to Staffordshire; At Leichfield lay the Earl of Chesterfield, with some Forces under his Command who knowing the Town to be indefenceable, retired to a more teneable place neere adjoining, called the Close. Brooke being Master of the Towne, tooke up his Quarters, whilst his Souldiers goe on upon the Enemy, but in the Fight one of the Cavileers shooting adventurously at the window of his Lordships Chamber, peirced his eye-ball, of which he instantly died, the losse of him for a while amised his followers, but recollecting themselves, they renewed the Fight, with such ardour of revenge, that they tooke the Close with the Earl of Chesterfield, and all his Souldiers and Ordinance. But March the 22 the Earl of Northampton with part of the Kings Army besieged Leichfield and forced the Parliamentarians with their Commanders, to betake themselves to the Close, to whose reliefe were coming Sir. John Gell, and Sir William Brereton with Three thousand Horse and Foot, whereof the Earl of Northampton having intelligence, leaving sufficient Force to keep in the Besieged within the Close. Marched off with the rest, and unexpectedly came upon the Enemy, who yet received them stoutly till first the Horse were put to flight, and the Foot unable of themselves to keep the field, were glad to shift for their own Lives, leaving the Victory with some Prisoners, Ammunition, and Baggage, Some Ordinance, and Four Drakes to the Cavileers who yet could not much boast of their Success, having lost in the Fight their Generall the Earl of Northampton, who was slain in the Head of his Troope. But now April the 21. comes Prince Rupert and joynes with the Earl of Northampton's Souldiers and altogether fall upon the Parliamentarians Commanded by Lieutenant Collonel Russell, who despairing of Succour yeilded up the place upon Honorable Conditions and Marched away to Coventry.

The treatie at Oxford dissolved.

The Lord Brooke besieging Leichfield is shot into the eye and killed.

The close taken by his Souldiers after his death.

The Earl of Northampton routing the Parliaments Forces is himself slain

Leichfield taken by Pr. Rupert.

April 17. Generall Essex sat down before Reading, and in a short space made two severall Attempts upon it, but was in both repulsed, and the King himself Marched from Oxford to Wallingford for relief of the Towne; but Essex's Army dayly increasing with fresh Supplies from London both parties happened to skirmish at Camersham Bridge where the Royalists were worsted, and Essex continuing his Siege played furiously upon the Towne with his great Ordinance, whereby many were hurt and Sir Arthur Aston the Governour was dangerously banied, with the fall of a

Reading surrendered to Generall Essex by Collonell Fiething Deputy Governour.

Brickbat upon his head, and Colonell Feilding supplying his Room, Surrendered the Town, A for which Feilding was Sentenced by a Councell of War at Oxford to lose his Head, but afterward pardoned by the intercession of his Friends.

*Cheapside Cross
Demolishd.*

May the Third, *Cheapside Cross* was pulled down, and the Queen was soon after Voted a Traytor for raising Armes against the *Parliament*; She had indeed raised a pretty Army, whereof she had left some Horse and Foot with Sir Charles Cavendish, for Defence of *Lincolnshire*, and *Nottinghamshire*, and with Three thousand Foot, Thirty Companies of Horse and Dragoons, Six Pieces of Cannon, and Two Morters, meets the King at *Edgehill*, and from thence went with him to *Oxford*, whither comes *Monsieur Harcourt* Ambassadour from *France*, to Mediate an Accommodation, but returned without effecting any thing therein.

The Queen
with Forces
meets the King
at *Edgehill*.
Ambassadour
from *France*.
Solemn League
and Covenant.

And now the War begins to spread larger, the King drawing to his Assistance the *Irish*, and B the *Parliament* bringing in the *Scots*: These two last having first Sworn the Solemn League and Covenant, each to other, which Oath was afterwards sent down and urged by the *Parliament*, to all the Counties in *England* and *Wales*.

Severall En-
counters in the
West, between
Sir Ralph Hop-
ton and the De-
vonshire For-
ces Command-
ed by Sir George
Chidley.

In the West, Sir Ralph Hopton for the King lay with some Forces at *Launceston*, to dislodge whom, Sir George Chidley Commander of the *Parliament*s Forces in *Devonshire*, sends out a Party from *Oakehampton*, which coming undiscovered as far as *Polston Bridge*, had almost Surprised the *Cavaliers* in their Quarters. They in the Town now having but short Warning took the Alarm and drew up to a Hill, neer adjoining, which they maintained against all the Force of the Assailants, till such Ayde came in, as forced the *Devonshire* Men disorderly to Retreat home again, the *Cavaliers* pursue them to *Sorton Down*, and the Night coming on they make a stand, C the Weather was then very Tempestuous, and Stormy, and it Thundred and Lightened extraordinarily, to the great Astonishment of the *Cornish*; At which instant, one of the Enemies Scouts came in sight, Mounted on a great black Horse, at whom the Sentinells gave Fire, and missing him, concluded among themselves, that it was the Devill which had appeared to them, Reporting the same to others of the Army, which did breed a generall Contemnation among them: Captain Drake in this Confusion falls in amongst them with his Troop, and the amazed *Cavaliers* deeming that Chidleys whole Army was come upon them, and not well discerning their own Fellows, Fought at Randome against one another, and at last took the Run, never leaving till they were gotten back to *Launceston*; Yet within a short time after recovering Heart, they March again into *Devonshire*, and meet with the *Parliamentarians* at *Chagford*, whom they D Defeat, though not without some Loss, Sidney Codolphin and others being slain upon the Place. Sir George Chidley was now suspected of holding Correspondence with the *Cavaliers*, which afterward appeared more Evident to the World by his Acting in reference to *Stratton Fight*, a little before which he sent away the greatest Part of his Horse Westward, and with the rest of his Horse, and all his Foot Encountred the *Cornish* Men at *Stratton*, May the Sixteenth, where the Foot being weakly Guarded with those few Troops that remained, and unable of themselves to sustain the Enemies Charge, were utterly Routed, the most part being either slain, or taken Prisoners, which the Horse who Marched Westward hearing of, Posted away for *Plymouth*: Yet was this Loss in some measure Recompenced to the *Parliament* in the North by a Victory obtained, May the Twenty second, against the Kings Forces at *Wakefield* E

Yeomans and
Bourchier han-
ged at *Bristol*
about a Plot.

Colonell Nathaniell Fines Governour of *Bristol*, had discovered a Plot of Robert Yeomans, and George Bourchier to betray the City to the Kings Forces, Whereupon they were apprehended, and by a Councell of War Condemned to be Hanged, which Sentence was accordingly Executed, May the Thirtieth, notwithstanding the Kings Letter to the Mayor and Citizens, and Generall Rubens to the Governour in their behalf: And so ends this Month Famous by the Death of Mr. John Pym, that Active Member of the House of Commons.

Mr. Pym dies.

A Plot for the
seizing of Lon-
don discover'd.

The next Month June began with the Arraignment of Mr. Waller, a Member of the House of Commons, Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Challoner, Mr. Hasell, Mr. Blinkborn, Mr. White, and others, for Plot- F ting to Seize into their Custody the Kings Children, some Members of the *Parliament*, the Lord Mayor and Committee of the *Militia*, all the Cities Out-works and Forts, the *Tower of London*, and all the Magazines; Then to let in the Kings Forces to Surprize the City, and destroy all the Opposers, and to resist all payment of Taxes.

Tomkins and
Chaloner hang'd
about it.

They were all Arraigned at *Guildhall*, and Condemned, but only Tomkins and Challoner were Hanged, Waller was reprieved by Generall Essex, and after a years Imprisonment in the *Towers*, paid a Fine of 10000 *l.* so was Pardoned; and Travelled into *France*.

Mr. J. Hamden
slain in the
Fight at *Tame*.
A new Great
Seal Voted by
the *Parliament*.

The Earl of Essex being about *Tame*, Ordered the *Buckingham* Forces to Alarm the *Cavaliers*, June the Seventeenth: Some Skirmishes passed between them; the next Morning early, Prince Rupert engages their Body of Horse in *Chalgrave Field*, whom he Routed, took Captain Shiffeld, the Earl of *Musgroves* Son, and many others Prisoners; Major Gunter shot dead in the place, and Mr. John Hamden a stirring Member of *Parliament*, received there his mortall Wound, of G which he died a Week after. But in the West the *Parliament*s Forces had somewhat better Success, where they took in *Taunton* and *Bridgewater*: And now their main Business was to take care, how the want of the Great Seal should be supplied; Whereupon after long Debates, they Voted that a new Seal should be framed for Confirmation of their Acts and Ordinances, which was forthwith done, and thereon Engraven the Picture of the House of Commons and Members Sitting: Reversed the Armes of *England* and *Ireland*, Cross and Harp Pale; but be- tween the Voting and framing of it, they passed this Order; That if the Lord-Keeper Littleton upon

A upon Summons did not return with the Great Seal within Fourteen Dayes, he should lose his Place, and whatever should be Sealed therewith by him after that time, should be Null and Void in Law: and presently after Mr. Henry Martin a Member of Parliament, adventured to Seize the Regalia, which were Deposited in Westminster-Abbey.

The Cornish Forces were advanced into Somersetshire, where at Lands Down near Bath, July the Fifth, Sir William Waller meets with them: Hoptons Forces were fewer in Number, yet stood stiffly to it, maintaining the Fight from Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, till One the next Morning, and then the Enemy forsook the Field; But some of the Prisoners here taken found Opportunity to blow up the Train, in which Business Hopton himself among others received some hurt, and his Army for want of Ammunition was constrained to Retreat into the B Devizes, having lost in the Battell divers Gentlemen of Note: Viz. Sir Bevil Grenvill, Mr. Leak, Son to the Lord Daincourt, Mr. Baker, Mr. Bosford, Lieutenant Colonell Wall, Major Lower, Captain James, Captain Chalwell, and others. But the Parliaments Loss was far greater, both of Officers and private Soldiers; Waller being Advertised of what had hapned, Follows, and Besiegeth them, to whose Relief the King from Oxford sends the Lord Wilmot with a Body of 1500 Horse; Waller draws off to Roundway Down, where they come to Blows: With Wilmot joyned Hoptons Forces; the Horse on each Side began the Fight, in which the Parliamentarians were Defeated (more through a strange Pannick Fear, then any Force of the Cavaliers) and Fled, leaving the Foot to the Mercy of their Enemies, by whom Hundreds of them were slain, and more Prisoners taken, Four fair Brass Guns, Ammunition and Baggage, Eight and twenty C Colours, and Nine Corners; and this July 13th: And Waller himself having thus lost his Army, with a small Retinue, posts to London for Recruits.

The Fight at
Landsdown.

Waller defeated
again at Round-
way Down.

In the North there had risen some Difference between the Lord Ferdinand Fairfax Generall for the Parliament, and Sir John Hotham Governour of Hull; this Latter refusing to submit to the Former, and upon Complaints on either Side, the Parliament intended to displace Hotham, which he discovering by the Letter by him Intercepted, began to meditate new Designs, his Son Captain Hotham being Suspected by the Parliament, was Imprisoned at Nottingham, but made his Escape, and under-hand Treated with the Earl of Newcastle, and coming to Hull, his Father and he stand upon their Guard: the Parliament fearing the Consequence, sent down Sir Matthew Boynton with a Commission to Seize them both, and Succeed in the Government of the D Town; who not being suspected by Hotham, as being his Brother-in-law, found Means so to tamper with the Garrison-soldiers, as that he made himself Master of their Affections, and the Magazine; and then Sir John too late espying the Practice, fled out of the Town: but at Beverley his own Soldiers set upon him, and constrained him to fly back again to Hull, where he was taken, with his Wife and Son, and the rest of his Children, and all sent up Prisoners to the Parliament, and Sir Matthew Boynton remained Governour of the Town.

Sir John Ho-
tham and his
Son sent up
Prisoners to
the Parliament

Colonell Fines Governour of Bristol had formerly hanged up some Citizens for intending to have betrayed the Town to the Cavaliers, who yet did not fail to watch their Opportunity to effect their Design upon it, which now they obtained; for Prince Rupert who had some while hovered about those Parts, July the Fourth, sits down before it, at such a time as he knew by E his Correspondents, that it was worst provided for Resistance: So that the Governour after three daies Siege was constrained to Surrender.

Bristol delive-
red up to Pr.
Rup. rt.

August the Twelfth, the Earl of Lindsey being freed from his Imprisonment which he had endured since Edgehill Fight, returned to the King at Oxford. Eight daies after the Earls of Bedford and Holland came to Wallingford, and were received by the Governour Colonell Blagg, and were after brought to the King, to whom they made a large Profession of their Duty and Allegiance, and of their Resolution to desert the Parliaments Cause, but soon after upon some Discontent, the Wind changed, and they fled back again to the Parliament.

The Earls of
Bedford and
Holland fly to
Oxford, but
soon return to
the Parliament.

Prince Maurice now Besieges Exeter, upon which he gives a fierce Assault, flings in Grana- does, and fires part of the Suburbs, upon which ensues a fruitless Parley: The next day the F Prince Masters the great Sconce, and turns the Ordnance thereof upon the City, and then the Garrison agree to yield up the Town, the Officers only to part with their Swords, and the private Soldiers with Cudgells in their hands, and the Government conferred upon Sir John Berkley, September the Fourth.

Exeter yielded
to Prince
Maurice.

In the mean time, Judge Berkley who had been formerly Imprisoned by the Parliament for the Business of Ship-money, was Fined 20000 l. made Incapable of all Offices, and to continue a Prisoner during Pleasure.

The Parliament about this time were busied for Recruiting Sir William Wallers Army, and to induce the Londoners to a more cheerfull Compliance with them in it: Pennington the Mayor G was put in possession of the Lieutenantcy of the Tower, but Waller was faine to attend the longer, because Generall Essex was in the same Condition, and had need of Re-enforcements; Essex musters 10000, at Hounslow Heath, but they would not serve the turn for so weighty a Business, as the Relief of Gloucester, now Besieged by the King, and therefore he must make use of London Trained-Bands.

Essex muste-
his Army at
Hounslow
Heath,
Of use be-
sieged by the
King.

Gloucester was the Place which stoppt the Current of the Kings Successes, which he now Be- sieges; Massey was Governour of it, and had with him Two Regiments of Foot, One hundred Horse, and as many more from Berkley Castle, with the Trained Bands, and some Reformadoes in all about 15000 Men, 40 Barrells of Powder, and a slender Artillery, the Works large, but

not compleated, and the *West-side* defended by the River, and in this Case it was, when August the Tenth, the King fare down before it with a formidable Army, and sends them his Summons, which taking no effect, the *Cavaliers* advanced to the *East-Suburbs*, which being instantly fiered by the Citizens, they Entrench on the *South* and *East-parts*, where for their Welcome, the Besieged Salley out upon them, did good Execution, and returned: Sir *William Vaviser* with the *Welsh* Forces Entrenched on the *North-west* side, in Order to joyning with the *Worcester* Forces, Generall *Ruthin* on the *South-side*, and Sir *Jacob Ashley* in the *East-Suburbs*. A

They within behaved themselves like men of Resolution, and Alarmed their Enemies with frequent Salleys; and first, Captain *Gray* with an Hundred and fifty Musquetteers attempts the *Worcester* Forces, and marching up to the main Guard, kills some, takes others, and burning their Guard returns. After him comes out Captain *Mallery*, with the like Number, doth some Execution, and Retreats: Not long after this, Captain *Crispe* on the *East-side* makes a Salley, with Loss on both Sides; The Besiegers resolve to make their Assault on the *South* and *East-side*, to which end they begin to raise their Works, and then they plant Three Pieces of Ordnance, of Fourteen, and Four and Twenty Bullet, which they played furiously upon the Town, making a sleight Breach, which yet was soon made up again with Wooll-Packs and Cannon Baskers: The *Welsh* and *Worcester* Forces were now Quartered together, who placed Four Pieces of Ordnance before their League, and One against the *Avon-Gate*, to Amuse, whom a Party Issues out over the Works and gives the Alarm, whilst a greater Body Sallies forth at the *North-Gate*, and gets behind the Cannon, which they Nayled, having over-powred the main Guard, though not without some Loss. B C

Three Pieces of Cannon were now Planted against the *South*, Three on the *East*, and Two at the *East-Gate*, with above an Hundred and fifty Shot, battering the Corner-point, and the Muskets Playing from the Walls, and the Granadoes shot out of their Morter-pieces, did some Execution on the People: yet were their Spirits nothing abated, for shortly after Two Parties Sallied out of the Town, the One Commanded by *Sterinson*, and *Moore*, the other by *Blunt* and *White*, which did good Service, and Retired: At this Siege, it should seem that *Pallas* joyned with *Mars*, so many Ingenious Devices, for Offence and Defence were put in Execution. Such Engines framed, such Myning and Countermyning, as the like was not used in all the time of these Wars.

Now the King prepares for a generall Storm, and all his Endeavours were ready for it, the Besieged in Want, and their Ammunition Consumed to three Barrells of Powder; When News comes that the Earl of *Essex* was upon his March, with a Gallant Army to raise the Siege, wherefore the King sent away Prince *Rupert* to Retard his Speed, till he might rise and be gone. This was upon the Fifth of *September*, and so the Earl of *Essex* Enters Triumphant into *Gloucester*, where he sets things in Order, Causeth the City to be plentifully furnished with Provisions from the Country, and leaving with them Three Culverins, and Forty six Barrells of Powder, departed after the King, who at this Siege lost that Opportunity of marching up to *London*, (the *Parliament* having then no considerable Army in the Field) which he could never after regain. D

In *Ireland* the Wars had continued hitherto, and the *English* Army had pretty good Success against the Rebels: But now the King understanding of the *Parliaments* Contracting with the *Scots* for Ayde, thought good to strengthen his Own Side, by recalling part of his Army thereto help him at Home, and to that end Commissions his Lieutenant-Generall, the Earl of *Ormond* to agree on a Cessation for a Year, which was concluded at *Singeston*, *September* the Fifteenth, One thousand six hundred forty and three, and three Dayes after was Proclaimed by the *Lords* Justices and Councell at *Dublin*. E

And shortly after that some Forces from thence, under the Command of Sir *Michaell Ernley*, Landed in *Wales*, and Besieged *Hawarden Castle* neer *Chester*, which was soon yielded up unto them by the Soldiers within, who came lately out of *Ireland*, and had been enforced to the *Parliaments* Service. F

The Earl of *Essex* having Relieved *Gloucester*, and furnished them with what they wanted, Speeds after the King, who passing by *Cirencester* left there a strong Party, where Prince *Maurice* his Forces were also that Night expected, but instead of them comes *Essex*, and mistaken for the Other, Enters the Town without Opposition, seizes Four hundred Men, and Thirty Cartloads of Provision; and so Marches to *Chilton*, neer which, on *Mawarne Hills* his Forces had a hot Skirmish with the *Cavaliers*, but Night parted the Fray, and the next Day, *September* the Twentieth, He Marches for *Newberry*, the King was there before, and had gotten the Advantage of the Ground, and planted his Ordnance.

Early in the Morning Generall *Essex* views his Enemies Battell, in *Newberry Common*, draws up his Own, and falls to Firing, and the *Cavaliers* do the like; That part of the Army which Prince *Rupert* charged, being over-layd, was forced to fall off to the Right Hand, where Two great Bodies of Horse Marched down the Hill, and fell in furiously upon the Prince, both Sides doing their Parts with great Manhood, and Animosity, coming to Handy Blowes with eithers Swords: The *Essexians* then Wheeling about, Charged the Lord *Fermyn's* Regiment, whom they forced to make their Escape through some Bodies of Foot. In which Encounter were *Slaine*, Colonell *Censtable*, and the *French* Marquis *De-la Vindville*: This Fight continued with great Loss and Bloodshed on either Side, but the Greater on the G

Relieved by the
Earl of Essex.

The K. makes
a Cessation of
Armes with the
Irish.
Forces sent o-
ver from
thence to his
Ayde.

The Battell at
Newberry.

A the Kings, whose other Bodies of Horse Commanded by the Earles of *Carnarvon*, and *Northampton*, notwithstanding the undaunted Courage of their Commanders, were overpowered, and *Carnarvon* Slaine. Night coming on, caused both Armies to Retire: In this Fight, the *London Trained Bands* and *Auxiliaries* did good Service, many were the Slain on Both Sides, and *Essex* lost many of his Officers; but on the Kings Part were killed the Earles of *Carnarvon*, and *Sunderland*, *Vicount Falkland*, *Colonell Morgan*, *Lieutenant Colonell Feilding*, besides *Mr. Stroude*, and many other Gentlemen, Volunteers, and most of his Officers hurt.

This was a harder Bout then that of *Edgehill*; So that neither Part having any Stomach to Renew the Fight, they Marched away one from the other, both the King and *Essex*, having first sent their Warrants to *Newberry*, and *Enbarnes* for the Buriall of the Dead Bodies. *Essex* his Ayme was to Relieve *Gloucester*, which he happily effected, though not without some Damage; for *Colonell Hurry* with a good Party of Horse fell upon the Rere of his Army, Commanded by *Sir Phillip Stapleton*, whom in a narrow Lane they Charged so furiously, that they forced them to a Run directly forward through their own Foot, till at length getting into the Field, they Faced about, and forced the Enemy back again: many Colours of the Kings Corners were carried up to *London*, and much Reputation was Gained by this Expedition to *Generall Essex*, and the *London Trained Bands*.

C *Sir William Vavasor* comes to *Hereford* with a strong Party, which he Augments with some Forces in those Parts, and being Commissioned to Command in chief in that County and *Gloucestershire*, Garrisons *Tewkesbury*, from whence comes to *Sudley Castle*, then held by the Lord *Chandoyce*, and thence to *Neverstone Castle*, which he also Garrisoned, Carelessing the Country People all the way, in hopes of inducing them to raise for the King: but failing of his Purpose retired back again.

Barkley Castle, was now kept for the King by *Captain Roskarrock*, who made many Incursions towards *Gloucester*, for repressing of which, a Company was placed at *Frampton House*, and another at *Slimbridge*, *Massey* himself Faced the Castle with two Troops of Horse and some Musketeers, whilst another Party of Horse went out to fetch in *Malignants*, but were frustrated by the Lord *Harberts* Horse: *Sir John Winter* for the King Manned his house at *Lidney* in the Forrest of *Dean*, from whence with the Lord *Harberts* Help he Infested the *Parliamentarians*, and had many *Bickerings* with *Colonell Massey*.

And now were Forces come over out of *Ireland* for the Kings Service Commanded by *Colonell Myn*, and *Sir William St. Leger*, so that *Gloucester* was again in a manner Surrounded with Enemies to the Number of about Six Thousand, and *Prince Rupert* himself amongst them.

A Plot was layd for the Gaining of the City, which one *Mr. Stanford* was to mannage, who Presuming upon old Acquaintance with one *Blackhouse* a *Gloucester* Captain, dealt with him by Letters to Betray the Place, which he Communicated to *Massey*; and they agree together to Drill on the Design, and *Captain Blackhouse* Writes back to *Stanford* with great Professions of Compliance; but withall, pretending extream Necessity, requires Two or three hundred Pounds in hand, and Security for Two thousand more.

E These Proposals were Ratified by the Lord *Digby* from *Oxford*, and *Sir William Vavasor* appointed to Treat with them, further concerning the Manner of effecting the Designe, accordingly *Blackhouse* receives of *Stanford* Two hundred Pounds, and a Promise to disengage a Bond of his of Fifty Pounds, and the Plot was thus;

That *Colonell Massey* should be drawn out of *Gloucester* with a strong Party, towards *Barkley Castle*, with Assurance that the Place should be Rendered, in whose Absence, *Blackhouse* was to open the Gates, and deliver the Word, which was to be done upon the Fifteenth of February.

But the Cavaliers in the mean time, smelling out *Blackhouse* his Intentions, escaped the Traps that was layd for them.

F *Sir William Waller* now enters *Gloucestershire*, (whereupon the Kings Party withdraw to their severall Garrisons) from whence he Advanced towards *Monmouth*, which he enters, the Lord *Harberts* Garrison Retiring; from thence he marches to *Uske*, and spending no long time there, returns with his Horse and Dragoons through the lowest part of the Forrest of *Dean*, neer the Rivers side of *Severn*, whilst his Foot and Artillery came back at *Chepstow* by a Bridge of Boats; and high time it was, for *Prince Maurice* had entered *Tewkesbury* with a Brigade of Horse and Foot, and joyning with the Lord *Grandison*, resolved to follow *Waller*, or meet him in his Return, *Waller* not having Strength enough to Fight the Prince, caused two Parties to give a false Alarm to his Quarters, whilst himself with his main Body slipt between both, and being re-inforc'd with Two Troops of Horse, and Two hundred Foot from *Gloucester*, he falls upon *Tewkesbury*, which he Surpriseth with some Prisoners, forcing the Governour *Sir Matthew Cary* to shift for himselfe: And *Sir Robert Cook* was made Governour of the Town for the Parliament, and then Marches away with his flying Body. But in *Ripleyfield* the Prince overtakes him, finding him drawn up and divided into three Bodies, but not in a Condition to Fight, being fewer in Number, no Shot prepared, no Cannoneers, few Foot, the Wind and Sun in their Faces.

In this Posture, some perswaded to Fight, others to Retreat, to which *Waller* Assented, although there was on other way but through a long Incommodious Lane, which accordingly he puts in Execution, Commanding a Party of Dragoons to Face the Cavaliers, and the Musketeers

Severall places Garrison'd for the King by *Sir William Vavasor*.

Sir J. Winter and the Lord *Harbert* Infest *Gloucester*. More Forces sent the King out of *Ireland*.

The Cavaliers deputed in a Plot of theirs, layd for the seizing of *Gloucester*.

Waller surpriseth *Tewkesbury*.

Is beaten by
Pr. Maurice.

The Parlia-
ment Forces
take Hereford.

Eccleſhall
Town and Ca-
ſtle taken by
Sir W. Brereton,
and others.

An Ordinance
of Parliament
for ſeizing of
the K. Revenue
Sir Wil. Waller
made M. Ge-
nerall of ſever-
all Counties.
He beats a
Party of the
Kings Army at
Farnham;
Takes Arundell
Caſtle.

The Parl. de-
clare it Treas-
on to aſſiſt the
King.

Their Ordi-
nance touch-
ing the Uni-
verſity of Cam-
bridge.

quietteers to ſtand at the Corner to make good his Retreat. But Maurice falls on and beats the A
Dragoons, over Hedge and Ditch, who in their Flight did greatly diſorder the reſt, and more
hurt he had done, if Haſelrig with ſome Horſe and Foot had not made a Charge, by which means
the other had Opportunity to get out of the Lane, and from thence to *Tisbury*.

About this time it was, that Generall *Essex* Beſieged *Redding*, which occaſioned the King to
draw away his main Forces out of *Glouceſterſhire*, whereby *Waller* got freedome to take Breath,
and after ſome time of Reſreſhment, atchieved ſundry Exploits, and joyning with *Maffey*
Marched to *Hereford*, which they took, and in it the Lord *Sundamoor*, Colonell *Cunneſbeys*, and
Sir *William Crofts*, with others, ſome Armes and Ammunition.

After this they came up before *Worceſter*, which yet they would not ſtay to Beſiege, becauſe
of the approach of the Kings Forces, under the Lord *Capell*, and the Lord *Loughborough*, who B
came to the Relief of Captain *Bride*, Governour of *Eccleſhall Caſtle*, Beſieged by the Parlia-
ments Forces under Sir *William Brereton*, Colonell *Gell*, Colonell *Graves*, Colonell *Rigby*, Colonell
Jackson: Theſe had lately drawn the *Moorlanders* (Inhabitants of the Lower Grounds in
Staffordſhire) to their Side, and had made themſelves Maſters of the Town of *Stafford*: *Brereton*
quickly Maſtered *Eccleſhall Town*, and Summoned the Caſtle, but received a reſolute Answer;
and having ſpent ſome Months-time in the Siege of it, *Capell* and *Loughborough* Arrived with
their Forces, againſt whom, the Beſiegers finding themſelves unable to make Reſiſtance upon
even Terms, quit their Trenches, and retire to the Church where they Fortifie themſelves; but
there was no ſuch need of fear, for the Lords being to attend upon Buſineſs of greater Importance,
could not make any Stay there, but contenting themſelves with having Relieved the Cattle, C
reſolved forthwith to March away; Notwithſtanding all the Intreaties of Governour *Bride*, who
ſeeing he could not prevail with them to make any Attempts upon the Church, and diſpairing
of any Poſſibilities to hold out without them, delivered up his Charge to the Lords, who
placed Captain *Abel* a Dane in that Command, and immediatly departed; and the old Soldiers
loving their Old Captain, forſook the New, and followed him: And ſhortly after the
Parliamentarians coming on again, the Dane was neceſſitated to Surrender upon reaſonable
Quarter.

And now comes out an Ordinance of Parliament to Seize upon the Kings Revenue, and
another for the abating of the Excife upon *Virginia Tobacco*, upon Complaint from the Plantation
there.

Sir *William Waller* who after the taking of *Hereford*, was Deſeated at the *Deviſes*, was now
again Recruited, and ſent away with a Promise of a new Commiſſion to be Serjeant Major
Generall of *Hampſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, and *Kent*; and Marching to *Farnham*, beat a Party of the
Kings Army, and from thence marched to *Auſton*, which he took, and thence to *Arundell*
Caſtle, where his promiſed Commiſſion was ſent him, and he thereby Encouraged, ſo ordered
the matter, that in eight and twenty dayes Siege, he had the Place Surrendered.

During which time, Colonell *Norton* aſſaying to ſtop *Hopton* from going to moleſt *Waller* in
his foreſayd Siege, was by him Routed, and flying towards *Chicheſter*, could not gain Admiſſion,
at which *Waller* being Diſgusted, Writ up to the Parliament, craving Authority to place and
diſplace all Governours of Towns and Caſtles within his Aſſociation, which was granted; and
as he obtained it without the good Will of Generall *Essex*, ſo was he thereby left at Liberty, E
without Dependance on his Direction.

The Parliament finding the Kings Power to encreaſe, Publiſh, That whoſoever ſhall Aſſiſt the
King, with Horſe, Armes, Plate, or Money, againſt them, are Traytors to the Parliament, and ſhall be
ſo proceeded againſt. Notwithſtanding which his Power greatly augmented, and his Armies in
ſeverall parts obtained very Fortunate Succeſſes.

About this time Cardinal *Mazareine Richelieu*s true Succeſſor, deſiring rather to pry into
the Eſtate of this Land, then to do any good in it, procured Count *Harcourt* to croſs the Seas
hither, as Ambaſſadour to mediate a Peace between the King and Parliament, which took no
Effect according to the Cardinals own Deſires.

The Earl of *Manchester* being at *Cambridge* about the Buſineſs of Sequeſtration, and not cer-
tainly reſolved, whether the Colledges and Halls were within his Commiſſion, the Parliament
clear the Point with this Ordinance.

THas the Eſtates, Rents, and Revenues of the Colledges and Halls in the Univerſity
of Cambridge, are in no wiſe to be Seized on, but ſhall remain and be to the ſame
Univerſity, Colledges, and Halls, as if the Ordinance of Sequeſtration had never been
made.

Provided, That if any Part, Portion, or Devidend be due to any Head, Fellow, or
Scholar in the ſayd Univerſity, being, or which hereafter ſhall be a Malignant, or De-
linquent, within any of the Ordinances of Sequeſtration, then they ſhall be excepted from
receiving any Part or Portion of his Allowance, but ſhall be dealt with as it ſhall be Or-
dered by the Earl of *Manchester*, and none to be Receiver, Treasuſer, or Burſer, but ſuch
as ſhall be approved by him.

A December the Twenty second, the King at Oxford Summons a Parliament, which Convened January the Twenty second; and the King calling them together, at the great Hall at Christ Church, tells them, *That if he had the least Thoughts of disagreeing with the Happiness of this Kingdom, he would not advise with such Counsellours as they were;* And to the Upper Schools were Assigned to the Lords, and the Convocation-house to the Commons. In this Parliament, besides the Prince and the Duke of York, Lord-Keeper Littleton, Treasurer Cottingham, Duke of Richmond, and Marquis Hartford, were Nineteen Earls, and as many Lords, and an Hundred and seventeen Knights and Gentlemen; but afterwards Five Lords more, and Twenty three Knights and Gentlemen, then disabled by severall Occasions, appeared in this Convention. The first thing by them taken in hand, was, to Consider of Means for the effecting of Peace; to which end a Letter is Ordered to be Writtento General Essex, and Subsigned by all the Members, is accordingly sent to him, to which the Earl returns no Answer, but sends it up to the Parliament at Westminster.

The K. Summons a Parliament at Oxford.

January the Sixteenth, the Scots Army entred England, by way of Newcastle, consisting of 18000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, under the Command of Generall Leven, for Assistance of the Parliament, in pursuance of the Solemn League and Covenant, sending before them a spetious Declaration, for the Justness of their Cause, which they profess to be Reformation of Religion, Honour of the King, and Peace of the Kingdoms.

The Scots Army enter England.

Secondly the Lawfulness of their Calling thereunto, which they ground upon that particular Obligation, which the Parliament had upon their Nation, for refusing to Countenance a War against them in 1640.

And lastly, Their Carriage therein, which they will manifest by their Civill Demeanor during their Aboad in England, and their Peaceable Departure afterwards; For which they freely give the Publick Faith of the Kingdom of Scotland, Declaring it to be a main End of their Coming, to Rescue the King from his pernicious Counsellors,

Sir Richard Biron Governour of Newark for the King, had been very Active in those Parts, and had made Excursions as far as within three Miles of Lincoln, which so provoked the Parliamentarians, that Sir John Meldram with Seaven thousand Men lirs down before the Town, where having continued three Weeks, continually Alarmed by Courageous Sallies of the Besieged, at length comes Prince Rupert with 4000 Horse and Dragoons, and a 1000 Foot; upon whose

Sir John Meldram Besiegeth Newark.

D Approach Meldram drew off to his chief Work, at Spittle, or Exeter-house, a little more then Musket Shot from the Town, whither they had drawn all their Regiments, Cannon and Ammunition: however Rupert Advanceth up the Beak and Hill, at the Descent whereof, he spies Four Bodies of Horse standing in readines to receive them, and all the rest Horse and Foot drawn up in Battalia near the Spittle: Upon these Rupert gives a stout Charge, and after some stiff Bouts by main force drove them quite out of the Field, beyond their own Work, Foot and Cannon at the Spittle, some into the Island, and others to Muskham-Bridge, and Asslayed their chief Work at the Spittell. In all which Places the Parliamentarians Valiantly Defended themselves; but having lost 2000 of their Number in Attempts upon the Town, before the Princes coming, and being now Distressed by Rupert before, and Governour Biron behind, all Intercourse cut off by their Enemies Interposition between the Spittell, Muskham-Bridge, and the Island, and not Victualls for above two Dayes, they were constrained to desire a Parley, and then come to these Articles,

He is Blockt up by Prince Rupert.

First, That Match, Bullet, Powder, Cannon, and all other Fire-arnes belonging to the Artillery, be delivered up.

Secondly, That all Soldiers March away with their Swords by their sides, and Colours and Drums.

Thirdly, That all Officers March without Molestation with their Armes, and Horses for themselves and Servants: And all Bagg and Baggage, Money, and whatsoever doth truly belong to themselves.

F Fourthly, That all Troopers and Dragoons March with their Swords, Horses, and Colours.

Fifthly, That his Highness send a Convoy to Protect them from any Injury two Miles, from the utmost of his Highness Quarters.

The Parliament Carets the Scots Army, and Impower them to Assaile for themselves, the Twentieth Part over all the Norths and all Malignants Estates in those Parts, besides what other Counties and Associations were Assaied for them.

But the Earl of Newcastle is Marching to give them rougher Entertainment, and against him the Lord Fairfax sends his Son Sir Thomas.

G But in the mean time, other Matters are preparing for Scotland by James Earl of Montross: This Lord had sided with the Covenantors in 1638, whilst they pretended to move by Petition only, and not by force for Preservation of Religion, the Kings Honour, and the Peoples Good.

The manner of Montrosses falling off from the Covenantors, and applying himself to the Kings Service.

In 1639. the Command of 2000 Foot, and five Hundred Horse was Conferred upon him, being Absent, and the Command of 5000 more upon his neer Relations and Friends, being a considerable Part of that Army which then Invaded England: In which Service he shewed much forwardness, as being the first that posted over the Tweede, and that on Foot, thereby shadowing his Intentions of turning to the King when Opportunity should serve, if the Pacification had not Intervened.

In the next *Scottish* Invasion he also accompanied them, and writ severall Letters privately to A the King at *York*, professing his Duty and Fidelity, which was stoln out of the Kings Pockets by the *Scots* of his Bed-chamber, and Copied out for the Covenantors: After the Disbanding of that Army, *Montros* returning home, joyned in League with some of the Nobility for upholding of the Kings Interest, but again betrayed to the Adversie Party; and shortly after they intercept a Letter from the King to him Quilted in the Mellengers Saddle, upon which he with *Napier* Lord of *Marchmont*, and *Sir Sterling Ker*, were Imprisoned in the Castle of *Edenborough*. Being afterwards Released, he in the year 1642. was offered the Command of the *Scots* Covenantors Army then to be levied for Assistance of the *Parliament* of *England*, which he refused, and privately with the Lord *Ogleby* came to the Queen then newly Landed out of *Holland* at *Burlington* in *York-shire*: to her he states the Case, and proposes some means to remedy those Evills which we threaten from the North, but all was quashd by *Hamiltons* coming home, he returns B and makes shew of some kind of Willingness to comply with the Covenantors; Whereupon *Alexander Hinderson* comes to Carels and to satisfie his Conscience, and with him comes *Sir James Rolloch*, from whom he sifts the Secrets, and their Resolutions to send an Army in Ayde of their Brethren in *England* against the King, and so Poits away with *Ogleby* to *England*, and comes to *Oxford*, where he Communicates his Intelligence to the Queen; who trusting more upon the *Hamiltons*, made no great Account of it; whereupon they take their way to the King then before *Gloucester*, with whom also they gained small Belief, being over-weighed by the prevalent Authority of *Hamilton* at Court, who ever laboured to keep down this Earl, as knowing his Worth to be such, that if on.e he came in Favour, he would soon over-top him: But the C King returning to his Winter Quarters at *Oxford*, by daily Reports found *Montros* to be too true, and now too late repenting his Incredulity, he Commithons *Montros* to be Generall Governour of *Scotland*, and orders the Earl of *Antrim* to Ayde him in Person, with some considerable Forces, out of *Ireland* to be Landed in the West of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Newcastle* to furnish him with a Party of Horse to enter upon the South and to into the Heart of that Kingdom. And forthwith *Sir John Cockram* is dispatched to the King of *Denmark*, to Negotiate for Men, Money, and Ammunition.

Montros made General-Governour of *Scotland* for the King.

Marquis Hamilton sent Prisoner to *Pendennis*, upon his brothers flying to the *Parliament*. *Montros* enters *Scotland* with an Army. The Affairs in *France*, and other foreign Parts.

In the mean time, the *Hamiltons* come Post towards *Oxford*, giving out by the way, that their fiery Zeal for their King, made their Country too hot for them, but being forbidden the Court, the Earl of *Lanrick* gets to the *Parliament* at *London*, and from thence to the *Scottish* Army: D Whereupon his eldest Brother the *Marquis*, was sent Prisoner to *Pendennis Castle* in *Cornwall*. *Montros* coming to the *Marquis* of *Newcastle*, could obtain of him but Two hundred Horse, with two Brass Field-Pieces, and Orders to the Kings Forces to help him in his Journey to *Scotland*, and by the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmerland*, was supplied with Eight hundred Foot, and three Troops of Horse, and passing forwards by the help of some Friends, got together Two hundred Horse more, wherewith he shortly after, *Viz.* The year following, *April* 13. entred *Scotland*, and so ended this year with Us; Which was rendred Famous abroad by the Two Battells of *Rocroy*, and *Durling*, the First in *May*, at which time *Don Francisco de Melo* Besieged *Rocroy*, having made the Duke of *Albuquerque* a young *Portugall*, and araw Soldier General of the House, wheratt his Officers were so Disgusted, that when the Prince of *Conde*, and E *Monsieur Gaston* fell on, the *Spaniards* without making any considerable Resistance, began to Rout, and then to Run, and the French Victorious, presently took the Town of *Theonville*: Whereupon *Melo* was displaced, and the Government given to *Cassell Rudrigo*, till the coming of the Archduke *Leopold*.

But in *Bavaria* the *Spaniards* quitted with *Messieurs*, where the Duke of *Lorraine* (then in their Service) with *John de Werdt*, and the Baron of *Mercy* Vanquished the French, and *Weymarinus*, and took Prisoners the Four Martialls of *France*, which Conducted the Army, together with Four hundred Officers, and a Thousand Common Soldiers, besides the Pillage, This was about the end of *November*.

Sir William Waller Defeats the Lord *Hopton's* Force, and takes *Winchester*.

It was now the Twentieth year of King Charles's Reign, being the year 1644. *Sir William F Waller* having taken *Arundell Castle*, and gotten a Commission to his Mind, Marches forward against the Lord *Hopton*, whom he finds drawn out in *Brandon Heath* near *Alsford*, with Intention to Fight, which *Waller* refused not, and so gains an Advanthgeous Hill, from whence, being forced, he gets up to another, whither the *Cavaliers* follow him, and entred a sharp Dispute, but at length the *Parliamentarians* by the help of the Ground, and the Covert of Trees and Hedges, did such Execution upon the Enemy, that after the loss of many Persons of Quality, besides a great Number of the Vulgar Sort, they Retreated in great Disorder; and drawing off their Cannon towards *Winchester*, Wheeled off unseen to *Basing-house*, whence *Hopton* hastens to *Oxford*, and *Winchester* after this Victory yields to *Waller*, upon Summons. On the Kings Side G these were mortally Wounded; The Lord *Stewart*, *Sir John Smith*, and three Colonells, *Sandys*, *Mannering*, and *Scot*: and these were hurt, which afterwards recovered; Colonell *Appleyard*, Captain *Perfon*, *Sir Edward Stowells*, and *Sir Henry Barde*, of the *Parliaments* Side; besides divers that were Slain, *Dollbeer* was Wounded, and Colonell *Tomson* lost his Leg by a Cannon Shot.

About this time, Colonell *Gryffith* made his ridiculous Expedition with Silver Trumpets, and guarded Coats, for the Reduction of *Wales* to the *Parliaments* Obedience, but was totally Routed at his first Encounter, and so being Cashiered, we hear no more of him, but only for his Debauchedness commonly called Prince *Gryffith*, because at his setting forth, he bragg'd that

The ridiculous Expedition of one *Gryffith*.

A he would seek out Prince *Rupert* to fight with him hand to hand, and afterwards having spent his Estate Travelled beyond-Seas, and was killed in a Tavern at *Paris*.

This Spring Generall *Essex* had his Army Recruited to seven compleat Regimentts of Horse, and six of Foot, and the *Parliament* also compleated their Navy: and Colonell *Oliver Cromwell* Colonell *Oliver Cromwell* made Governour of *Ely* with Power to raise Moneys within the Isle, for Support of that Garrison, which consisted of Seven hundred Foot, and three Troops of Horse.

May the Third, Colonell *Fox* for the *Parliament* comes from *Tamworth*, to *Bendly*, by Night with a single Troop, and obtained Entrance of the Guard, under pretense of one of Prince *Rupert's* Troops, passed into the Town, Surprises the Garison, takes the Governour Sir *Thomas Lisleton* Prisoner, with divers other Gentlemen, about Fifty Horse, and carries them all away with him.

And in *York-shire* the *Fairfaxes* after divers Successes, April the Tenth, Mastered the Kings Garisons, at *Selby* and *Heintough*, and took so many Prisoners, that they were fain to desire the *Parliament's* Order, how to dispose of them: And now think themselves able to deal with the Earl of *Newcastle*.

April the Nineteenth, the *Parliament* at *Oxford* having little Business, and some Differences also among them, were willing to Recede, wherefore the King Prorogued them to the Eighth of *October*, and afterwards by Proclamation to the Ninth of *November*.

Now the *Parliament* in *Scotland* about this time Assembled, to whom the *Parliament* at *Westminster* send Congratulatory Letters, with Thanks for their Assistance both here and in *Ireland*, and certifie them, that they had serled a Committee of both Kingdomes at *Westminster*, to Consult together for the good of both Nations, and that they had appointed a Committee to Reside with the *Scottish* Army in *England*, to which Army they had already sent 20000 *l.* and had 30000 *l.* more in readines to be speedily sent unto them.

Latham House had been neer Eighteen Weeks Besieged by some *Parliament* Forces, under the Command of Colonels *Ashton*, *Moore*, and *Rigby*; but at last Prince *Rupert* Marches that way and takes *Stopwash*, where the *Parliament* had a strong Garison, and from thence sends Relief to the Countels of *Darby*: Whereupon the Besiegers drew off.

The King in the presence of the Peers at *Oxford*, received the Sacrament at *Christs-Church*, at the Hands of Bishop *Usher*, using these Solemn Protestations;

D "My Lords, I espy here many resolved Protestants, who may Declare to the "World the Resolution I do now make; I have to the utmost of my Power prepared "my Soul to become a Worthy Receiver, And may I so receive Comfort by the "blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the Establishment of the true Reformed Protestant "Religion, as it stood in its Beauty in the happy Dayes of *Queen Elizabeth*, without "any Connivance at Popery: I bless God that in the midst of these publick Distra- "ctions, I have still Liberty to Communicate, and may this Sacrament be my Dam- "nation, if my Heart do not joyn with my Lips in this Protestation.

E The *Parliament* at *Westminster* Voted it Treason for any Member, or Members of either House to Desert them, and go to the King, and they never to be received again.

And in the meantime, *Essex* and *Waller* joyn together, and enter *Oxfordshire*, with Intention to Invirion the King, whose greater Armies were then abroad, to prevent which, he Marches out of *Oxford* by Night, leaving sufficient Force behind for the Defence of the City, and comes to *Norhly*, where he drew up his Army of 3000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, 12 Drakes, and 60 Carriages, and so Marched on towards *Worcester*. *Essex* and *Waller* pursue two severall Wayes, but both met at *Burford*, where it is agreed between them, That *Essex* with his heavy Guns should March to Reduce the *Western* Counties, and *Waller* with the lighter Field-Pieces should joyne with *Masseys* Forces, and pursue the King: So *Essex* Marches to *Faringdon*, and *Waller* toward *Glouster*, and from thence in Quest of the King, who hearing of *Essex's* Departure, turns back, with Intention to be furnished with Ammunition from *Oxford*, and to give *Waller* Battell: at *Burford* he receives his expected Ammunition, and at *Whitney* some additionall Recruits, and from thence comes to *Buckingham*, and taking *Brackley* and *Culworth* in his way, Advanceth to *Grimsbury* Fields, neer *Banbury*, and Faces *Waller*, who was drawn upon *Crockhill*; but he soon left that standing, and gained *Burton Hill*, a more advantageous Ground, where he stood in *Battalia*, whom when the King could by no means draw down, he marched over *Copredy* Bridge towards *Daintry*. The Kings Van and main Body being a good space before, *Waller* makes down with 2000 Horse, and 9000 Foot over the Bridge, and falls upon the Kings Rear, Commanded by the Earls of *Northampton*, and *Cleveland*; these Faced about and Charged the Enemy through and through, and were so well Seconded, that they Routed Sir *VVilliams* Horse and Foot, killed 150 men, took all his Train of Artillery, together with many considerable Officers Prisoners; And this, June 29.

The King presently Marcheth to *Bath*, after *Essex*, who was gotten *VVestward*, and by the Lord *Roberts* Entreaty, was periwaded into the narrow Noofe of *Cornwall*.

July 23. the King comes to *King-smoore* in *Somersetshire*, and from thence August the First, to *Liskerd* eight Miles distance from the Earl of *Essex*, who was at *Loftwithiel*, and there was En- camped

Colonell *Oliver Cromwell* made Governour of *Ely*.
Bendly surprizd by Colonel *Fox*.

Selby and *Heintough* taken by the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son.

The *Parliament* of *Scotland* Assembled.

Prince *Rupert* raiseth the Siege of *Latham* House.

The Kings solem Protestation to his Lords at the taking of the Sacrament.

The King Marcheth out of *Oxford*. Is pursued by *Essex* and *Waller*.

Defeats *Waller* at *Copredy* bridge.

Essex Blockt up by the Kings Forces in *Cornwall*.

compassed by the King and Prince Maurice at *Buconneck*, Sir Richard Grenville at *Bodmyn*, and Sir Jacob Ashley at *Hales*, the Cavaliers were very desirous to Fight, but after a serious Deliberation, it was judged more adviseable to starve them; to that end, Generall Goring with a Parcy of Horse, and Sir Thomas Basset with 1500 Foot were sent Westward, to stop all Provisions that way, and to streighten them by keeping their Horse and Foot close together: Hereupon the *Parliamentarians* drew their Cannons and Baggage toward *Foy*, but the greatest part of their Horse being 2300. Commanded by Sir William Balfore, broke through the Kings two Quarters, and got to *Salisbury*, and thence to *Plymouth*, which all the War-time held out stoutly for the *Parliament*: All this while the King pursues his Advantage upon *Essex* his Foot, who with those few Horse that were left made the best Resistance that they could; but at last being over-powred by the Kings Forces, which in a manner lay round about them, and the Country rising in great Numbers upon them, the Earl of *Essex* quits his Command, and by Water makes for *Plymouth*, and the Soldiers now destitute of a General come to a Parley September the First: The Commissioners on the Kings side were Prince Maurice, Generall Ruthen, and the Lord Digby. On the other, Colonell Barkley, Colonell Whichcote, and Colonell Butler, who at last agreed upon Seven or Eight Articles, the Summe whereof were; To deliver up to the King all their Artillery, with all their Bag and Baggage, no Person under the Degree of a Corporall, to wear any kind of Weapon, all Officers above, only Sword and Pistoll: There were accordingly delivered up Forty Pieces of Brass Ordnance, Two hundred Barrells of Powder, with Bullet and Match proportionable, Nine thousand Armes for Horse and Foot; some Thousands of private Soldiers were immediatly upon their Desires entertained in his Majesties Service: The worthy Deportment of Major Generall Skippon, who Commanded the Foot, deservedly challengeth an Encomiastick Commemoration, who being desired by the Generall to escape away with him by Water to *Plymouth*, chose rather to live and die with his fellow-Soldiers, then to Desert them in such a distressed Condition. And when after the forementioned Agreement, the Cavaliers abused the unarmed *Parliamentarians* in their March, he Courageously addressed himself to the King, and representing what Dishonour would thereby accrue to his Majesty, procured more strict Command for the punctual observation of the Articles, and so marched to *Poole*: After these sundry Successes erected the Kings Party, *Ilferdcombe*, *Barnestable*, and *Salisbury* taken; and so the King Victorious, takes leave of the Western Parts, and returns to *Oxford*.

The K. sends
severall Letters
to the Parl.
and to the
Earl of Essex
about a Treaty.

The King after the Defeat of *Waller* at *Copedy Bridge*, had Whitten from *Evesham*, July 4. D to the *Parliament* for a Treaty, and to the same purpose he sends another Letter from *Liskard* to *Essex*, at *Leistwithiell*, the like did the Lords and great Officers, and Commanders of the Army: but through mutuall Mistrusts, all came to nothing; Yet now after this Victory, the King from *Tavistock* sends another Letter, Dated September 8. to both Houses, for an Accommodation, willing them to take his former Letter from *Evesham*, into Consideration.

September the Twelfth, the *Parliament* at *Oxford* Assembled again, but falling into Divisions and Factions, the King despairing of any good Effects from them, in March following Dissolved them.

France and the
united Provin-
ces Mediate
for a Peace.

The French had formerly Mediated a Peace between the King and *Parliament*, but in vain; And now the United Provinces meant to try what they could do in it, and at leastwise to settle Trade, however the Game went: from These, many men expected much good, by reason of the Kings previous Messages; but yet in the end of the year, they also returned, having effected nothing as to a Reconciliation.

The Earl of
Newcastle Be-
sieged in York
by the Parlia-
ments Forces.

The Earl of *Newcastle* who had done many Exploits in the North, for the King, was now over-powred by the *Parliaments* Forces, consisting of the *Scots*, under the Earl of *Levens* Command, and of the *English* in two Bodies, the one Commanded by the Earl of *Manchester*, the other by the Lord *Fairfax*, each General having his particular Lieutenant-General, *Leven* had his Cousin Colonell *David Lesley*, *Manchester*, Colonell *Oliver Cromwell*, and the Lord *Fairfax* had his Son Sir *Thomas*: These Armies held the Earl of *Newcastle* Besieged in *York* about two Months, for whose Relief, Prince *Rupert* Advanceth Northward with a great Power of Horse and Foot, F taking in his Way three Garisons, *Stofford*, *Bolton*, and *Liverpoole*, and so comes forward towards *York*, upon whose Approach the Besiegers drew off, and those within Sally out upon the Rear, and bring back with them some Provisions. After this *Rupert* and *Newcastle* joyn their Forces, and pursue them with a Resolution to give Battell.

The Battell at
Marston Moore.

July the Third, both Armies Face one another upon a great Plain, called *Marston Moore*; the Prince with the Left Wing fell on the *Parliaments* Right Wing, consisting of the *Fairfaxian* Horse and Foot, and a Reserve of *Scots*, Routed them, and pursued them a great way; the like did Generall *Goring*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Major Generall *Porter*, upon the main Body: but the Cavaliers too eagerly following the Chase, the Victory now almost Achieved, was snatcht out of their Hands, by *Manchester* and *Cromwell*, who with the *Parliaments* Left Wing utterly Routed the Earl of *Newcastle*, who Commanded the Right Wing of the Cavaliers, and then came in timely to the Relief of their Companions, who, now again Rallied, fell altogether upon the divided Bodies of *Rupert* and *Goring*, and totally dispersed them, and obtained a compleat Victory after three hours Fight, from Seven in the Morning, till Ten, took 3000 Prisoners, 20 Pieces of Ordnance, besides a considerable Number of Officers, and 47 Colours of Horse and Foot, and soon after made themselves Masters of all in the North.

Sir *Thomas Glenham* was Governour of *York*, which the three Generalls Besiege, and he standing

A Standing in want of Ammunition, Prince *Rupert* having made use of most of what was in the City for the Fight, July 16. Surrenders upon Articles; and then the three Generalls parting their Forces, *Leven* returns into *Northumberland*, and takes the Town of *Newcastle*: After this *Battell*, which was the greatest, both for the fierceness of it, and for the Number of Soldiers on both sides, that was fought during this unhappy Intestine War: Prince *Rupert* sped him into *Lancashire*, with the Relicks of his broken Army, but others departed the Kingdome (through Discontent taken at some Affronts, offered them by Prince *Rupert*, upon which they refused to engage any further in that Cause) and Landed at *Hamburgh*; Viz. The Earl of *Newcastle* lately made Marquis, with his two Sons, and his Brother Sir *Charles Cavendish*, Generall King, the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Lord *Widdrington*, the Earl of *Cranworth*, the Bishop of *Londonderry*, Sir Edward *Widdrington*, Colonell *Carnaby*, Colonell *Basset*, Colonell *Muson*, Sir *William Vavasor* Sir *Francis Mackworth*, with above Eighty other Persons.

York delivered up to Sir Thomas Glenham. Newcastle taken by the Scots.

The Parliament Ordain new Levies to be raised, 10000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, and 1300 Dragoons, out of the lately Affiliated South-eastern Counties; and as much Moneys to be advanced out of those Counties, as shall pay those Soldiers during their Employment.

New Levies raised by the Parliament.

Middleton a Scotchman, Lieutenant-Generall to Sir *William Waller*, comes before *Dennington Castle* in *Barkshire*, with 3000 Horse and Foot, which he gives a stout Assault to, but Repulsed, and finding himself unable to do the Work, marches Westward after Generall *Essex*: but in the way is met with, and Routed by Sir *Francis Dorrington*, and Sir *William Courtney*; this makes him Retreat to *Shirborn* in *Dorsetshire*, where he falls upon a Party of the Kings Horse, and beats them, repairing his Credit by their Overthrow: then comes Colonell *Horton*, and makes a second Attempt upon the Castle, and after him the Earl of *Manchester* a Third: but through the stout Resolution of the Governour *Bloyse* and his Garison, they were frustrated of their Hopes, and so the Earl marched away to *Reading*, and *Horton* to *Abbingdon*.

Dennington Castle attempted by three Parties, but in vain.

The Queen being come from *Oxford* to *Exeter*, was there delivered of a Daughter, June 16. which was called *Henretta Maria*, and after, she Journied from thence to *Pendennis Castle* in *Cornwall*, where she Embarked for *France*, and hath ever since continued there.

The Princess *Henretta Maria* born at *Exeter*. The Queen returns into *France*.

Banbury had been Besieged about Eleven Weeks, being Defended by Sir *William Compton*, Brother to the Earl of *Northampton*, who is now at leisure to Succour his Brother, which he doth, October 25. putting to Flight Colonell *John Fines*, and his Forces which lay before the Castle.

D But in *Gloucestershire* *Massey* prevails, Colonell *Myn* had been long a Goad in his Sides, and had now designed with the Forces of both Counties, *Hereford* and *Worcester*, to have Marched from their Rendezvous at *Cassellane*, to the Gates of *Gloucester*, but *Massey* prevents them, and with a competent Number of Soldiers, falls upon *Myn*, whom he finds drawn up into *Battalia* 160 Horse, and 850 Foot, these he Courageously Charges, and after a tough Resistance, breaks and disperseth them; *Myn* was slain upon the Place, and about 170 more, divers Officers, and many common Soldiers taken Prisoners: at length, too late, the *Hereford* and *Worster* Forces came up, but understanding what had passed, returned home again without any memorable Action.

Colonell *Myn* Defeated, and slain by *Massey*.

E Prince *Rupert* after his Defeat at *Marston* Moore, lying about *Bristol*, had an Intention to pass *Astferry*, to Guard which, he sends 500 Horse and Foot, Fortifying *Beachly* for a standing Guard being a Place of Strength, between *Severn* and *Wye*: *Massey* who was not accustomed to be idle, resolves to Attack them, and boldly performed that his Attempt, beats the Enemy, Masters the Guard and Place, and soon after takes *Munmouth* by the Treachery of *Kirle* Lieutenant-Colonel to *Holby*, the Governour.

Astferry Fight.

Newbury seemed to be the Place Destined for Martiall Exploits, neer which, One memorable Battell had been Fought before, and now a Second no less Cruell, is to be Disputed between the exasperated Parties, the Parliamentarians seeking to regain what Credit they had lost in the West, and the Cavaliers to repair the Loss in the North, the King had Amassed his Forces at *Kingsleigh*, and on the other Side the Earls of *Essex* and *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller* Marched to a Generall Rendezvous neer *Basing*, October 23. and from thence the day following to *Padworth*, and next Morning to *Buckelbury-Heath* neer *Newbury* (where the King then was) and about Twelve of the Clock drew down the whole Army, between *Thatcham* and *Shaw*, and Skirmished with the Kings Horse. On Saturday, both Armies Plyed one another with their great Ordnance, but without much hurt done.

Massey takes *Monmouth* through the Treachery of *Kirle*. *Newbury* second Fight.

G Sunday, October 27. Some of *Manchesters* Forces, and *London* Train-Bands crossed the River *Kenet*, between the Hill and *Newbury*, and did some Execution upon those that kept the Pass against them: But Sir *Bernard Ashley* coming to Rescue, forceth the Other over the River. Again in the Afternoon, 4000 of *Essex* and *Waller's* Horse and Dragoons, with 500 Pikes, Charged the Cavaliers on the West-side of *Newbury*, where were the *Cornish* Foot, and the Duke of *York's* Regiment, with five Field-Pieces, and Prince *Maurice's* Brigade of *Cornish* Horse; all which unable to sustain the rough Charge of the Parliamentarians, Retreated back in some Disorder, and here the Kings Five Field-Pieces were taken. The *Essexians* following their Success, Advance with 500 Horse, and a sufficient Strength of Musketeers, betwixt *Newbury* and *Spine*, upon the Kings Life-guards, and Colonell Sir *Humphrey Bennet's* Brigade, whom they overpowered, and had much more Endamaged, if the Lord *Bernard Stewart* had not come up to their Assistance, and secured their Retreat on the East-side of *Spine*, the Parliamentarians having settled Three Bodies of Foot in certain Inclosures, Advanced over a Dirch, with a great Body of Horse to break in through the Kings Guards, but must first Fight with Generall *Coring*, and the

Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, who Charged stoutly, and beat back the Enemy, but pursuing dis- A
orderly were Repulied with Loss.

Upon the North-east of *Newbury* stood the Lord *Ashley*, with Colonell *George Lyle* for the
King, against whom the Earl of *Manchester's* Horse and Foot, with the Trained-Bands of
London, came down the Hill and Worsted Colonell *Lyle's* Guards: But then Sir *John Brown*
comes on with Prince *Charles's* Regiment of Horse, Charges the Foot, and then receives a
Charge of 1000 Horse, and so Retreats.

Manchester forces his way to the Reserve Commanded by Colonell *Thelwell*, and after a smart
Dispute, beats them out of the Field, gains their Colours, and Two Pieces of Cannon. In
this Fight, on the Kings Part were slain, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, Lieutenant-Colonell *Leak*, Lie-
utenant-Colonell *Topping*, and Captain *Catlin*, the Earl of *Cleveland*, with others taken; the B
Earl of *Brainford*, and *Forth*, Sir *John Grenville*, Sir *Richard Campfield*, Major *Alford*, and Captain
Walgrave, and others Wounded, many private Soldiers slain, and others taken Prisoners. This
Fight endured till Eight of the Clock at Night, the *Essexians* called it the Revenge of *Cornwall*:
The King perceiving that all his Brigades were Worsted by the *Parliamentarians*, and fearing a
totall Over-throw, if the Battrell should be renewed, Marched away secretly to *Dennington*
Castle, and there leaves behind him his great Pieces of Ordnance, and so halts to *Wallingford*,
Generall *Essex* Marches into *Newbury*, and after in vain Summons, and Assaults *Dennington*
Castle, and so takes leave, committing the Care of that Siege to a Party which he left behind
him.

Monmouth re-
taken by the
Kings Forces.

Massey had formerly taken *Monmouth*, and had made Major *Frogmorton* Governour of it, who
desiring to shew himself Active in his fresh Authority, draws out 300 Horse and Foot to take in C
Chepstow Castle, in whose Absence, the *Cavaliers*, November 19. early in the Morning enter the
Town, seize the main Guard, and take the rest in their Beds, with Colonell *Branton*, and many
Officers and common Soldiers, the Committee, and pretty store of Armes and Ammunition:
Frogmorton hearing of this Surprisall, desists from his *Chepstow* Design, and Marches away to meet
Massey at *Burford*.

The King sends out Sir *Jacob Ashley* with Three Brigades of Foot, and Four Regiments of
Horse, who places his Head-quarters at *Cirencester*, and from thence sends out severall Parties
which return with Prisoners and Spoil, whilst himself Masters *Masseys* Guard at *Lipiot*, and grows
so Formidable, that he Commands Contribution to the very Gates of *Gloucester*: Prince *Maurice* D
also Deputes a Regiment of Horse and Dragoons to the Service and Use of Sir *John Winter's*
Garison of *Lidney*, in the Forest of *Dean*, and so the Kings Power becomes considerable in these
Parts.

The *Hothams*
and Sir *Alex-*
ander Cary Be-
headed.

The *Hothams* must now come to their Tryall, the Earl of *Manchester*, and others are Assigned
to be their Judges, and so December the First, Sir *John* is Charged in the *Hustings-Court* at *Guild-*
hall, London, That he had Trayterously betrayed the Trust reposed in him by the *Parliament*, and
adhered to the Enemy; to be proved by his Words, by his Letters, and by his Actions: And
that he held Correspondence with the Queen, the Earl of *Newcastle*, and the Lord *Digby*, and
others of that Side, and endeavoured to Betray the Town of *Hull* to the *Cavaliers*. His Son was
Charged with Crimes of the same Nature; as for entercourse of Letters with the Earl of *New-* E
castle, under pretence of Treating about exchange of Prisoners: which things being proved against
them, they were both Sentenced to lose their Heads, and accordingly were Executed, the Son the
First of *January*, and the Father the next day after. And a little before, *Viz. December 23.* Sir *A-*
lexander Cary had been Beheaded, for endeavouring to give up the Island of *Plymouth* to the Kings
Forces. Two Principall *Irish* Rebels, the Lord *Macguire*, and *Macmahon* had been Seized in
Ireland, and sent up to the *Parliament*, and Imprisoned in the Tower, whence they found Means
to make an Escape, but were re-taken and brought to Tryall; and first *Macmahon* being found
guilty of High-treason, was, according to Sentence at the *Kings-Bench* Bar, Hanged, Drawn,
and Quartered at *Tyburn* in November: and *Macguire*, notwithstanding his Complaint to the
House of Lords, to consider his Quality as a Peer of *Ireland*, was by the same Court condemned F
of High-treason, and like as his Fellow-traytor was Sentenced to be Hanged, Drawn, and Quar-
tered, which was performed upon him, February 20.

Macguire and
Macmahon
Hanged,
Drawn, and
Quartered at
Tyburn.

A Treaty be-
gun at *Uxbridge*
between King
and Parlia-
ment.

The King had formerly sent to the *Parliament* for a Treaty which they now began to hearken
to, and so Commissioners are appointed on both Sides to meet at *Uxbridge, January 30.* the
Commissioners for the King were these; The Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Marquis of *Harford*,
the Earls of *Southampton*, *Kingston*, and *Chichester*, the Lords, *Capell*, *Seamer*, *Hatton*, and *Cul-*
peper, Sir *Edward Nicholls*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, Sir *Richard Lane*, Sir *Thomas Grandure*, Sir *Orlando*
Bridgman, Mr. *John Ashburnham*, Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*, Doctor *Stewart*. Those for the *Parliament*
of *England* and *Scotland* (for now they are joyned in all publick Affairs) were the Earls of
Northumberland, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Denbeigh*, Lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir
Henry Vane the younger, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. *St Johns*, Mr. *Prideaux*, Lord *Lowden*, Sir
Charles Erskine, Mr. *Dondau*, Mr. *Brakeley*, and Mr. *Henderson*. G

Many previous Desires of the *Parliament* had passed, but now they come to the Business. But
before the Meeting, the King gives these Memorials to Secretary *Nicholas*.

'First,

A **F**irst, For Religion and Church-Government, the King will not go one Jot further, then is by you offered already.

The Kings
Memorialis to
Secretary Nic-
chols.

Secondly, And so for the *Militia*, more then what you have allowed by Me, but even in that you must observe, That I must have free Nomination of the full half, as if the Totall Number, *Scots*; and all be Thirty, I must name Fifteen: Yet if the *Parliament* will be so unworthy, as to admit of Ten *Scots* to twenty *English*, I am contented to name Five *Scots*, and Ten *English*, and so proportionall to any Number.

B As for gaining of particular Persons, besides Security, promise them Rewards for performed Services, not sparing to engage for Places, so they be not of great Trust, nor to dispossess Honest men, but as much Profit as you will; With this last, you are only to acquaint, *Richmond, Southampton, Culpeper, and Hide*.

And the King gives Directions to his Commissioners in Writing, thus;

First, Concerning Religion; In this the Government of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chief Question: wherein these two Things are to be considered;

C **C**onscience, and Policy; In the First, I cannot yield to the Change of the Government of Bishops, not only as I concur with the most Generall Opinion of Christians in all Ages, as being the best: but likewise I hold my Self particularly bound by the Oath I took at my Coronation, not to alter the Government of the Church, from what I found it.

His Directi-
ons to his
Commis-
sioners.

And as for the Churches Patrimony, I cannot suffer any Diminution, or Alienation of it (it being without peradventure *Sacriledge*, and likewise contrary to the former Oath.) But whatsoever shall be offered for Rectifying of Abuses, if any have crept in, or yet for the ease of tender Consciences (so that it endamage not the Foundation) I am contented to hear, and will be ready to give a Gracious Answer.

D

For the Second (*Policy*) As the Kings Duty is to Protect the Church, so it is the Churches to Assist the King in the maintenance of his just Authority; Wherefore my Predecessors have been alwaies Carefull (especially since the Reformation) to keep the Dependence of the Clergy entirely upon the Crown, without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the Kings Head. Therefore do nothing to change or lessen this necessary Dependence.

E **C**oncerning the *Militia*, after Conscience this is certainly the fittest Subject for a Kings Quarrell, for without it, the Kings Power is but a shadow; and therefore upon no means to be Acquitted, but to be maintained according to the Ancient Laws of the Land. Yet (because to attain to this so much wished Peace by all good Men) it is in a manner necessary, that sufficient and reall Security be given for performance of the Agreement.

I permit you therefore, either by leaving strong Towns, or other Military Forces into their Possession (untill Articles be performed) to give such Assurance for performance of Conditions; as you shall judge necessary, to conclude a Peace.

F **P**rovided alwaies, that you take (at least) as great Care by sufficient Security, that Conditions be performed to Me. And to make sure, that the Peace once settled, all Things shall return into their Ancient Channells.

For *Ireland*, I confesse they have very specious popular Arguments to press this Point, they gaining no Article more conducing to their Ends then this, and I have as much Reason both in Honour and Policy to take Care how to Answer this, as any: All the World knows the Eminent Inevitable Necessary, which caused me to make the *Irish* Cessation; and there remain yet as strong Reasons, for the concluding of that Peace. Wherefore you must consent to nothing to hinder me therein, untill a clear Way be shewn to Me, how my Protestant Subjects there, may probably (at least) Defend themselves; and that I shall have no more need to Defend my Conscience and Crown from the Injuries of this Rebellion.

G

The Protestation Consented to, and Taken, by his Majesties Commissioners appointed A
to Treat.

I A. B. One of the Commissioners Assigned by his Majesty for this present Treaty at Uxbridge, do Protest and Promise in the sight of Almighty God, that I will not Disclose nor Reveal to any person, or persons whatsoever (who is not a Commissioner) any Matter, or Thing that shall be Spoken of during the Treaty by any One, or more of his Majesties Commissioners, in any private Debate among themselves, concerning the sayd Treaty, so as to Name, or Describe Directly, or Indirectly, the person, or persons that shall speak any such Matter, or Thing, unless by the Consent of all the sayd Commissioners, that shall be then Living. ^B

Memorandum, That it is by all the said Commissioners agreed, that this shall not bind, where any Ten of the Commissioners shall agree to certify his Majesty, the Number of the Assentors, or Dissentors upon any particular Result in this Treaty, not C Naming, or Describing the Persons.

The Commissioners on both sides being met, the things to be Treated of were ;
First, Religion.

Secondly, The Militia.

Thirdly, Ireland.

But first, the Kings Commissioners give in this Paper concerning Religion.

The Off. rs of
the Kings
Commission-
ers concern-
ing Religion.

‘ *First*, That Freedome be left to all Persons of what Opinion soever in Matters of D Ceremony, and that all the Penalties of the Laws and Customes which enjoin these Penalties be suspended.

‘ *Secondly*, That the Bishops shall exercise no Act of Jurisdiction, or Ordination, without the Consent and Counsell of the Presbyters, who shall be Chosen by the Clergy of each Diocess, out of the Learnedst and Gravest Ministers of that Diocess.

‘ *Thirdly*, That the Bishop keep his constant Residence in his Diocess, except E when he shall be required by his Majesty to Attend Him on any Occasion: And that if he be not hindred by the Infirmary of old Age, or Sickness, he Preach every Sunday in some Church within his Diocess.

‘ *Fourthly*, That the Ordination of Ministers shall be alwaies in the Publick and Solemn manner and very stri& Rules observed concerning the Sufficiency, and other Qualifications of those Men, who shall not yet be received into Holy Orders, without the Consent and Approbation of the Presbyters, or the Major part of F them.

‘ *Fifthly*, That Competent Maintenance be established by Parliament, to such Vicaridges as belong to Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, out of the Improprations, according to the Value of the severall Parishes.

‘ *Sixthly*, That no man shall be capable of Two Parsonages, or Vicaridges, with Cure of Souls.

‘ *Seventhly*, That towards the settling of the publick Peace, an Hundred thousand pounds shall be raised by Parliament, out of the Estates of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, in such manner as the King and Parliament shall think fit, without the Alienation of any of the sayd Lands.

‘ *Eighthly*, That the Jurisdiction in Causes Testamentary, Decimals, Matrimonials, be ^G

A 'be settled in such manner as shall seem most convenient by the *King* and *Parliament* :
 'And likewise that Acts be passed for Regulating of Visitations* and against Immoderate Fees in Ecclesiasticall Courts, and Abuses by frivolous Excommunications, and all other Abuses in Ecclesiasticall Jurisdictions, as shall be agreed upon by *King* and *Parliament*.

'And if the *Parliaments* Commissioners will insist upon any other things which they shall think necessary for Religion, the *Kings* Commissioners shall very willingly apply themselves to the Consideration thereof.

B The *Parliaments Commissioners Paper concerning Religion*, was ;

'That the Bill be passed for Abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, &c. according to the Third Proposition.

'That the Ordinances concerning the Calling and Sitting of the Assembly of Divines be Confirmed by Act of *Parliament*.

'That the *Directory* for publick Worship, already passed both *Houses*, and the Propositions concerning *Church-Government* annexed, and passed both *Houses*, be Enacted as a part of Reformation of Religion and Uniformity, according to the first Proposition.

'That his Majesty take the Solemn *League and Covenant*, and that the Covenants be enjoined to be taken, according to the second Proposition.

To this was Annexed the following Paper.

D 'That the Ordinary way of dividing *Christians* into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for Edification, is, By the respective Bounds of their Dwellings.

'That the *Minister* and *Church-Officers* in each Congregation, shall joyn in the Government of the Church, as shall be Established by *Parliament*.

'That many particular Congregations shall be under one *Presbyteriall Government*.

'That the *Church* be Governed by Congregationall, Classicall, and Synodicall Assemblies to be Established by *Parliament*.

'That *Synodical Assemblies* shall consist both of Provinciall, and Nationall Assemblies.

E Which *Papers* took up three Dayes of the *Treaty* in Dispute ; the next three Dayes were Ordered for the *Militia*, and was afterwards Resumed for other three Dayes.

Propositions concerning the Militia, the Fourth of February.

Concerning the Militia.

'We desire, That the *Subjects* of *England* may be Armed, Trained, and Disciplined, as the *Parliament* shall think fit.

'The like for *Scotland*, as the *Parliament* there shall think fit.

F 'An Act for settling the Admiralty, and Forces at Sea, and Moneys thereto for Maintenance, may be as the *Parliament* shall think fit.

'The like for *Scotland*.

'An Act for settling all Forces by Sea and Land, in Commissioners, to be Named by the *Parliament*, and as both Kingdomes shall Confide in, and to suppress all Powers and Forces contrary thereto, and to Act as they shall be directed by *Parliament*.

'So for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

G 'That the *Militia* of the City of *London*, and of the Parishes within *London*, and the Liberties within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, be in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councill.

'That the *Tower* of *London* may be in the Government of the City, and chief Officers, those to be Nominated, and removed by the Common Councill.

'That the *Citizens* and Forces of *London* may not be drawn out of the City without their own consent, and that the Example in these distracted Times, be no President for the Future.

Concerning
Ireland.

The next Three Days began the Seventh of February, and the same was taken up again, February the Eighteenth, for other Three Days, for Ireland.

‘That an Act of Parliament be passed to make void the Cessation of Ireland, and all Treaties with the Rebels, without consent of Parliament, and to settle the Prosecution of the War of Ireland, in the Parliament, to be Managed by the joynt Advice of both Kingdomes, and his Majesty to Assist, und to do no Act to Discourtenance, or Molest them therein.

These things being of great Consequence, I have set down *Verbatim*, without any Variation. The Kings Commissioners would not consent to the Parliaments Propositions, in any of the Three Points, of Religion, Militia, or Ireland; but motioned, That if the Articles proposed by them, did not give Satisfaction, that then so great an Alteration as a totall Abolishment of a Government Etablised by Law, may be suspended, till after the Disbanding of all Armies, the King may be present with the Parliament, and a Nationall Synode may be called to consider and determine of so Important a Business.

Secondly, For the Militia, they would condescend no further, then that the Persons to be trusted with the Militia, be Nominated between them, or that an equall Number, the one half by the King, and the other by the Parliament, and this to be but for three years.

But Thirdly, as to Ireland, they justified the Kings Proceedings, and would not allow of any thing which should make against the Cessation: And so the Treaty takes end, without any thing effected, of what the poor People longed for; the Commissioners on both sides being so much Bounded and Hand-tyed by their Superiours.

Basing-house
Besieg'd by Sir
William Waller.

The Marquis of Winchester held out his house at Basing for the King, to Reduce which, Sir William Waller with his new Levies advances and Storms it thrice in Nine Dayes, but was beaten off, and fain to Retreat to Farnham: Colonell Norton succeeds in that Service, with whom joyn Colonell Morley, and Sir Richard Onslow, who fall furiously to the Work, but with greater hurt to themselves.

Shortly after Colonell Whiterhead comes to them with his Regiment. The Besiegers fall to Battering, while Necessities encrease within. Norton sends his Summons, which are Contemned by the Marquis. The Besiegers Sally out, and do much Execution. Now comes Sir William Waller himself, and with some Troops Faced the House, on whom the Besieged play from their Works; the Marquis sends to Oxford for Relief, which is promised: In the mean time, Waller departs. Colonell Gage is sent from Oxford, with a Regiment of bold Blades, who finds Norton ready to receive him on Chesham Down, September 12. Gage makes his Approach, appearing first on a Hill neer the High-way, which leads to Andover; Whereupon Norton Charges with great Courage, and breaks through the others Horse, who having a Reserve of Musketeers, with more then Ordinary Valour, forced Norton to Retreat as far as the Church, and so through Basing-stoke. The same time the Besieged Sallying out at severall places, brought in many Prisoners, viz. Two Captains, two Lieutenants, four Serjeants, and neer an hundred private Soldiers: The Relief which Gage brought in, consisted of many Horse-load of Powder, and Mutch, a Drove of Cattell, besides Plunder from Basing-stoke.

November the Sixteenth, The Besiegers after four and twenty Weeks labour in vain, raise the Siege, having lost about 1000 Men one way or other, during their stay before that House. Nor had the Kings Forces any better Success in their long Sieges before Plymouth, Lyme, and Taunton in the West, which three Places cost them the lives of some Thousands of their Soldiers, and yet not taken at last.

The Archb-
shop of Canter-
bury brought to
his Tryall.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had been accused by the Parliament, in the year 1640. as Frammer of the Canons agreed upon by the Convocation, and for other Delinquencies, and the Scots had adjoyned him with the Earl of Strafford in their Grand Accusation, and Charged him for Obtruding upon their Nation the Liturgie, or Book of Common-Prayer, and the new Book of Canons, and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall, and for advising the King to Dissolve the last Parliament, and such other things: For which he was first committed to the Custody of the Black-Rod, and Ten Weeks after Voted guilty of High-treason, and sent Prisoner to the Tower, where he continued the space of four years; in which mean time, his Rents were Sequestred, his Goods, Books, and Papers seized. His Charge was endeavouring the Subversion,

1. Of the Laws.

2. Of Religion.

3. Of the Priviledges of Parliament. After a hundred times Attendance on the House, January the Fourth, they passed their Ordinance of Parliament, that he should be Hanged, Drawn, and Quartered, but upon his Petition, they Voted him to be Beheaded, and allowing his Chaplain Doctor Stern to Administer with him, they also joyned Mr. Marshall, but the Archbishop refused him. January the Tenth he was brought to the Scaffold on Tower-hill, by Alderman Pennington, where he made his last Sermon, or Speech, which lasted about an hour, having for his Text the second Verse of the Twelfth Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and then after Prayer, and some short Ejaculations, layd down his Head upon the Block, which the Executioner Chopt off at one Blow. And this was the end of that great Prelate, William Laud, after

Beheaded at
Tower-hill.

he

A he had seen that *Hierarchy*, and *Lithurgie* Abolished, whereof he Lived and Died so stout a Champion.

The *Parliament* were somewhat discontented with their Generall the Earl of *Essex*, whom they suspected as Careless, or Discontent, because after the Second Battell at *Newbury*, he suffered the *King* to March away, without any Molestation, and after to Relieve *Dennington Castle*, and beside, that he had quitted *Newbury*, and let it fall into the *Kings* Hands, to serve as a Covert-Quarter for his Forces; whereupon they begin to consider, of new Modelling the Army.

The Parl. began to think of new Modelling the Army.

The *King* was much Taxed about the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, for bewraying so much Favour and good Will to the *Irish*, as was discovered in the Article about *Ireland*; and also by his Transactions with them, as namely, his Writing two Letters to the Earl of *Ormond*, to hasten the Peace with them, and promising them that the Penall Statutes against *Roman* Catholicks should not be put in Execution, the Peace being made, and they remaining in their due Obedience. And further, that when they gave him that Assistance which they promised for his *English* Occasions, then he would consent to the Repeal of them all, by a Law, except those against Appeals to *Rome* and *Premunire*; Nay, and more then this, he had written to *Ormond*, a Third Letter for hastning the Peace, which rather then mis, he should promise to joyn with them against the *Scots*, and the Lord *Inchiquin*: These things the *Parliament* did much exaggerate against him, and also took such Care for Succouring their Friends against the Rebels, that they were never able to send over the promised Supplies to the *King*.

The King tax'd as a Favourer of the Irish Rebels.

C The Earl of *Montrose* entered *Scotland*, April the thirteenth, and seized *Dumfreese*, expecting *Antrim's Irish*, which not coming according to promise, he was fain to retire into *England*, and from thence sends the Lord *Ogleby*, and Sir *William Rollock* Disguised, into the Heart of *Scotland*, who bring back uncomfortable Tydings of the great Power and Strength of the Covenanters; whereupon he sends *Ogleby* to the *King* for more Men, or at least Armes from beyond-Seas, but these Messengers were surprized, and Imprisoned by the Covenanters. *Montrose* with a small Retinue, re-enters *Scotland*, and comes to his Cousin *Patrick Grayham*, where he lyes close, untill instead of Ten Thousand promised, *Alexander Mardenell* brings over into the North of *Scotland*, 110 *Irish* from *Antrim*, with whom *Montrose* meets in *Athole*, where Eight hundred Country-men joyn with them. With these Forces he proceeds further, and the Lord *Kilpont* Son to the Earl of *Taith*, and Sir *John Drummond*, Son to the Earl of *Perth*, Unite with them, with Five hundred Foot: The Covenanters Rendezvouzed at *Perth*, and from thence draw out to *Tepper Moore*, Commanded by the Earl of *Tullebarden*, and the Lords *Elcho* and *Drummonds*, with Six thousand Foot, and Seven hundred Horse, ready to Fight.

Montrose's his Proceedings in Scotland.

September the First, the Lord *Drummond* comes out with a Forlorn Hope, and at the first On-set is Routed back to the Main Body, and so *Montrose* with a Shout, let loose his whole Forces upon them, and puts them to flight, with the Slaughter of Two thousand, and many Prisoners, and the City of *Perth* taken.

After this Victory the Earls of *Kinroule* and *Arley*, Sir *Thomas Ogleby*, and his Brother Sir *David*, and other Gentlemen thereabouts come in to him, with whom he seeks out the Enemy, who lay at *Aberdeen*, with an Army of Two thousand Foot, and Five hundred Horse, Commanded by the Lord *Burghley*, expecting the Conjunction of the Earl of *Argile*, and his Forces, which *Montrose* means to prevent by Fighting them: *Montrose* had but Four and forty Horse, (none at all in the first Battell) and Fifteen hundred Foot, all resolute Men, which did their Work with much Courage, Routed the Enemy, and had the pursuit of them to the Gates of *Dundee*; After which, *Montrose* enters *Aberdeen*, but News comes Post, that the Earls of *Argile* and *Lothian* were at hand, with a strong Body of Horse, which *Montrose* unable to Encounter with, retires to *Higland Mountains*, and goes to *Straggbogey*, to try if he could persuade the *Gordons* to engage on his Side, but they were hindred by the Earl of *Huntley* their Chief, who though a Cavalier himself, yet out of meer Envy to *Montrose*, did more Obstruct the *Kings* Business, then the Covenanters themselves.

Here *Montrose* skulks, but *Argile* and *Lothian* follow him, and neer *Faty Castle* they Skirmish together, and the *Montrossians* having the advantage of a Hill, put their Enemies to a disorderly Retreat; After which, they both fall to Treating, during which, some of *Montrosses* Followers are dealt with to Betray him, wherefore to secure himself, he Marcheth away to *Badenoth*, many of his Men by *Argiles* Corruption falling off from him, and making no stay there, through unknown By-ways, comes to *Dunkeldon*, and frightens *Argile* out of those Parts: *Macadonnell* was Employed by *Montrose* to the *Mack Renolds*, with whom he used such Periwations, that 500 of them with their Chief, followed him to the Earl, and *Patrick Graham* brings some Recruits from *Athole*: with these *Montrose* Marches through *Braidalbain* into the Country of *Arguile*, where the Earl was Lifting Soldiers, neer the Castle *Inverare*, but *Montrosses* coming Scares him away, and he Victorious divides his Army into Three Brigades, himself Leading the One, *Mac-donnell* Another, and *Macrenbold* a Third, and with Fire and Sword Devattates all, and to departs to *Lyghness*, where 5000 Horse and Foot, Commanded by the Earl of *Seaford*, were ready to Oppose him, and the Earl of *Arguile* not far off with 3000 Foot at *Innerlogh*. To prevent their Joyning, he resolves to fall upon *Arguile*, which he does on the 2. of February, and after a short Fight, in which 1500 were slain, put him to the Rout, with such Terror, that they ran Nine Miles out-right: On *Montrosses* Part but few killed, and many hurt, of whom Sir *Thomas Ogleby* dyed after of his Wounds.

In

Rowdon House taken by the Cavaliers.

Shrewsbury surprized by the Parl. Forces.

The K. sends to the Duke of Lorrain, and the King of Denmark for Ayde.

The Parl. consult about an Ordinance for calling the Members of both Houses from Military Employments.

Ambassadors from the Swedes to the Parl.

Essex and the other Lords lay down their Commissions.

Sir Tho. Fairfax elected by the Parl. to be Generall of their Army.

In England the Cavaliers prevail in Gloucestershire, and take Rowdon-House, after stiff Resistance A made by the Colonells, *Deverex*, and *Stevens*: and Colonell *Hopson*, having raised Sixty Horse, and Forty Foot for the Parliament, is surprized and carried Prisoner with all his Men into *Ludbury* in Herefordshire: But the Parliamentarians met with Sir *John Winter* abroad, and beat him; and about the same time another Party of their Side surprize *Shrewsbury*: Prince *Rupert* is now in *Wales*, and with him Prince *Maurice*, the Lord *Hastings*, *Ashley*, *Langdaell*, and *Gerrards* with the greatest Part of the Kings Forces, and are very active in Imprisoning more Men and Armes in the Neighbouring Counties. Nor was the King Sollicitous only at home, but by his Agents abroad Negotiated with foreign Princes for Ayde: The Duke of *Lorrain* had an Indifferent Army about *Colless*, with whom the *Queen* Treats, and had brought her Business to some end, when Cardinal *Mazarine* spoils all, and finds other Work for the Duke.

To Denmark Colonell *Ciehrum* was sent with Instructions; and indeed King *Christian* was willing to have Assisted his Nephew, but he was suddenly Imbroyled at home by the Invasion of the Swedes, who had well neer ruined the Dane this year, if the Hollander had not Arrived with a Fleet at *Copenhagen*, for his Defence, and in it an Ambassador to the Swede, by whose Means and Mediation, and at the Suit of the Dane, a Peace was concluded between them to the Swedes Advantage, and two years after the old King *Christian* (now at Peace, though with the loss of a considerable Part of his Dominion) having Reigned above Fifty years, Deceased, leaving a Son named *Frederick* the Third to succeed him; And so King *Charles* being here also frustrated, was fain to apply himself to make the best Provision that he could at home, to Cope with the Parliaments New Modell: and thus ends this year.

It was now the One and twentieth year of King *Charles's* Reign, being the year 1645. at the beginning whereof, the Parliament were busied about framing the great Ordinance for calling the Members of both Houses from Military and Civill Affairs and Places, which was at last passed, not without Exceptions of some, as *Cromwell*, and a few others.

The Parliamentarians had, as we have sayd, Surprized *Shrewsbury*, for which piece of Service, Colonell *Mistron* about this time receives publick Thanks in the House of Commons, and that deservedly: It having been the Kings chiefest Garison, as may be judged by the following particulars: for here were taken Eight Knights and Baronets; Forty Colonells, Majors, Captains, and others of Quality, besides common Men, Fifteen Pieces of Ordnance, many hundreds of Armes, divers Barrells of Powder, Prince *Maurice's* Magazine, and all this without any D considerable Loss.

February the Twenty second, About this time Ambassadors come to the Parliament from *Swedeland*, with whom the Parliament (being offended with the Dane, for his forwardness to Assist the King) readily entered into a League of strict Amity and Friendship.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* with 2000 Horse and Dragoons from *Oxford*, beats the *Lincolnshire* Horse, Relieves *Newark*, *Belvey*, and *Abby Delazonth*, with Provision, and Marcheth Northward to *Pomfret*, and in spite of the Lord *Fairfax's* Power, Relieveth that Castle also; from thence he returns to *Newark*, so to *Leicesters*, then to the Forest of *Dean*, and beats off Colonell *Massey* from lying before *Lidney*.

The King at *Oxford* takes Care to furnish his Garisons, and to fit his Army for the Field, and the Earl of *Northampton* routs the Parliaments *Northampton-Horse*: But Major Generall *Brown* Governour of *Abbingdon* for the Parliament, sends out severall Parties, who return with Success; And about this time the House of Lords make the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Countess Governour, and Governess of the Kings Children at *Whitehall*.

The Parliament having resolved to Modell the Army, the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester*, and *Denby*, Surrender their Commissions in the House of Lords, but withall, desire that their Soldiers Arrears may be discharged, which the Lords commend to the Commons, and a Vote is passed for it, and 10000 l. per annum ordered to the Earl of *Essex* out of Delinquents Estates, for his Services and Losses. And the Earl of *Warwick* yields up his Commission of Admirall, which Offices are presently Intrusted to Commissioners.

The Parliament after some Jarring of both Houses about it, Elected Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be Generall of their Army, and had accordingly sent for him up out of the North, which was the reason that he was not present, when Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* Defeated his Fathers Forces, and Relieved *Pomfret*: The other Chief Officers of this New Modell were these, *Phillip Skippon* Major-Generall to the whole Army, *Oliver Cromwell* Lieutenant Generall of the Horse, *Thomas Hamond* Lieutenant-Generall of the Ordnance, *Henry Ireton* Commissary-Generall of the Horse. The Colonells of Foot were these, Sir *Hardress Waller*, *Hamond*, *Harley*, *Montague*, *Loyd*, *Pickering*, *Hulburn*, *Craford*, *Berkley*, *Aldridge*, *Ingouldsby*, *Rainsborough*, *Welden*. For the Horse were, *Butler*, *Sheffield*, *Fleetwoods*, *Rossiter*, *Rich*, *Whaley*, *Graves*, *Sidney*, *Middleton*, *Vermuden*, *Levisaire*, and Sir *Robert Pie*, and Colonell *Okey* of Dragoons.

Generall *Fairfax* having received his Commission, yet stayed for the finishing of the Great Ordinance, the Effect of which was;

That all and every the Members of either House shall be discharged (at the end of Forty Dayes, after the passing of this Ordinance) of all their Command, Military, or Civill, conferred by Parliament since the Twentieth of November, 1648.

That

A That all other Governours and Commanders (not Members) by Land, or Sea, shall continue in their Offices, wherein they were Intrusted the 20 of March, 1644.

The Ordinance for calling the Members from Employment in the Army.

Provided and excepted, That Lieutenants and their Deputies in severall Counties, Cities, and Places, or of any Custos Rotulorum, or Justices of Peace, or Stewards, or any Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, or Goal-delivery: And also that those Members of either House who had Offices by Grant from his Majesty, before the Parliament, and were by him Displaced before the Sitting of this Parliament, and have since by the Parliament been restored, shall not be Discharged from their sayd Offices, or Profits thereof, but shall Enjoy the same.

April 3. Sir Thomas Fairfax sets forth for Windsor, where he applies himself to the framing of his new Army, a Business of no small Difficulty, in which Major-Generall Skippon so effectually bestirred himself, that the Parliament thought fit to send him a Letter of hearty Thanks, for that and all his former faithfull Services: Hither comes Lieutenant-Generall Cromwell, whom after some Salutations passed, the General Ordered to March towards Oxford with a Brigade of 1100 Horse, and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of 2000 Horse, which Prince Rupert had sent from Worcester to fetch off the King, with his Train of Artillery, and some Foot, so to Imbody and take the Field. At Ifflip Bridge Cromwell falls upon them, and Routs them, took between Four and five hundred Horse, and Two hundred Prisoners with the Queens Stander; the rest fled to Bletchington House, whither Cromwell pursues them, and sends a sharp Summons to the Governour, who doubting of Relief from Oxford, thinking that the Enemy had a considerable Strength of Foot, and over-swayed by the puling Tears of some Ladies got thither to visit his Wife; Surrendered the House with all the Armes, and Ammunition; which were sent to Alisbury, and the House slighted, for which the Governour Colonell Windebank is shot to Death at Oxford: Cromwell Improves his Success, and falls upon a Party of 350 Foot, about Banton Bush, whom he Defeats and takes them almost all Prisoners, with their Armes and Ammunition, and sends them with a Convoy to Abbingdon. And John, Colonell Fines, beats another Party of Horse, and takes 150 Horse, 3 Colours, 40 Prisoners, and 50 Armes. Sir John Winter being Relieved by Langdale, and obtaining from Prince Rupert 2000 Horse, and 1500 Foot, made such stir as drew all Gloucester Forces upon him. April 22. the Prince Marches all Night to his Assistance, and finds Massey before Lidbury, and gives them a suddain Alarm: Massey being thus put to it, drew up and fought the Horse, entertaining the Cavaliers with hot Charges, whilst the Foot might get off, but being over-powered was faine to give way, and the Cavaliers falling in upon the Foot, did much Execution upon them. Masseys Horse was shot dead under him by Rupert, and Major Backhouse received his Mortall Wound, divers slain, the rest by flight escaped.

Cromwell routs the Cavaliers at Ifflip Bridge, takes Bletchington House, and falls upon a Party at Banton Bush.

Colonell Windebank shot to death at Oxford.

Prince Rupert Marches from thence with about 6000 Horse and Foot towards Ludlow, and so to Shrewsbury, Dreining Garisons, and taking to him the less Brigades, and so he and his Brother Maurice Assisted with Goring's Horse and Dragoons fetch'd off the King from Oxford, who with a numerous Army Advanced towards the Relief of Chester: but Goring takes leave, desiring to return to the West, to hinder the raising of Tanneton Siege; but in his way would beat up the Quarters of Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, who with his own Forces, and a supply of some Foot from Abbingdon, streightned the Kings Garison at Farrington; But his Design being discovered; Cromwell was ready to Encounter him, neer Newbridge, where at first the Cavaliers had somewhat the better, but in the end Cromwell gaining the Passage over Newbridge, Goring declines engaging with all speed, and Marches back after the Army into the West.

Prince Rupert fetcheth off the K. from Oxford

Generall Fairfax's Army being now fully Compleated, it was taken into Consideration, whether he should Besiege Oxford, it being the Kings chief Garison, and the Place where most of his Artillery lay, and therefore of great Consequence, or else to Relieve Tanneton: The Commiseration of which Distressed Towns estate, at length over-swayed in their Counsells, and so the Generall Advanceth that way as far as Blainford, whilst Cromwell and Brown were Ordered to attend the Kings Marches; but upon second thoughts, the General was recalled, and Colonell Welden with a Brigade of well-neer 2000 Horse, and 5000 Foot, was Deputed to that Service, and so Fairfax departs to Newbury, whither came Cromwell and Brown to Confer with him, and so returned again to their Charges, and during the time of the Generalls stay in that Town, happned the fore-mentioned Skirmish between Cromwell and Goring: And now Fairfax receives an Express to Advance to Oxford, and lay close Siege to it; and Lieutenant-Generall Cromwell, and Major Generall Brown, are re-called from following the King, to Assist the Generall in the Siege.

Fairfax sends Colonell Welden to the Relief of Tanneton.

G Colonell Welden was come within a dayes March of Tanneton, the Cavaliers being Informed that it was the whole Army, resolved to give one furious Assault, and in case that took not effect, to rise and be gone, which was performed, and so on Munday, May 12. Colonell Welden enters Tanneton, and finds the Town almost ruined by Fire, Two long Streets of fair Buildings being burnt to the Ground: and thus was Tanneton happily relieved, after it had long endured an hard Siege.

Major Generall Massey after his Defeat at Lidbury received 340 Horse Auxiliaries from Newport-Pannell, and a larger Supply then that was afterwards brought him by Major Buller, so that

now

now he was in a Condition to effect something, being also freed from his grand Enemy Sir John A. Winter, who being called away to publick Service in the Army, had Demolished his House at Lidney.

Massey takes
Evesham by
Storm.

Massey draws forth 500 Foot from Gloucester, and 200 from Warwick, with a strong able Brigade of Horse, against Evesham, where Colonell William Legg was Governour, who refusing to yield upon Summons, Massey storms the Town, and takes it with the Governour, and 20 Officers, 500 Foot, and 120 Horse, with all the Armes and Ammunition. And the General lying before Oxford, sent out a Party of Horse and Foot under Colonell Rainsborow, to Summon Gaunt-house, the Governour whereof, though at first he answered, that he liked not Windebanks Law, yet seeing Rainsborow ready to storm it, Surrenders upon Quarter.

The Kings Ar-
my relieves
Chester, and
takes Leicester
by Storm.

The King with his Army Marching towards Chester, carried such a Terrour with him, that B made Sir William Brereton quit the Siege, and so his Work being done, he wheels about, and sits down before Leicester, and sends a Summons to the Town, who returns their Desires of Respite till the next Morning; the Trumpeter being returned with the Message, a Drum was instantly dispatched, requiring an Answer within a quarter of an hour, which time whilst they within spend in Debate, the Kings Cannons play upon the Town from the Battery, and all Commanded to their Charge, in Order to a Storm, the Contest continued a day and a Night, and the Town was stormed at six, or seven places, and about three of the Clock was entered, Saturday, May 31. and many put to the Sword, the Committee-men, with the Governour Colonell Gray, and Hacker, taken Prisoners, much Ammunition, and the Plunder of the Town sent to the Kings Carisons thereabouts, the Scots Reformades, and Dalbiers Men killed, those that escaped fled to Rockingham Castle: and from thence the King Triumphant Marches towards Northampton, and Faces that Town. C

Taunton
streightened a-
gain by the
Kings Forces
in the West.

In the West, Goring, Hopton, and Grenville unite their Forces, and fall upon Welden's Brigade, whom they forced to retire to Taunton in great Disorder, where though the Town had been formerly Relieved with all manner of Provisions, it being kept in altogether by a Potent Enemy, they were greatly streightened, and distressed. These and some other Successes did so heighten the Kings Party, that they began to make all sure, not considering that it was but a lightning before Death; for Fairfax hereupon was Commanded to rise from before Oxford, and Cromwell Marcheth into the Associated Counties to prevent the Kings Eruption into them, and Colonell Vermuden was to joyn with the Scots, with a Party of 2500 Horse and Dragoons, in case the King should Advance Northwards. Friday the Fifth of June, the Army had a generall Rendezvous at great Brickhill, where Intelligence was brought them, that the King was about Daventry, and thereupon it was resolved to give Battell, and to that end Lieutenant-Generall Cromwell is sent for, who came afterwards with 600 Horse and Dragoons: Colonell Vermude also returned to the Generall, because the Scots had unexpectedly Retreated to Westmerland, and Fairfax sends Post to Sir John Gell, Colonell Rossiter, and the Governours of Coventry, Warwick, Northampton, and Nottingham, to March with all speed with their Forces to the Army, for that there was likely to be speedily an Engagement.

The Kings Forces lay still about Daventry, and Burrough-hill, which being a place of great Advantage, it was thought he had chosen to Fight upon, but his Design was (having Relieved Oxford, with store of Cattell and Sheep) to March for the Un-setting of Pomfret and Scarborough: But Fairfax Advanceth to Gilborough, within four Miles of Northampton, and five Miles of Burrough-hill, and both Armies lying nigh one another; the Fairfaxians Alarum the Cavaliers, and take some Prisoners, the King being then abroad: about Twelve that Night, Fairfax rides about his Guards, and happping to forget the Word, he was stopped at a Horse-Quarter, by the Sentinell (who though entreated, yet refused to give him the Word) telling him, that he was to demand the Word from all that past him, and to give it to none; and so though knowing him to be the Generall, stopt him in a great Shower of Raip, till he had Ayde from the Captain of the Guard, and lastly, the Sentinell was preferred for his Carefulness.

June the Thirteenth, the King drew off from Burrough-hill, to Harborough, minding to March to Pomfret, and thinking, that if he were followed, he should Fight with more Advantage, further Northward. F

Fairfax sends out Ireton with a flying Party of Horse, who falls upon a Party of the Kings Rear, Quartered in Naseby Town, took many Prisoners, some of the Princes Lifeguard, and Langdales Brigade, and gave such an Alarum to the whole Army, that the King at Midnight leaves his own Quarters, and for Security hastens to Harborough, where the Van of his Army was Quartered, raises Prince Rupert, and calls a Councell of War, where it was resolved to give Battell; and because Fairfax had been so forward, they would no longer stay for him, but seek him out: Fairfax was come from Gilborough, to Gilling, and from thence to Naseby, where both Armies drawn up in Battalia, Faced one another.

The Battell at
Naseby.

Saturday, June 14. A fatall Day to the King; the King Commanded the Main Body, Prince Rupert, and Prince Maurice the right Wing, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the Left, the Earl of Lindsey, and the Lord Ashley, the right-hand Reserve, the Lord Bards and Sir George Lyle, the Left. Of the Parliaments Army, Fairfax and Skippon Commanded the Main Body, Cromwell the Right Wing, with whom was Rossiter, who came with his Forces but a little before the Fight, and Ireton had the Left: the Reserves were brought up by Rainsborow, Hammond, and Pride, Prince Rupert Charged the Parliaments Left Wing, Commanded by Ireton, who made Gallant Resistance, but

A but at last was forced to give Ground, *Ireton* himself being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Holbert, his Horse shot under him, and himself taken Prisoner: For awhile *Rupert* follows the Chase almost to *Naseby* Town, and in his return summoned the Train, who made no other answer but with their Firelocks; But in the mean time *Cromwell* Chargeth furiously on the Kings Left Wing, and got the better, forcing them from the body, and prosecuting the Advantage, quite broke them, and their Reserve, during which, the main Bodies had Charged one another with incredible Fierceness, often Retreating and Rallying, falling in together with the but-ends of their Muskets, and coming to handy-Blows with their Swords: But *Fairfax* Foot coming up seasonably to the Horse (for they had lingered some while about Pillaging) and *Cromwell* coming in with his Victorious Right Wing, they all Charged together upon the King, who unable to endure any longer, shifted out of the Field towards *Leicester*, and Prince *Rupert*, who now too late returned from his Improvident eager Pursuit, seeing the Day lost, accompanied them in their Flight, leaving a compleat Victory to the *Parliamentarians*, who had the Chase of them for fourteen Miles space, *Viz.* Within two Miles of *Leicester*, and the King finding the Pursuit so hot, leaves that Town, and hails to *Leichfield*: This Battail was won and lost just as *Marston Moor* was, but proved much more Destructive to the King and his Party, and indeed it was exceeding Bloody, both Armies being very Courageous and Numerous not being 500 Odds, Fought in a large Fallow field on the North-west side of *Naseby*, about a Mile broad, which space of Ground was wholly taken up: On the *Parliamentarians* side were Wounded and Slain above 1000 Officers and private Soldiers, Major General *Skippon* (who was an old experienced Soldier, was ordered to draw up the Form of the Battell) Fought stoutly that day, and although he was sorely Wounded in the beginning of the Fight, and the General desired him to go off the Field, he answered, he would not stir so long as a man would stand, and accordingly stayed till the Battell was ended. *Ireton* (as is sayd before) was dangerously hurt, and taken Prisoner for awhile, after he had done his Part, but in the confusion of the Fight got loose again, and saw the Victory Achieved: The General and Lieutenant-General performed their Work with admirable Resolutions, and by their own Examples infused Valour into their Followers, so likewise did the other Officers, of whom divers were Wounded; On the other side the King shewed himself that Day a Courageous General, keeping close with his Horse, and himself in Person Rallying them to hot Encounters, the Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord *Ashley*, Colonel *Rassell*, and others Wounded, 20 Colonels, Knights, and Officers of Note, and 600 private Soldiers slain: but much more was the Damage that the King sustained, by what was taken, *Viz.* 6 Colonels, 8 Lieutenant-Colonells, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 200 Ensigns, and other inferior Officers, 4500 common Soldiers, and many Women, 13 of the Kings Household-servants, 4 of his Foot-men, 12 Pieces of Ordnance, 8000 Armes, 40 Barrells of Powder, 200 Carriages, all their Bag and Baggage, with store of rich Pillage, 3000 Horse, the Kings Standard, and divers of Horse and Foot, one of the Kings Coaches, and his Cabine of Letters and Papers, which were after published by the *Parliament*; And Sir *Marmaduke Landale* fled the same Night to *Newark*: the next day the General sent up Colonel *John Fins* to *London*, with the Prisoners, and Colours taken in the Fight. And with this comes News of several other Successes, as the gaining of *Hougham* Garrison neer *Grantham*: And Sir *William Brereton*'s beating a Party of *Cavaliers* in *Cheshire*, and taking a Hundred and fifty Prisoners, and Four hundred Prisoners taken in fight by a Party from *Shrewsbury*, and the taking of Major *Fenningham*, and divers others, by Captain *Stone*, Governour of *Eccleshall Castle* in *Staffordshire*.

E Sir *John Gell* was Marching with Two thousand Horse according to the Generalls Order, and in his way took Ninety Prisoners, some being of the Kings scattered Horse, and the rest *Newarkers*; and forthwith joyned with the General, who sat down before *Leicester*, April 16. and Summoned the Governour, the Lord *Hastings*, to deliver up the Town, which he refusing, Warrants are Issued out for the Country to bring in Ladders, and other Necessaries for a Storm, and so the next day he Assailes the Town in severall places, and at the *Newark*-side made a wide

F Breach, which terrified the Governour into a Pauley, after which ensued Surrender upon honourable Terms; in it were Fourteen Pieces of Ordnance, Thirty Colours, Two thousand Armes, Five hundred Horse, Fifty Barrells of Powder, and other Ammunition proportionable. And not long after, Sir *Thomas Glenham*, Governour of *Carlisle* in *Cumberland*, having been long Besieged by the *Parliament* Forces, and despairing of Succour from the King, yields up the Town, June 28.

Leicester retaken by Gen. *Fairfax*.

The Club-men up in Arme in *Wiltshire*, and *Dorsetshire*.

They Capitulate with Gen. *Fairfax*.

The low Condition of the *Parliamentarians* about *Taunton*, caused the *Parliament* and Committee of both Kingdoms, to Order the General to repair thither, which was readily obeyed; and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* by long Marches comes to *Dorchester*, and there hears that a Multitude of rude People, called Club-men, were up in a Tumultuary way, Declaring themselves to be Neuters, being mostly *Wiltshire*, and *Dorsetshire* Men, these had slain upon Major General *Massey*, who was likewise Commanded into those Parts, with 3000 Men, for the Relief of *Taunton*: Some of the Club-men were killed in the Quarrell, of which they boldly demanded Reparation, and their Numbers encreasing, forced the *Parliamentarians* Quarters at *Sturminster*, *Newton*, and other Places, seize all their Horse in the Grounds, neer 100 Dragoons, and grew so Insolent, as to Capitulate with *Fairfax* himself at *Dorchester*, and to desire safe Passage for their Commissioners to go both to King and *Parliament*: Sir *Thomas* sends them a Civill Answer in Writing, which not contenting them they draw off in Discontent, and set upon a Party of the

Garrison

Garison of *Lyme* and kill some of them; but *Fairfax* and *Massey* joyning in a Body, scared A them into more Moderation, so that the Army passed quietly on their Journey.

Goring routed
by Fairfax near
Langport.

Generall *Goring* hearing of *Fairfax's* Approach, drew off from *Taunton*, in which Siege he had sustained great Loss, the Place being Gallantly maintained by Colonell *Robert Blake*: This man was formerly Assittant to Governour *Leely* of *Lyme*, and was chief Actor in the famous Repulse of Prince *Maurice*, from that Town, and afterwards found Means to Surprize *Taunton*; which with Indefatigable Labour and undaunted Courage he kept against *Goring's* Numerous Forces, being first (after extream Hardships endured) Relieved by Colonell *Welden*, and now by Generall *Fairfax*; for upon Report of the Generals coming, *Goring* Retreats to *Langport*, not without some Loss by a Sally from the Belieged; *Fairfax* and *Massey* had now again divided their Forces, *Massey* comes up by *Mortaby*, falls upon *Goring's* Rear, and takes some B Prisoners: On the other side of the River *Fairfax* Marches up and reduceth the Cavaliers to an inevitable necessity of Fighting; *Goring* had seized a convenient Pass leading to *Bridgewater*, which Major *Bethell* and Major *Desbrough* force, and the Generall Advances, and puts the Cavaliers to a disorderly Retreat, and pressing fiercely upon them, constrains them to fly, pursues them eight Miles, almost to *Bridgewater*, many slain, 1400 Prisoners taken, about 1200 Horse, Colonell *Heningham*, Colonell *Slingsby*, and divers Officers of Quality, and 30 Colours; the rest immediately quitted *Langport*, and fled away with two Pieces of Ordnance, whom the Lieutenant-general pursuing, took both the Ordnance, and most of them Prisoners: This Battrell was Fought July 10. in *Sutton Field* near *Langport*. *Goring* having refreshed himself at *Bridgewater*, Marcheth away to the North of *Devonshire*, and presently after Sir *Thomas Fairfax* hits C down before that Town, about the time that *Burrough* Garison was taken by Colonell *Okey*: The Generall sends in his Summons, which was resolutely refused by Colonell *Windham*, whereupon he Storms, and wins the Lower part of the Town, but is repulsed from the Upper, and much endamaged by the continuall flinging Granadoes, and other combustible Stuff from within: the next day he sends another Summons, telling them, That their Deniall wrought no other thoughts of Compassion in him, but only to Women and Children, who might otherwise suffer by the Governours Obstinacy; and so divers Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Children came out of the Town, and then the Generall being better provided with Materialls for his Work, gave the second Assault, some stormed, other fiered with Granadoes, and Slugs of hot Iron, and the Wind serving their turn, it wrought such Effect, that the Governour moved therewith, first D Treated, and then Surrendred, yielding themselves Prisoners, and the Town to be preserved from Plunder: And this July 23. there being 1000 Officers and Soldiers Prisoners, 44 Barrells of Powder, 1500 Armes, 44 Pieces of Ordnance, and 400 weight of Match.

Bridgewater
Besieged by
Generall Fairfax.

Surrendered
by the Govern-
our, Colonell
Windham.
Pomfret, and
Scarborough
Castles, and
the City *Bath*
taken by the
Parliament
Forces.

The Club-men
routed by
Lieutenant-
Gen. *Crom-
well*.
Hereford Besie-
ged by the
Scots.

Leven raiseth
his Siege, with
Intention to
March into
Scotland a-
gainst *Montrose*

In the North the *Parliament's* Forces succeeded happily, where *Pomfret Castle* was taken by Major Generall *Poyns*, and *Scarborough* by Sir *Matthew Boynton*. About the latter end of July the Generall sent a Party of Horse and Dragoons under Colonell *Rich* and Colonell *Okey* to *Bath*, who had the Town Surrendred to them, without any of the least Opposition, there being in it but a very small Garison. The next Business was to Attempt *Sherborn Castle*, where Sir *Lewis Dives* was Governour for the King: In the time of this Siege, the Club-men continued their mutinous Meetings, and Colonell *Fleetwood* was sent against them to *Shaftsbury*, who seasonably Invroned them in the Town, and carried away 50 of the Ring-Leaders Prisoners, but this would not quash them; for shortly after, about 4000 Muster upon *Hambleton Hill*; near *Shrawton*, against these, Lieutenant-general *Cromwell* Marcheth, and endeavours to reduce them to Reason by Parley, but that proving fruitless, falls upon them, kills some, disperseth the rest, and takes 400 Prisoners, and so returned to the Generall lying before *Sherborn*; This Defeat being seconded by the Ordnance of *Parliament* against their Illegal Assembling, so allayed their Tumultuous Spirits, that they never afterwards made any Disturbance.

Hereford yet held out for the King, which the Scots were ordered to Besiege, who accordingly Surrounded, and Summoned the Governour, Sir *Barnaby Scudamore*, which was answered with Neglect; whereupon they begin their Approaches, and raised their Batteries, from whence they played with their Ordnance upon the Town, but did little Execution that way, and so fall to Myning, but are discovered, and Countermined; this Siege continued till the First of September, at what time the distressed Condition of their own Country called for their Ayde, *Montrose's* prevailing incredibly against the Covenanters; *David Lesley* had been sent before with the greatest part of the Horse, and now Generall *Leven* ariseth from the Siege, with Intention to March Northwards, at the Nick of time that the King having raised some Recruits in *Wales*, with a flying Army came to *Hereford*, and did some hurt to the Rear of the departing Scots: *David Lesley* entred *Scotland*, and so managed his Business, that there was little need of *Leven*, who therefore takes up his Quarters in *York-shire*. Indeed Sir *Thomas Fairfax* hearing of the Scottish Affairs, had sent a Letter Subscribed by himself, and all the chief Officers of the Army, to Generall *Leven*, representing the Condition of their Kingdome, and their Willingness to spare Forces for their Assistance. But about this time some Disguits arose between the *Parliament* and the Scottish Army, which made them somewhat more jealous of one anothers Intentions, while the Scots Clamour with the *Parliament* for Money, and the *Parliament* at the Scots for not Addressing themselves at the Siege of *Newark*: *Hereford* Siege being raised, the King Marches up and down *Wales*, to raise Supplies, thence comes to *Leichfield*, and by the way Fights a Parry of Scottish Horse and Dragoons, then Marches to *Ashbourn*, beats Sir *John Gell*, and carries some Prisoners

A Prisoners with him to *Welbeck-house*, and so with a flying Army rangeth up and down, comes to *Huntington*, and takes that; Marches to *Cambridge*, and after a small Skirmish forceth his Entrance, thence to *St. Ives*, which place he Fined Five hundred pounds; thence to *Oxborn*, and so to *Oxford*, August 28. where he stayed not long, but Advanced to *Ludlow*, earnestly Intent upon the Relief of *Chester*, then close Besieged by Sir *William Brereton*.

Huntington taken by the K.

Ruston Heath Fight.

Major General *Poyns* with a Party of Horie was appointed to attend the Kings Motion, and followed him so close, that on *Ruston Heath*, two Miles off *Chester*, they came to a Fight, where *Poyns* was forced to give Ground, and had been utterly overthrown, if Colonel *Jones* had not come in with a new Supply from *Brereton*, which encouraged *Poyns* to Rally, and so the King being be-set both Rear and Front, forlook the Field, and betook himself into *Chester*, but finding the City much weakened by Batteries, and the Assaylants ready to Storm, he took leave and sped him into *Wales* again for Recruits.

The General *Fairfax* was now before *Sherborn Castle*, of which Sir *Lewis Dives* was Governor, and would not hearken to any Summons, and so endured a furious Storm, and with much blood-shed on both Sides; after an extream cruell Fight the Castle was yielded upon Quarter, with 400 Prisoners, many of them Persons of Quality, 18 Pieces of Ordnance, and a Morter-piece, August 15.

Sherborn Castle taken by Fairfax.

After the taking of *Sherborn*, it was Debated in a Councell of War, Whether they should pursue *Goring*, or Besiege *Bristol*, whereof Prince *Rupert* was Governor: at last the latter was resolved on, and accordingly they Marched thither, and sat down before it; the Parliaments Ships being ordered to Guard it by Sea.

Bristol Besieged by Fairfax, and Cromwell.

In the mean time, *Nunsey Castle* was Surrendered to Colonel *Rainsborough*, and *Portsmouth Point* to Colonel *Kempson*. *Bristol* was sufficiently furnished with Provisions, 10: Food and Fightings, and the Ill-affected Disarmed. *Fairfax*, sends in his Summons to prevent Blood-shed, and hazard to the City: *Rupert* desires leave to send to the King, which being denied, he offers to Surrender up the Place on these Conditions; Every Man to March away in the height of Honour, with their Armes, flying Colours, Drums, Trumpets, and as much Powder and Match as they can carry about them, with Bag and Baggage, Horse, Armes: Ten Guns, Fifty barrells of Powder: And lastly, the Lines and Fortifications sleighted, and to be no more a Garrison. *Fairfax* sends Answer satisfactory enough, as to the Concernments of the Soldiers, but not in reference to the Lines, and Fortifications, and continuing it a Garrison: *Rupert* had made severall Sallies, and done some Execution upon the Enemy, and had lost some considerable Persons on his own side too, As Sir *Bernard Ashley*, Sir *Richard Crain*, and others who died of Wounds then received; but seeing no good to be done that way, the Parliaments Strength encreasing, by the Accession of the Country people, he thought good to protract the time, by Treating, till his Countercarries and Lines were finished, which *Fairfax* now smelling out, resolves upon a Storm, to be made good in three Places, Colonel *Fortescue* with Four Regiments to storm on *Somersetshire* side; Colonel *Mountague* with the like Number on both sides of *Lawford-Gate*, and Colonel *Rainsborough* on this side the River *Froom*, from the Sallyport to the *Priors Port*, and other Regiments disposed in several Stations, to second the Assaylants, and to enter the Lines, in case of the Stormers Success: *Fortescue* failed in his Attempt, and so did only

Alarm; *Mountague* and *Rainsborough* did their Work, and forced their Entrance into the City, firing the Houses as they went, and the Sea-men also Mastered *Waterport*, and *Rupert* having done as much as was possible, retired into the Castle, and the next day came to a Parley, and concluded on the same Articles, which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* formerly offered them, and so Marched out, September 12. In this Service the Parliament lost many men, Lieutenant Colonel *Purefoy*, and Captain *Hill* were slain upon the Place, Major *Bethell*, and Major *Cromwell* mortally Wounded. Thus was *Bristol* a Place of great Consequence gained to the Parliament, which might else have proved a Work of more Difficulty, if the King had joyned with *Goring* for the Relief of it, as was intended, the Parliaments Forces being but sufficient for that Siege, and so not likely to have Impeded their Conjunction: Here were found 140 Pieces of Cannon mounted, 100 Barrells of Powder, Victuals in the Royall Fort, for 150 Men, for 320 dayes, the Castle Victualled for near half so long, the Prince had in Garrison 2500 Foot, 1000 Horse, besides the Trained Bands, and Auxiliaries above 1000.

The City taken by storm, and the Castle by Surrender.

Bristol being thus reduced into the Parliaments Power, General *Fairfax* Marches to *Exeter*, and Lieutenant-general *Cromwell* to the *Devizes*, which after severall Butteries, he Mastered, and *Laycock House* was taken by Colonel *Pickering*, and *Barkley Castle* by Colonel *Rainsborough*, although he had a sharp Dispute for it first: And *Farley Castle* in *Somersetshire*, and *Sendall Castle* in *Yorkshire* reduced by the Forces of the Parliament, and *Chepstow* in *Monmouthshire*, by Colonel *Morgan*, *Masseys* Successor in the Government of *Gloucester*: And October the Fifth, Lieutenant-general *Cromwell* takes *Winchester Castle*, and from thence departs to *Basing House*, which had held out against many Assaults, ever doing more hurt then it received. But now comes *Cromwell* and resolutely storms it, they within shewed themselves as Valiant as ever, but meeting with other kind of men then formerly, the Marquis of *Winchester* was forced to yield, and kindly used by the Conquerors, who found an unexpected Mass of Wealth in the House.

The Devils, Winchester and Basing-house taken by Cromwell. Laycock house by C. Pickering, Barkley Castle by Rainsborough, Chepstow by Colonel Morgan.

In earnest, the Kings Condition was very low, he had been formerly Routed near *Westchester*, and thence he made shift to get into that City, afterwards getting out again into *Wales*, had gotten into a good Body of Horse, with which he Couried up and down; and lastly, re-

The Lord Digby, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale Routed near Sherburn.

solved to send the Lord Digby, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with some 1600 Horse, to joine A with Montross, who accordingly Marched into York-shire, and near Sherburn Surprized 800 Foot of the Parliamentarians, with their Armes, but staying for Carriages to convey them away; Colonell Copley, Colonell Lilburn, and other Commanders of York-shire, with sufficient force came upon them, and Routed them, recovered all, took 400 Prisoners, and 600 Horse, Digby's Coach and Cabine of Letters, by which much was discovered of the Kings Transactions with the Danes, and Irish Rebels; Digby with the rest flies Northwards, and at Carlisle Sands was the second time Defeated by Sir John Brown, with the loss of 100 slain, and the taking of 200 Horse, and many Prisoners; and in their Flight towards Beeston Castle, were met with by Colonell Briggs, who took 200 more of them, besides 180 of them, who flying through Westmerlands were seized by Vandruck, so that Digby with a very small Retinue, fled over to the Isle of B Man, and thence into Ireland to the Earl of Ormond. The Parliament thrive every where, Fairfax takes Tiverton, Cromwell Langford House, and Major Generall Langborn in Wales reduces Carmarthen.

While the Generall lay about Charde, the Lord Goring beat up his Quarters by Night, took about 40 Foot, and 20 Dragoons, but then the Alarm being taken, the Cavaliers returned; Fairfax followed, and in his way (as was sayd) reduced Tiverton, and from thence after severall Marches, drew neer to Exeter, which he streightned in order to a Siege. About this time Monmouth was taken by the Parliament Forces, and Shelford House neer Newark, Worton, Wiverton, and Welbeck, by Major Generall Poyns: And now dies Colonell Pickering, who had done great Service for the Parliament in this War, but is here overtaken by a new Disease, which C brought him to his End, with many others at Antree.

Overtures of a Treaty between Prince Charles, Goring, and Sir Thomas Fairfax.

In this mean time, severall Occurrences intervened between Prince Charles, the Lord Goring, and the Generall Fairfax, which Last, continually Answered the Two former, That he would Treat with them, as a Soldier, and a Servant to the Parliament, but no further; Goring crosseth the Seas for France, to raise new Supplies there, against the next Summer; and Prince Charles with his Councell bestirred themselves about raising the Counties of Cornwall, and Devon, to disturb Sir Thomas Fairfax, in his lying before Exeter.

Colonell Birch takes Hereford for the Parl. by a Stratagem.

December the Eighteenth, Hereford was taken by Surprize, the manner thus: The Governour had issued out Warrants for the Country-people, to come in to Work in the Town, for the Service of the Garison: Colonell Morgan, and Colonell Birch had Intelligence of it, and so layd D their Design; Morgan had 1100 Horse and Foot, and Birch had 900 Foot, and a Troop of Horse ready for the Enterprize, with which they March from Gloucester, to Hereford, in one Day and a Night, where some lusty Fellows were picked out, and Arrayed with Habit of Country Labourers, and one of them to serve for a Constable, with a Warrant in his hand, to bring these Fellows to Work, according to the Governours Order: 150 Firelocks were lodged in the dark, as neer the Gate as possible, and another Body to Second them: So the Bridge is let down, the supposed Constable and his Consorts enter, and presently take an occasion to Quarrell with the Guard, killed three of them, then in come the Firelocks, and after Colonell Birch, and lastly, Colonell Morgan, with the whole Body. These soon Mastered the unware Surprized Garison, with small Lois on either side, wherein were 11 Pieces of Ordnance, much Armes and Ammunition, the Lord Brudenell, and Judge Jenkins, 14 Knights, 4 Lieutenant Colonells, three Captains, and other Officers and Gentlemen One Hundred, and with this Action, Morgan and Birch gained as much Honour, as Sir John Digby reaped Disgrace, by his Treacherous Motion to Colonell Ker, Governour of Plymouth, wheeby he would have persuaded him to Deliver up the Town of Plymouth, because the Parliament were about to put in another Governour; But he returned him a Noble Answer, wherein he signified his utter abhorrence of such a Treachery, and withall, Ingeniously, though Satyrically, twitted Digby with the former Treasons of his Relations.

Westcheester had been long Besieged, and much of the Kings Hope was reposed in the holding out of that City, many Endeavours had been used to the Relief of it, and many Transactions had F passed with the Irish about it, which afterwards bore hard upon him; the Lord Biron was Governour of it, and Sir William Brereton for the Parliament had layen before it since August last, and endured many Salleys from the Besieged; Colonell Jones, and Colonell Lowthian, who had hovered about Beeston, drew off at Midnight with a Party of 1300 Horse and Foot, and by Four of the Clock attained the East-side of Chester, which they Stormed in Four severall Places, and though at first Repulsed, yet continuing the Assault with much Resolution, forced the Cavaliers to Desert the Forest Street, which they took Possession of, with the Mayors House, Sword, and Mace, and the Sheriffs Ward, after which piece of Service, Breretons Soldiers enlarge, and by degrees almost Block up the West-side too: Hereupon Sir William Vaughan for the King, with 1700 Horse and 700 Foot, Marched towards the Besiegers, but is met with by Mittons, Jones, and G Lowthian, with 1400 Horse, and a 1000 Foot; between whom hapned a Relolute Engagement, but the Victory fell to the Parliamentarians, 100 slain, and 400 taken Prisoners. A second Design of Relief was Attempted by Sir Arthur Ashton, but he was Routed at Sturbridge, and himself taken Prisoner: So now Sir William Brereton Summons the Governour, who yet stands out, and sends a Messenger to the King, who returning without any hopes of Succour, Biron was constrained to Treat (the Suburbs, as was sayd, were taken before) and February the First Surrendered to the City upon honourable Conditions; and so Sir William Marches towards Leitchfield: And about

Westcheester was taken by the Parliament Forces.

A about this time, the Court of Wards, and Liveries was Voted down by the Parliament.

The King being come to *Newark*, as a Place of greatest Security, and most unlikely to be Besieged; a strange Quarrell hapned amongst the Great Ones there, concerning the Lord *Digby*, lately Defeated at *Sherborn*, whom Major General *Charles Gerrard*, charged with Treason: with him ended the Two Princes, *Rupert*, and *Maurice*, the Lord *Hawley*, and Sir *Richard Willis*; but Governour *Bellasis* stood up for *Digby*, with divers others: The Contention grew hot, from Words they come to Swords, and the King coming in to part them, increased the Feude, by siding for *Digby*; Whereupon *Rupert* and the rest of the contrary Part, to the Number of 400, in much Disgust layd down their Commissions, and depart to another Place where they stand upon their Guard, and so the King departs for *Oxford*, with a Guard of 300 Horse, whom *Poyns* meets with at their Return, and Routs them, and then takes in *Bevoys* Castle; and not long after, the Countess of *Darby* surrenders up her House at *Latham* to the Parliament: The King at *Oxford* with *Rupert* and *Maurice* now Reconciled, was Blockt up by the Parliaments Forces, whereupon he Commands a Fast to be observed every *Fryday*, during his Troubles.

A Quarrell amongst some of the Kings chief Commanders.

Belvoir Castle and *Latham* House surrendered to the Par. The K. Blockt up at *Oxford*, sends to the Par. about a Treary.

In the mean time, a Treary was Agitated, between the King and Parliament, and the King desired to come to a Personall Treary with the Two Houses at *Westminster*, and some likelihood there was of a good Effect: When all was Blasted on a suddain, by a Discovery of the Kings Transactions with the *Irish*, partly by the Letters seized in *Digby's* Coach at *Sherborn*, and partly by Letters taken in the Pockets of *Malady*, Archbishop of *Tuam*, who was slain at the Overthrow of the Rebels at *Sligo* in *Ireland*; wherein the King offered Toleration of Religion, Themselves to choose a Governour of their own, and to be Intrusted with severall Castles and Forts, for their Caution; Upon Condition to send into *England* 10000 Men to Assist him against his Enemies: And (which was worst of all) amongst other Intercepted *Irish* Letters and Papers, was found this Copy of the Kings Commission to the Earl of *Glamorgan*, Impowring him to Treat with the Rebels.

CHARLES, By the Grace of God, &c. To our Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin, *Edward*, Earl of *Glamorgan*: We Reposing great and especiall Trust and Confidence, in your approved Wisdome and Fidelity; Do by these Presents (as firmly as under Our Great Seal, to all Intents and Purposes) Authorize, and give you Power to Treat and Conclude with the Confederate *Roman Catholicks* in Our Kingdome of *Ireland*; If upon Necessity any Thing be condescended unto, wherein Our Lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for Us for the present publicly to Own. Therefore We Charge You to proceed according to this Our Warrant with all possible Secresie: And whatsoever You shall Engage Your Self upon such Valuable Considerations, as You in your Judgment shall Deem fit: We promise in the Word of a KING, and CHRISTIAN, to Ratifie and perform the same, of that which shall be Granted by You, and under Your Hand and Seal; The Confederate *Catholicks* having by their Supplies Testified their Zeal to Our Service. And this shall be in each Particular to You a sufficient Warrant:

The Kings Commission to the Earl of *Glamorgan*.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, the Twelfth of May, 20 Car.

F *Glamorgan* had brought his Business to some Issue, when for Colouring the Kings Intentions; State Reasons enforced the Earl of *Ormond*, the Lord *Digby*, and the Councell to Imprison him, which yet could not be so cunningly carried, but that it gave Distaste to the *Irish*, his Fellow *Papists*, who thereupon began to suspect double Dealings, and so neither sent over the promised 10000 Men. nor any Ayde to *West-chester* (whereby that City was lost) although *Glamorgan* was quickly Released, upon the Bail of 6, or 8 *Irish* Peers: But these Passages, together with the Discovery of the Lord *Digby's* Letter to the Archbishop of *York*, and the Archbishops Letter to the Lord *Ashley*, and *Glamorgan's* to the King, Declaring the Design of his Restraint; put the Parliament into such a Heat, that they would by no means consent to the Kings Proposals, though frequently reiterated, wherein he offered to come to the Two Houses, upon Assurance of the safety of his Person; and to Advise with them for the Good and safety of the Kingdome: Provided, all that have Adheared to his Majesty, may have Liberty to go to their own Homes in safety, and their Sequestrations to be taken off: Upon which Conditions, his Majesty was willing to Disband all his Soldiers, and Dismantle his Garrisons, pass an Act of Oblivion, and Free Pardon to all. And so these Hopes of Reconciliation vanished.

The discovery of the Kings Transactions with the *Irish*, incens'd the Par. against him.

The Town of *Monmouth* was now taken by the Parliament Forces, and *Exeter* streightned, on the East-side by the Garrisoning of *Norwell*, *Broadcliff*, *Poultimore*, and *Stoak*; and on the

Monmouth taken for the Par.

other side beyond the River, by the Garrisoning of *Kirtonfulford*, and *Cannonteen*: Captain *A Dean* was also sent to take in *Pouldram* House, but failing of his Design, possessed himself of *Pouldram* Church, but being there continually Attayled by fresh Numbers of the Enemy, who came very thick upon them from *Exeter* and other Places; Sir *Thomas Fairfax* fearing their Loss, Commanded them away: Upon News of the *Cavaliers* Advance from before *Plymouth*, to Relieve *Exeter*, Sir *Thomas* resolves to meet them, and therefore riseth from the Siege of *Exeter* leaving that Place sufficiently Blocked up by the forenamed Garrisons, and the Addition of Sir *George Chidleys* House at *Ashton*: At *Beveystrey*, lay the Lord *Wentworth* with Five Regiments, whom Lieutenant General *Cromwell* Surprizeth, and takes three Regiments, and dispereth the rest, *Wentworth* himself hardly Escaping.

Lieutenant General *Cromwell* surprize h the Lord *Wentworth's* Forces at *Beveystrey*.

Fairfax comes now to *Totness*, whose Approach caused the *Cavaliers* before *Plymouth* to B quit their Trenches, and be gone, having been shrewdly put to it, by that stout Garrison, who Sallied out upon them Frequently and Successfully.

Dartmouth taken by Gen. *Fairfax*.

From *Totness* the General orders Two Regiments to be drawn before *Dartmouth*, and himself follows after with the rest, and upon Rejection of a Summons, falls to Storm it in Three Places; The first Post by the *West-Gate*, by Colonel *Hammond*, on the North by Colonel *Pride*, and on *Tunstall Church and Works* by Colonel *Fortescue*: All which fell on with great Resolution, gaining one Foot after another, till they had Mastered all, but *Kingsworth* Fort, the Castle, and Gallants Bower. In *Kingsworth* Fort was Sir *Henry Cary* with his Regiment, who failed not to do his Part, but being over-powred, yielded upon good Terms, to March away with his Officers and Soldiers; and so the *Parliamentarians* entred it, wherein were 12 Guns, 12 Barrells of Powder, and convenient proportion of Ammunition. The next Morning the General summons the Castle, and the Governour was willing to Treat, but having stood it out, to this Extremity, could obtain no other Conditions, but Quarter for himself, and all his Officers and Soldiers; but afterwards the General dismissed all the common Soldiers, but kept Prisoners Sir *Hugh Pollard* the Governour, the Earl of *Newport*, Colonel *Seymour*, and the other Officers; Ordnance about 120 mounted: and Two Men of War taken, January 19. Shortly after a French Vessel not knowing the Town was taken, strook into *Dartmouth* with a Packet of Letters from the Queen, which being Seized, they discovered the whole Business of the *Kings* Negotiation with *France*.

Hopton Routed at *Torrington*.

Colonell *Hammond* takes in *Pouldram* Castle, and the General sits down again before *Exeter*, D and summons the Governour, Sir *John Berkley*, who Answers, That in Honour he cannot Surrender, having good Hopes of Relief from the Prince. *Fairfax* resolves to Storm, but hearing of *Hopton's* Advance to *Torrington*, with 5000 Horse, and 4000 Foot, he once more rises from that Siege, leaving Sir *Hardress Waller* behind him with some Regiments, and Marches to *Chimley*, and from thence towards *Torrington*, where the Enemy then lay, and beat them out of *Stedden* House. The *Cavaliers* had Fortified the Town with Lines and Barradoes, which yet could not Discourage the *Parliamentarians* from pressing upon them: The Battell began neer the Town, whither *Hopton* Retreated, the Horse following, entred close with him, whom the *Cavaliers* Charged so boldly, that they were like to give over; But the Army seconding the Loss with fresh Men, the Town was wholly gained: But some of the Enemy fiered the Magazine in the Church, which blew up the Church, and did more harm to the Assaylants, then the Sword had done before, upon whom in this Amazeiment, Sir *John Digby* Charging did much Execution, and then bid farewell, at Eleven of the Clock at Night, February 16. *Hopton* himself was shot in the Thigh, and *Digby* in the Head, many Prisoners, and Horse taken, and divers slain. *Hopton* departs to *Stratton*, and *Fairfax* follows, which causeth his Lordship to March more Westward, yet some of his Rear Loytered so long, that about 80 of them, and about 300 Horse were taken; from thence the Army Advanceth to *Lanceston*, which the Prince had quitted, leaving Colonel *Basset* behind him with 500 Foot, and some Horse, who Skirmished, and being soon worsted, escaped away by the darkness of the Night: *Salisbury*, and *Mount-Edgcumbe* being Reduced, the General follows the retiring Enemy, towards *Bodmyn*, alwaies keeping a watchfull Eye to E hinder them from breaking through, and such a Terror was upon them, that they would seldom ever stand to it, though oftentimes far superiour in Numbers: And Prince *Charles* finding the Pursuit so hot, Imbarqued himself for *Scilly*. All things succeeded so happily with *Fairfax*, that after severall Successes, the Lord *Hopton* in vain desired a Cessation, and then would needs persuade himself that it was granted: But the General summons him to lay down Armes, upon which ensued a Treaty at *Tresilian* Bridge, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Quattering at *Truro*, and the Lord *Hopton* further Westward, where at length these Articles were agreed upon, March the Thirteenth.

Booke up by *Fairfax* at *Torrington*.

Articles agreed on between them.

That the Lord *Hopton* should Disband his Army in the West: General *Fairfax* excepting his Lordship to have Fifty of his own Horse, and Fifty of *Fairfax's*, for his Convey to Oxford. All Strangers to have Passes to go beyond Seas, and to carry with them what is their Own, without Horses and Armes. All English Officers to go home to their Habitations, or if they will beyond Sea. Each Colonel to have his Horse, and two Men and Horses to wait on them: Each Captain one Man and Horse: the Troopers 20 s. apiece, and to go where they pleased.

But

A But *Hopton* hearing of the ill Effects of the Propositions of Peace, changed his Course for *Oxford*, and sailed into *France*. After the Disbanding of these Forces, all the *Kings* Garisons and Forts in *Cornwall* yielded, except only *Pendennis* Castle, and the Mount: And Generall *Fairfax* returned to the Siege at *Exeter*.

The *Kings* Forces in this mean while had not been Idle, but moved up and down in flying Parties, to their best Advantage; The King, the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice*, were at *Oxford* closely Surrounded by the *Parliament*s Forces, their Hories being about *Farrington*, expecting the Lord *Ashley*, with his Foot to joyn with them: But he was met with by Sir *William Brereton*, and Colonell *Morgan* at *Stow* in the *Wold*, upon the Edge of *Gloucestershire*, where he was totally Defeated, and himself taken Prisoner, 1500 Hories and Foot, with his Baggage, Ammunition, and some of the *Kings* Letters concerning *Ireland*,
B March 21.

The Lord Ashley routed at Stow on the Wold.

But in *Scotland* the *Kings* Affairs Succeed better, this year, where the Earl of *Montrose* prospered Incredibly; for after his Defeat given to the Earl of *Argyle*, many of the *Cambells* took part with him, by whose help he took *Elgin* the chief Town of *Muray*, while the Lord *Gordon*, eldest Son to the Marquis *Huntly*, with some Forces joyned with him, so that now he was strong, 2000 Foot, and 200 Hories, with these he Defeats Sir *John Hurry*, and the *Covenanters* Army at *Brechen*, and Marches to *Grantsbain* towards the River *Tay*, and so for the *Forth*, there he meets with Generall *Baily*, and *Hurry*, and offers them *Bartell*, which they refuse, so he is for *Dunkeld*, where *Lewis* the youngest Son of Marquis *Huntly*, takes leave, and goes home to his
C Father, carrying with him all the *Gordons*: however *Montrose* and the Lord *Gordon*, who never deserted him, Summons *Dundee*, and upon refusall falls to Storming, and enters the Town; In the Nick of time comes *Baily* and *Hurry* with a strong Power, whom *Montrose* not able to Encounter, Retreats through rough and unknown wayes, Skirmishing with the Pursuers for many Miles together, and with much ado, passed over the *South-Esque*, and returns to *Brechen*. Now having some time to rest, he sends the Lord *Gordon* to endeavour the bringing back of his Brother, and the rest of the *Gordons*, himself with 500 Foot, and 50 Hories, Marches through *Angus*, *Perthshire*, and neer the River *Erne*, Repulses *Baily*, and comes to *Balwidier*, where the Earl of *Aboyn* meets him: at *Lough Catrine* he had Intelligence, that *Hurry* was upon Engaging with the Lord *Gordon*, to whose Assistance *Montrose* makes speed, and after a tedious uncouth
D March, Joyns with him (in the midst of *Marve*) who had gotten together 1000 Foot, and 200 Hories; *Hurry* Retreats, followed by *Montrose*, who pressed so hard upon him, that at a Village called *Aldern*, they came to a *Bartell*, May 4. in which, *Montrose*'s right Wing was overpowered, but that Loss was abundantly recompensed by the Left, which utterly Routed *Hurry*'s right Wing, and coming opportunely to the Rescue of their Fellows, put the Others to Flight.

The Affairs of Montrose in Scotland.

The Earl of *Linsay* now took upon him the Command of the *Covenanters* Army in *Argyle*'s stead, and joyns with *Baily* to seek out *Montrose*, who Retired to *Kingarf* Castle, and so *Linsay* departs to *Arbolls*, and *Baily* to ruine *Huntley*'s Country, which *Montrose* means to Defend, and Marches to *Aileford Hill*, and possesseth it, *Baily* was unwilling to Fight, but being perswaded by the Lord *Balcarris*, prepared for *Battel*, which *Montrose* refused not; both Sides fought well,
E but at length *Montrose* obtained the Victory, though dearly purchased with the Death of the Lord *Gordon*, who was there shot dead, July 22.

The Fight at Aldern.

After this Victory, *Montrose* was Recruited with 1800 Men, with which he Advanceth to *St. Johnstons*, where the *Parliament* then sat, whom having somewhat Scared, he turned away to *Dunkeld*, and there is met by *Aboyn*, with 200 Hories, and as many Dragoons: And the Earl of *Arley*, and his Son Sir *David*, bringing with them, 80 Hories of the *Oglebies*; And now thinking himself able to deal with any *Scottish* Army, he entred *Fife*, and Incamps in *Kilsythfield*, with 4500 Foot, and 500 Hories: *Baily* was ready to Encounter him with far greater Forces: And so August 17. they came to a *Bartell*, which was one of the Bloodiest that was Fought in *Scotland* all this War, for the *Montrossians* fought desperately, resolving generally, rather to lay
F their Bodies in the Field, then turn their Backs: The *Covenanters* Disputed it with much Animosity, but at length their Hories being resolutely Charged, turned about and Fled, and the Foot unable of themselves to endure, followed, whom the *Montrossians* pursued 14 Miles together, so that the *Covenanters* lost this Day in Fight and Flight, above 5000 Men: After this great Victory, all things for awhile answered *Montrosses* Expectation, most of the chief Places of *Scotland* and *Edenborough* it self submitted to him, and *Macdonnell* and *Drummond* dispersed those Forces, which the Earls of *Cassells* and *Eglington* were raising in the *Western* Parts. But this Prosperity was short lived, for the *Highlanders* thinking they had done their Work, being laden with Spoils, returned Home; And others to the Number of 3000, and 120 *Irish*, with *Macdonnell* their Leader, took leave of *Montrose* for a season, promising to return with many
G more Men, within 40 dayes, which yet they never performed: And shortly after the Earl of *Aboyn* carries away with him his own Men, and all others of the *Northern* Forces; Inasmuch that now he had but a small Army with him.

The Covenanters Defeated by Montrose at the Bartell of Kilsyth.

In this mean time, the *Covenanters* privily sent to *David Lesley* in *England*, to come to their Help, who readily obeyed, and hastned to *Berwick*, with all the *Scottish* Hories, and presently entred *Scotland*; at which News *Montrose* was much troubled, as knowing his own Weakness in Hories, and therefore would have got himself into the *North* again: But *Lesley* prevented him, and by hasty Marches overtook him in a Field called *Phillips-Haugh*, neer *Selkirk*, where he
I e e 3 forced

Montrose Defeated by David Lesley at Phillips-Haugh.

forced him to Fight, September 13. *Lesley* had about 6000 Men, most of them Horse; which notwithstanding the *Montrossians* Valiantly received and stood out their Charges: But in the End, were over-powered, and beaten down with a great Slaughter. *Montross* himself with much ado Escaped to his old Shelters, and the next day got together the Remainders of his scattered Forces, which are seasonably augmented by the coming in of *Marquis Douglass*, and *Sir John Dalrymple*, with a small Party of Horse; with these he Marches Northwards, Fordeed *Avon*, and River, and meets with the Earls of *Craford* and *Arley*: And now he had 200 Horse, and some Foot, whom he leads into *Atboll*, and is there furnished with 400 Foot, with whom he Climbs over *Gransbain* Mountains, to meet with *Aboin*, and then returns back again the same way, and falls into *Perthshire*; and here by Messengers from the King, had Order to March Southward, if possible, to meet the Lord *Digby*, with his Party of Horse: which Messengers B and Letters he sends to *Huntley*, and *Aboin*; *Montross* himself passeth the *Forth*, and spoyles *Sir John Buchanans* Lands.

About this time the Lord *Napier* of *Marcheston*, deceased; And *Sir William Rollock*, *Sir Phillip Nasbit*, and *Alexander Ogilby* being taken by the Covenanters, were Condemned and Executed at *Glasgow*, and Colonell *O Caben* and Colonell *Laghlen* at *Edinburgh*.

Montross in Revenge of his Friends wastes the Country about *Glasgow* with 300 Horse, and 1500 Foot, himself Encamping at *Leven*, where he hears the News of *Digby's* Defeat, this makes him return Northward where he spends much time in Treating with *Huntley*, who played fast and loose with him; And promised to Assist him in the Siege of *Inverness*, but failed, so that Design came to nothing: but was frustrated by Major General *Middleton*, who came from the Scots Army in England with Forces; yet *Huntley* upon his own private Quarrel, Besieges and takes *Aberdeen*, whereinto *Middleton* had thrust 500 Men: but the *Marquis* gaining the Town, Plundered the Inhabitants, who for the most part were Royally Affected, yet freely Released all Prisoners which were of *Middleton's* Men. *Montross* notwithstanding all these Discouragements, still laboured to keep up the Royall Interest, and had gotten together many Friends and Tenants, of the Earl of *Seaford*, the Lord *Rose*, *Sir James Mac-donell*, *Maclin*, *Glengar*, *Mac-reynold*, with whose Help he made assist to keep up the War, doing no small hurt to his Enemies. But the next year, the King having entruisted himself with the Scots Army in England, sent a Herald to *Montross*, with Commands to lay down Armes, and Disband, and to pass over into France, till his Majesties further Pleasure, which Orders, he readily obeyed: And by that means the Covenanters had Elbow room, having already put to Death 4 of their Capital Enemies, at *St. Andrews*, Viz. *Sir Robert Spotswood*, *Nathaniel Gordon*, *Andrew Gultery*, and *William Murray*; but the Lord *Ogilby* putting on his Sisters Apparell, had made an Escape out of Prison. And now they had leisure to Jangle with the Parliament of England, about some Differences at that time arising.

Nor was England only the Seat of War this Year, but other Nations also had their share: The Swedes had made a Peace with the *Danes*, but still continued Hostility with the Emperour, which continued with various Success, till at last they came to a Battell, wherein at first the Germans had the better; but busying themselves according to their Custome, too greedily about the Baggage, the Swedish General *Torstenson*, Rallies his almost Defeated Forces, falls upon the Plundering Imperialists, and Wrecks the Victory out of their hands, taking Prisoners, 4 Generalls, *Hassfeldt*, *Mercy*, *Bray*, and *Zaradeskie*: 7 Colonells, and 4000 others, besides 3000 slain; Yet was this Fight nothing so bloody, as that between the French and *Bavarians*, near *Friburge*: Whereas One sayes, they had a Design to die all, such a horrible Massacre there was, with the greatest part of both Armies layd dead on the Field: Nor could either Side boast of their Gains; but what Advantage could be claimed, was rather on the French side, whose Generalls the Duke of *Anguien*, and *Marshall Turenne*, reinforcing their Troops, Seized *Philippsburg*, *Spier*, and *Mentz*. The Spaniard for his Part was this Year as the Emperour, loosing the greatest part of *Flanders* to the French; And the *Salt of Gannet* to the *Hollander*: And in Italy the French take *Piombino*, and *Portolongone*, and Defeat the Spaniard at the Passage *Mora*, F besides severall Successes in *Catalonia*.

It was now the Twenty second Year of King Charles's Reign, Viz. 1646, which the Parliament begin with disabling all Members absent, with the King, for ever sitting in the House; and Impower the Speaker to give Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, for new Elections in their Places.

Prince Charles Invited to come to the Parl.

The Parl. Orders concerning the K. and his Party.

The Prince of Wales being in *Scilly*, the Parliament Invite him to come to them, but he would not Venture, only being now in the Isle of *Guernsey*; Desires that the Archbishop of *Armagh* may have leave to come to him: And that the Lord *Capell* might have a Pass to go to the King at *Oxford*, to make some Overtures to him in order to a Peace, but all came to nothing. The King had formerly offered to come to the Parliament, in Order to a Personall Treaty, which not being Relished by the Parliament, They Order the Committee of the *London Militia*, to secure all such as shall come with him, to prevent Resort to him, and to secure his Person from Danger; And all Cavaliers are to depart the City between the 30 of March, and the 6 of April: And withall in London a Court Marshall is Established, who make it Death for any to repair to the King, Queen, Prince, or Malignant Lords, and Commanders, Or to Plot, Contrive, or Hold Intelligence with them: And further the Parliament being mis-informed, That the King was come to London, Ordered, That in Case it were so, he should instantly be Con- ducted

A ducted to *St. James's House*, with a Guard to prevent Resort; And that it should be Treason for any to Conceal him.

Dennington Castle, and other Places yield to the Parl.

Exeter delivered upon Articles to Gen. Fairfax.

And soon after Banestable.

The K. departs out of Oxford in a Disguise, and goes to the Scots Army.

Oxford Surrendered to Gen. Fairfax.

A number of other Garisons yield to the Parl.

Newark yielded to the Scots upon the Kings desire. The Seals of State broken in the Lords House.

The Earl of Essex dies of an Apoplexy.

M. Generall Massey's Brigade Disbanded.

Gen. Fairfax comes to London.

The War was almost finished, the Kings Fortes beaten out of the Field, Garisons Surrender apiece, *Dennington Castle, Michaels Mount, Ruthen Castle, Woodstock,* and others yeild to the Parliament. Generall Fairfax, and Lieutenant Generall Cromwell return to the Siege of *Exeter*, which had been Blocked up by Sir *Haidres Waller*, during the Generalls stay in the West. The Governour Sir *John Berkley* being Summoned, and despatching of Relfer, returned Answer, That it was agreed on at his Councell of War, That Commissioners might meet on either Side, to Treat on Friday, April the Third, which was assented unto. The Treaty lasted till Thursday, April the Ninth, at which time the Articles were Signed, no waies Dishonourable to the Besieged, who Marched out, April the Thirteenth. After which the Generall went to *Banestable*, and had it Surrendered to him, upon the same Conditions that *Exeter* was.

B And now Sir *Thomas Fairfax* resolves to March for *Oxford*, which put the King upon thoughts of providing for his own Safety: And therefore, April the Thirteenth, he came out of *Oxford* in Disguise, with Parson *Hudson*, waiting upon Mr. *John Ashburnham*, and got to the Scots Army, before *Newark*, May the Sixth, whereupon divers Noblemen seeing themselves Deserted by the King, yeilded to the Generall: But the Governour Sir *Thomas Glenham*, would not so easily quit his Charge: However Fairfax goes on, and fixes his Quarters, the next upon *Hellington Hill*, which was committed to Major Generall *Skippon*, lately recovered of his *Naseby* Wounds: The Second being a Bridge over *Charwell*, near *Marston*, and a Line drawn from *Ips* to *Charwell*, fell to Colonell *Rainsborough*: A Third to Colonell *Lambert*, And a Fourth, to Colonell *Harbert*. And Major Generall *Skippon* had the managing and carrying on of these Works, Lines, and Approaches.

C Sir *Thomas Glenham* being summoned, returns a Civill Answer, Desiring leave to send to the King about it, but was refused; Many Messages pass to and fro, till at last, May 18. the Treaty began, which held till June 20. and then Concluded upon very Noble Terms, with Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was the rather Induced to Condescend unto, out of his Respect to the Colledges, and Library. And accordingly the City was Surrendered, June 24. together with *Faringdon Castle*, which was included in the Treaty: There Marched out in a Body well Armed, about Three thousand, besides near as many more which afterwards had Passes. Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, and divers others Transported themselves beyond Seas. In the City were found seventy Barrells of Powder, Thirty eight Pieces of Ordnance, whereof Twenty six Brass, and plentifull Store of Provision of Victuals. The Duke of *York* was carried to *St. James's*, where he met with his Sitter the Princess *Henretta Maria*, sent thither from the Surrender of *Exeter*, but was shortly after conveyed over into *France*, by her Governess the Lady *Dalkish*.

D *Oxford* being taken, it was in vain for the lesser Garisons to stand out; wherefore News comes thick and threefold to the Parliament of the Surrenders of *Banbury, Borsall, Carnarvon, Ludlow, Leichfield, Worcester, Wallingford, and Goshridge*; And Governour *Arundell*, who could not till now by any means be Induced to deliver up *Penderennis Castle*, when all the West besides was Reduced, at length yeilds to Colonell *Fortescue*: And the Marquis of *Worcester* having been long Besieged by Colonell *Morgan*, and now Summoned by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* himself, gives up his Castle of *Ragland*. It was long before the Scots would be perswaded to return out of the North, and Besiege *Newark*; but at last, being over-come with the Summ of Thirty thousand pounds, they came on and Encamped on the North-side of the Town, and *Poynes* and *Rosster* on the South-side the Besieged make frequent Sallies out upon their Enemies, killing and taking many: But the King being come to the Scottish Camp, sends in his Desires to Governour *Belafus*, to deliver up the Town, to the English: Inobedience whereunto, it was, upon Honourable Conditions, Surrendered to Colonell *Poynes*, about the beginning of May.

F The Seals of State being sent from *Oxford* to *Westminster*, were according to the Vote of the Two Houses broken in the House of Lords, in the presence of the Commons. The War in *England* being now, after much Bloodshed, brought to some End, the Parliament were at leisure to dispute with the Scots, concerning their keeping of the King; Who fearing least Sir *Thomas Fairfax* should fall upon them, and Compell them to deliver him up, Retreated Northwards to *Newcastle*. The Earl of *Essex* had lived to see his War Accomplished by another Generall, and this year dies of an Apoplexy, at *Essex-House* in the Strand, September 14. And the Parliament in respect to his former Services, Voted 3000 l. to be given towards his Funerall; He was Honourably Attended to his Grave, and Interred, Oct. 23. Mr. *Vynes* Preached his Funerall Sermon.

G The Parliament seeing the King gotten into the Scots Possession, sends a second Invitation to the Prince of *Wales* to come to *London*, with promise of Honour and Safety, but he durst not venture. The Parliament about this time passed an Ordinance for Disbanding Major Generall *Massey's* Brigade, which General Fairfax was ordered to put in Execution, who thereupon Marched from *Oxford* to the *Devises*, where he found them consisting of the Number of 2000, 500 Horse, prepared by the perswasion of Major Generall *Massey*, Colonell *Cook*, and the rest of their Officers to obey the Ordinance of Parliament. Soon after this, the General was taken with a Fit of the Stone, which made him take a Journey to the Bath; presently after his Recovery he set forwards for *London*, whither he came Novem. 12. being met in the way with the City Militia, And the next day both Houses Ordered their Speakers, to return him their Publick Thanks for his good Services, which accordingly was fulfilled, Saturday, Novem. 14. And on the 17. received a Congratulation from the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen of the City.

The King lends from Newcastle to the Parl. about a Treaty. The Scots ordered to depart out of England.

Sixteen Propositions sent to the King at Newcastle.

Ormond and Digby conclude a Peace with the Irish.

The Scots deliver up the King into the Power of the Parl.

The King brought to Holmby House.

The Parl. divide into Presbyterian and Independent.

The Affairs of Ireland.

The King at Southwell had written to the Parliament for a Treaty, and being now at Newcastle, he writes to the Parliament of Scotland to the same Effect, and likewise to the City of London; But the House of Commons are Debating, That the Kings Person should be Demanded of the Scots, and hearing that the Scottish Horie formerly lent into Scotland, were returned into England: They Vote the whole Army of the Scots to return to their Country, and quit their English Garisons upon Receit of part of their Arrears, and the rest to be sent after them. The Scots (having suffered Ashburnham to Escape beyond the Seas) send a Letter to the Parliament, wherein they desire them to send Propositions of Peace to the King: And in the mean time was a Disputation between the King, and Mr. Alexander Henderson, a Scottish Minister, about Church Matters, which was since Published.

The Parliament had appointed a Committee to Treat with the Scottish Commissioners, about drawing up Propositions to be sent to the King; much time was spent in Wrangling, whilst the English deny the Scots to have any Right in Disposall of the King in England, and the Scots as stiffly claimed it, he being their King as much as the Englishes, and they having as good Right to Dispose of the King in England, as the English could Challenge in Scotland. In Conclusion, the Scots conceived the Parliaments Motions to be too High and Inconsistent with their first Pretensions: but at length, Sixteen Generall Propositions, with sundry Qualifications, were presented to the King at Newcastle, July 27. by the Earls of Pembroke and Suffolk, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Hipley, Master Goodwin, and Mr. Robinson, who were limited to Ten Days; The King returned his Answer Negative, still desiring to come to London, and to Treat Personally. Nor would the Parliament permit the King of France to Interpose in the present Differences, by his Extraordinary Ambassadour, Monsieur Balline.

About this time, Ormond Glamorgan, and Digby concluded a Peace with the Irish Rebels, which was Proclaimed at Dublin, July 30. The Scots Generall Assembly send a Remonstrance to the King, desiring him to settle Matters in England, according to the Covenant, and to Signe the Parliaments Propositions: And Chancellor London told him plainly, that there was no other Means for him to close with his Two Houses; And moreover, if he lost England, he should not be admitted to come and Reign in Scotland. But all this could not prevail, and therefore the Scots who had hitherto somewhat sharply Disputed about the Disposall of his Person, are content upon the Receit of a good Summ of Money, to depart Home, and leave the King, in the Power of the Parliament; Who Voted him to Holmby House, and sent their Commissioners, the Earl of Pembroke, and Denbigh, and the Lord Mountague, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Holyland, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Cook, Mr. Crew, and Major Generall Brown to receive him from the Scots at Newcastle, to whom he was accordingly delivered; and February 6. they left Newcastle in Possession of the English, and Marched Homewards. February the Eighth, The King, Sad and Sorrowfull, sets forward with the Commissioners for Holmby, Attended with 900 Horie, and after a Fortnight came to his Journeys end: being met by the Way by Generall Fairfax, and many of his Officers; The Commissioners had Two Chaplains, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Carrill, but the King would never hear any of them, Requesting the Parliament that Two of his own Chaplains might be sent to him, which was not thought fit to be Granted, because they looked upon them as Disaffected.

The Parliament was now freed from all fear of Opposition, but unhappily break out among themselves, dividing into severall Parties, under the Title of Presbyterians, and Independents; And March 19. the Vote was passed for New Molding the Army into less, Disbanding some Forces, and Dismantling many Garisons: This made the Army Muter, and knowing their own Power, draw neer to London and Westminster, and frame a Petition, whereat the City being Startled, they likewise draw up their Petition, and Pray, That the Parliament would give Command, that the Army be forthwith removed, and after with all speed to be Disbanded: And that the City may make Annuall Election of their own Militia. And so ends this Year Remarkable, for the Death of Henry of Nassau the old Prince of Orange, whose only Son William Succeeded him in the Dignity of Generall, and Admirall of the United Provinces.

In Ireland all things are gone to Wrack, for these last Four Years, for after the Treaty of Singenstone, 1643. the King trusting too much to the Fidelity of the Irish, withdrew part of his Forces, to Assist him in England; whereof the Irish taking Advantage, fell to Plundering and Pillaging the English, seizing the People with sundry Forts and Castles, and not performing any thing of what they Promised: And having now gotten Expert Generalls from beyond Sea, they were so bold, as to fall upon the Scottish Forces, to whom they gave a most Unfortunate Blow; and to encrease the Miseries of the English there, they were now unhappily divided among themselves: Ormond for the King, Broughill and Inchequin for the Parliament, Ormond for his Part to Promote the Kings Affairs, would turn the Cessation into a Peace with the Irish, which the French were ready to Promote, and to heighten the Kings Party against the Parliamentarians, sent 10000 l. to Ormonds as an Earnest of greater Matters; And the King and Parliament being then in Treaty: The French Resident took occasion to Write to Ormond, that if the King and Parliament should conclude a Peace, it must be necessary to comprehend the Irish therein, for their settlement in their due Rights, otherwise his Master must take the Irish into his Protection; But the Parliament Vote the Lord Lyle, (Son to the Earl of Leicester). to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Determine to send him over with Considerable Forces; Yet in the mean time, Ormond is Articling into a Peace with the Rebels, upon these Conditions:

That

A That the Irish be not bound to take the Oath of Supremacy. A Parliament to be held before November. All Acts against Roman Catholics be Repealed. Places of Strength to be in the hands of Men of Merit.

But the Popes Nuncio, and the Irish Clergy Disclaimed this Peace, which Ormond understanding, and being in great Want of Ammunition and Powder, Treats with the Parliament about a Surrender of Dublin, and the rest of the Places of Strength in his Power; to which they readily give Eare: But the Rebels being now 15000 Foot and 2000 Horse, Commanded by Owen, Oncale, and Preston, seemed to threaten a Siege to Dublin, wherein lay 3000 Garison Soldiers. The Parliament sent over Colonell Monk, with 1870 Horse and Foot which arrived at Dublin, and looked that Ormond would have delivered the City into their Hand, according to his Treaty with the Parliament: But finding themselves deceived of their Hopes, set Saile and Landed at Belfast in the North. However the War goes on, the Irish not daring to Distaste their Clergy: Ormond does little, so that these Garisons are left to the Rebels, Lese, Strathbally, Bifers, Grange, Mellon, Rebend, Alby, Greenhill Castle, Jordan, Edenberry, Marmage Town, Sir James Hayes House, Honeslow, Haus, Castell Warden, Monmouth, Lestip, Lucan, Falmishore, Tallon, Bulloris, and Bellament. And in conclusion, Ormond enters into a Confederacy with the Rebels, upon Dishonourable Terms, and takes away the Keys of the City from the Mayor, and gives them to the Lord Lambert of Ireland, who by this means becomes Governour of Dublin. But on the other side, the Parliamentarians had some Successes against the Irish, and took Castell Lyons, and Inchequin Castle, Dungarvan, and Blarney Castle, and stoutly Defended Banratty, against Musgraves Forces: And now the Lord Lieutenant Lyle comes over to his Government, January 28. And having set things in Order, and encouraged those of his Party, returned back into England, April the First: But the Parliament resolve to prosecute the War Vigorously, and to send over 8400 Foot, besides Officers with 3000 Horse, and 1200 Dragoons; All which were to be taken out of Generall Fairfax's Army, which occasioned much Distemper between the Army and Parliament.

Little News from Foreign Parts this year, but only the Surrender of Dunkirk to the French, and the Emperours eldest Son Crowned King of Bohemia.

Dunkirk Surrendered to the French.

Men might have reasonably expected, that King Charles's 23 Year of his Reign, 1647. should have began with a Sunshine of Settlement so desirable, after such Storms of War. But contrarywise these Hopes were suddenly Blasted by Dissentions, between the Parliament and Army; These last being offended with the Intentions of the former, to Disband them, and being encouraged by Petitions from severall Counties to the Generall, not to Disband till the Peace of the Kingdome were fully settled: they drew up a Petition which was presented to the Parliament, by Lieutenant Generall Hammonds, and Three Colonells, Desiring Provision for Indemnity, the Arrears to be paid, that the Foot Soldiers may not be Prest out of the Kingdome, nor Horsemen to serve on foot: Their Widows and Children to be Relieved, and (untill the Army be Disbanded) that they may receive Pay to discharge their Quarters, and not to Burthen the Country. This Nettled the Parliament, who Declared their high dislike of it, and Voted, That such as continued in this way of Acting, to be proceeded against as Enemies of the State. Some Petitions from Essex and other Places, are brought to the Parliament, Inveying against the Armies Proceedings, which fret the Soldiers, who sharply Appologize for themselves, and utterly refuse the Service of Ireland, till Satisfaction were given to their Desires. The Difference was likely to have grown Wider; But to close the Breach, Commissioners are chosen on both sides, to meet in Order to a right understanding. But the Army Judged that it would not be a little Advantageous to their Concernments, if they could get the King into their Hands: And therefore Corner Joyce was sent to Holmby, with 500 Horse, who brought away the King from thence, with his Guardians Commissioners, (who would by no means leave him) having first promised him, that he should have no Violence offered to his Person, that his Trunks and Papers should not be Rifled and tumbled, that he should be Attended with such Servants, against whom there was no just Exception, and that nothing should be Imposed upon him contrary to his Conscience, June the Fourth: And so he was Conveyed to Childersley, and thence according to his own Desire to New-Market; And this the Generall certifies in a Letter to the Parliament, withall, Affirming that it was done with his Consent, And that the Reason alledged by the Parties, was, Because certain Persons had Designed to take away his Majesty, thereby to gather Strength to make a New War, which they were able and ready to prove.

The Armies Petition.

The King brought from Holmby to the Army by Colonell Joyce.

And now the Army to the great Terrour of the Parliament March towards London, and came unto St. Albans, notwithstanding a Message from the Houses not to come within 25 Miles of the City, which the Generall excuses, saying, That the Army was come thither, ere they received the Parliaments Desires. And here he obtains a Months Pay for the Soldiers: The Parliament Vote, That the Generall be required to diliver the Person of the King to the former Commissioners, to come to Richmond, to the Intent, that Propositions of Peace may be speedily presented to his Majesty, and that Colonell Rossiter and his Regiment may Guard his Person. To this the Army would not Consent, and therefore sent up their Representation, with these Proposals, as the only effectual Means to procure a stable Settlement (Viz.) That the Houses may bee speedily purged of such as ought not to sit there: That such who abused the Parliament and Army, and endanger the Kingdome, may be speedily disabled from doing the like,

The Armies Representation and Proposals.

like, or worse. That some determinate Period of time may be set to this, and future *Parliaments*, according to the true Intent of the Bill for Triennial *Parliaments*. That Provision may be made not to be Adjournable, or dissolvable, by any Power but by their own Consent, during their respective Period, and then to determine themselves. That the Freedom of the People to prevent Grievances by Petition to *Parliament* may be Vindicated. That the Exorbitant Power of Country Committees may be taken away. That the Kingdome may be satisfied in the *Parliaments* Accounts for the vast Summs received; and also in divers other things, wherein the Common-wealth hath been abused. That after Delinquents have passed their Compositions; an Act of Oblivion may be passed.

Eleven Members Impeached by the Army.

The *Parliament* being (as was said) divided into Two Parties, The Independents Countenanced the Army, and the Presbyterians the City, in a high manner against the Army, of whom B they would fain have rid themselves, by sending a great part of them into *Ireland*, and Disbanding all the rest: to prevent which, they have in readiness an Impeachment against Eleven of the chiefest of them: For retarding the Relief of *Ireland*; For Acting many things against the Laws and Liberties of the People; And for obstructing the Courts of Justice. All which was offered to be proved against them: Their Names were, *Denzill Hollis* Esquire, *Sir Phillip Stapleton*, *Sir William Lewis*, *Sir John Clotworthy*, *Sir William Waller*, *Sir John Maynard*, Major *Generall Massey*, *Mr. Glynn* Recorder of *London*, *Colonell Walter Longe*, *Colonell Edward Harley*, and *Anthony Nicholls* Esquire. And with this Charge they delivered in a Paper, Desiring that the Accused Members be forthwith Suspended from sitting in the *House*. This was much C stumbled at, and look upon as too much Intrenching upon the Privilege of *Parliament*: But the Army persisting in their Desires, the Eleven Members first forbore the *House*, and afterwards obtained leave to Travell for Six Months. But to give some Satisfaction to the *Parliament*, the Army removed further off from *London*, having the King continually near them, who had a great mind to see his Children, which was effected, by means of a Letter from *Generall Fairfax* to the *Parliament*. The Eleven Members being gone, a Vote was passed for taking the *London Militia* out of the hands of the City, and transferring it to others better Affected to the Army: And it was made Treason to seek Subscriptions to Petitions; Upon which, great Multitudes of Prentises and others flock to *Westminster* in a Murinous manner, Clamouring at the *Parliament* Doors, that, that Vote should be Repealed, before the Members should pass out of the *House*, and forcing the Speaker back into the Chair, Constrained him and them to sit, till D they Extorted this Vote from them.

The Petition of the City against the Vote for taking the Militia out of their hands.

That the King should come to *London*, and the City have their Militia restored to them: And then the *Parliament* Adjourned for Four Days.

The Speakers and divers Members fly to the Army.

The *Generall*, who for ease of the Country was moved to *Bedford*, hears of this, and Marches up towards *London*, and sends before him a Letter to the Mayor and Aldermen; wherein he signifies, His Resentment of the late Outrage, and requires Justice to be done upon the Offenders. In his way he is met with, by the Speakers of both *Houses*, and the greatest part of the Members, who repaired to him at *Hounslow*, Complaining of the Affront and injurious Violation offered unto them, and there they Consult together, how to get the City without E Blood.

The City submit to the Army.

In the mean time, the contrary Party meet together in *Parliament*, and hope to carry all before them, and choose new Speakers. The Eleven Members are now gotten in again; the first Thing done, is to confirm the last extorted Votes; And to put the City in a Posture of Defence, Ordering Soldiers to be Lifted, and Major *Generall Massey*, *Sir William Waller*, and *Colonell Poynts*, to have the Command of them; And the Citizens set forth a Declaration against the Army, yet were not things so evenly carried, but that upon the Approach of *Generall Fairfax*, all was in a Hubbub, many Dissentions in their Counsells: And at *Guildhall* they fell from Words to Blows, divers Wounded, and some Slain. And lastly, The Aldermen conclude, to Write to the *Generall* to excuse themselves, laying the Fault upon some particular Persons: The General sends a Brigade, under the Command of *Rainsborough* and *Huson*, over *Kingston Bridge* F to *Southwark*, who take in the great Fort on the High-way to *Lambeth*: The *Common Councell* Post away Messages to the *Generall* for a Pacification, which he with the Content of the Members of *Parliament* then present, granted upon Condition, That they should Desert that *Parliament* then sitting, and the Eleven Impeached Members, and deliver up the *Tower*, and their other Forts, which they were glad to submit to: Presently a Declaration is published, making Null all Acts, passed by the Members at *Westminster*, since the Twenty sixth of *July* last.

The General Marcheth with his whole Army through the City.

August the Sixth, The *Generall* Marched in State to *Westminster*, and re-established the Members of *Parliament*, and received their Publick Thanks, for Vindicating them from the Injurious Usage of the Citizens; And the next Day Marched through the City with the whole G Army 20000 Horse and Foot to the *Tower*, and puts in *Colonell Tichbourn* for his Deputy-Lieutenant, by Vertue of an Ordinance of *Parliament*, whereby he was Constituted Captain-Generall of all the Forces and Garisons in *England* and *Wales*, and Constable of the *Tower*: And a Months Pay was given to the Army, as a Gratuity for their good Service, in Suppressing the late Insurrection; but the Excise was thought fit to be continued: The *Generall* had his Head Quarters at *Kingston*, and the King was settled at *Hampton-Court*, with his Children about him; whither the Earl of *Ormond* repaired to him, having by his Command quitted his Government in

A In Ireland to the *Parliament's* Commissioners: Inquiry is now made for the chief Actors and Fomenters of the late Uproar, for which Mr. Glyn was ousted of his Recordership. Sir John Maynard was Impeached of Treason, and Hollis, Waller, Clotworthy, Massey, Longe, and Nicholls, were Summoned to attend the House, the Sixteenth of October: Sir John Gayer Lord Mayor, and Four Aldermen, Culham, Bunch, Langham, and Adams were Accused and Committed to the Tower; and the Earls of Lincoln, Suffolk, and Middlesex, with the Lord Barkley, Maynard, Hunsdon, and Willoughby of Parham, were Committed to the Black-Rod.

Severall Members of Parli. and Citizens questioned for Acting in the late Tumult.

But care was now taken to pull down the Pride of the City; to which end, both Houses Order the casting down of all the Works about the City, and the dividing of their Militia, Impowring the City of Westminster, the Burrough of Southwark, and the Hamlets about the Tower, each to have its distinct Militia of it self.

B The Army are much behind hand for their Arrears, therefore Petition the Parliament for payment of them, which the Houses taking into Consideration, raised some Summs of Money to stop their Mouths for the present, and so apply themselves to draw up Propositions of Peace to be sent to the King to Hampton-Court, which were in Substance the same with those that were offered to him at Newcastle, and had the same Effect, the Business of Episcopacy being ever a main Obstruction, which the Parliament were resolved to Abolish, and the King would rather loose all, then give Consent thereunto; and in his Answer shewed a greater Inclination to the Army then the Parliament, which afterwards he had cause to repent of.

Propositions sent to the K. at Hampton-Court.

C About this time the Parliament Vote Six thousand Foot, Two thousand four hundred Horse and Dragoons to be sent into Ireland, and Eighteen thousand Foot, and Seven thousand two hundred Horse, and a Thousand Dragoons, to be kept up as a standing Army for England.

Part of the Army Voted to be sent into Ireland. Agitators of the Army chosen. Their Letter to the Gen.

About this time, the Officers to provide for their own Concernments, thought good to Elect out of every Regiment a certain Number of Soldiers to Meet and Consult by the Name of Agitators: These together draw up a large Letter to the Generall full of Complements, and desire, That he would take some Course to settle the Nation in Peace, and to secure such as had fought against the King, from standing in any need of asking him Pardon, or receiving Indemnity from him. That Parliaments may be determined to certain Periods of Time, And that Care be taken for due Election of Members for the future, and for the Payments of the Armies Arrears, that they may not be burthensome to the Country. Sir Thomas Answers, That he had a good

D Opinion of the honesty of their Intentions, and referred their Desires to the Generall Councill of Officers.

November the Sixth, the Scots Commissioners send a Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and require, That the King may be admitted to a Personall Treaty, or at least, that he should not be carried from Hampton-Court, violently by the Army, as he was from Holmby House, but that Commissioners of both Parliaments may freely pass to, and from him, to Treat for the Settlement of the Kingdoms. This put the Parliament upon preparing new Propositions: In which mean while, the King is informed, That his Person was in some hazard, from the Agitators, who were Plotting of some Design to take away his Life; And therefore he

The Scots Commissioners Letter to the Speaker.

E Consults with Sir John Berkley, Mr. John Ashburnham, and Colonel William Legg, how to prevent the Danger; and among them it is Resolved to escape to the Isle of Jersey: to which end a Ship is prepared, to take him in about Southampton, and Horses are Lodged near Hampton Ferry. And thus November the Eleventh, he according to his Custome withdrew himself, a little before Evening Prayer, with his Three forementioned Confidants, and escaped to his Horses, by the way of Paradise, a Place so called in the Garden, and Rode away, leaving behind him a Letter to the Parliament, which was afterward delivered them: Wherein he promised to break through this Cloud of Retirement, and shew himself really to be a Father of his Country, if he might be heard with Freedome, Honour, and Safety. But the King coming to the Sea-shore, found himself to be disappointed of his Design, by the failing of the Ship, wherefore it was concluded, that the King and Legg should go to Tedworth, to the Countess Dowager of

The Kings Escape from Hampton-court.

F Southampton House, whilst Berkley and Ashburnham Ferried over to the Isle of Wight, to Governour Hammond, of whom the King had some Hopes, because of his Brother Doctor Hammond, (who was the Kings Chaplain) to him they were to signify in generall, That the King having escaped from Eminent Danger of Assassination, was willing to cast himself upon his Fidelity, if he would engage upon Oath, for the Safety and Liberty of his Person: Hammond would promise for his Safety, but not for his Liberty; and they fearing to be taken into Custody, came over, with him to the Ladies House, where the King was, who found himself Necessitated to cast himself upon no better Terms, with an unwilling Willingness, upon Hammond's Protection, who presently Certifies the Parliament of it; and they being well contented with it, Ordered his Continuance there, with the same Attendants which he had at Hampton-Court, and no other.

He is secur'd in the Isle of Wight, by Colonel Hammond.

G The King at Carisbrook Castle Writes a Letter to the Parliament, and another to the Scots Commissioners; wherein he Professes, That he cannot, either as a Christian, or a King, Consent to the Abolishing of Episcopall Hierarchy, because he looked upon it as Apostolicall, and had Sworn at his Coronation to maintain it: But yet he was willing, that Presbytery should be continued for Three Years, and a free Debate to be had, between the Divines Assembled at Westminster, and Twenty that he should appoint, about the Settlement of Church Government for the future. He is also willing, that the Parliament should dispose of the Militia, and have the

His Letter to the Parli. from Carisbrook Castle.

Choice

Choice of his Privy-Counsellors during his Reign; Provided they have it by Grant of Patent A from him, and that it return to his Successors: And he is willing that the Arrears of the Army should be paid, and he will be ready to use his utmost Endeavour for the raising of so much Money. These and some other Proposals he made, promising moreover to give Satisfaction to the Kingdome of Scotland, when he shall receive his Desires: And still he pressed for a personall Treaty, which the Parliament refuse, yet after Three daies Debate, they were content to admit of it; Provided, that he would Sign these Four Bills:

Four Bills sent to the K. to be Signed.

'First, That it be lawfull for the Future, to Order the *Militia* of the Kingdome, without the Kings Consent; to raise what Armies they please, All others under pain of Treason to be prohibited to Assemble, to the Number of Thirty Persons, without the Authority of Parliament.

'Secondly, That it be lawfull for the Houses to sit, to Adjourn their Sitting to what Place they please, to Assemble at what time soever, and at their own Discretion.

'Thirdly, That all Oathes, Interdictions, and Declarations, set forth in Publick, against either Houses, be accounted and declared Void.

'Fourthly, Whomsoever of the Nobility the King hath Dignified with Titles, from the time Himself departed, and carried away the Great Seal of the Kingdome, the same be Degraded of their Honours, And these to be passed into Acts.

The K. refused to Sign them.

These Propositions were carried to the King by the Earl of Denbigh, Lord Montague, Mr. Lyle, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Kemp, and Mr. Bunkley: But the Scots Commissioners follow and Protest against them, as too derogatory from the Kings Honour, and contrary to the Parliaments former Engagements and Protestations; And so the King refused to Sign them, desiring the Commissioners to tell the Two Houses, That there were different Interests to be complied with (*Viz.*) The Parliament, The Army, And the Scots; and therefore he requested, That some Means might be found out, which might give Contentment to all These, without which, A well-grounded Peace could never be Established. The Kings Refusall so offended the Commons, that they presently put it to the Vote, Whether any more Addresses should be made unto Him, and after a long Debate, it was Resolved;

The Parl. Vote, That no more Addresses should be made to the K.

First, That no Addresses shall hereafter be made to him by the Parliament of England.

Secondly, That none shall on pain of Treason, make any Addresses, without leave from the Parliament.

Thirdly, That no written Paper, Message, or Declaration, be received from his Majesty, on Penalty of Treason.

Which Votes were so well Resented by the Army, That now having no further need of their Agitators, They reduce them into Order, and publish a Declaration of their owning the Parliaments Proceedings and their Resolution to adhere with, and stand by them in their said Votes, even against the King himself, or any that shall partake with him; Which the Lords perceiving after many daies Tugging about it, at last, Assented to the Votes of the Commons.

Mutiny at Newport in the Isle of Wight.

In the mean time, Colonell Hammond had turned away the Kings Servants, and used him a little more Severely, then formerly, which occasioned a Mutiny in Newport, the chief Town in the Isle of Wight, where one Captain Barleigh beat a Drum for the Kings Service and Delivery, but was soon Suppressed, himself taken Prisoner, and afterwards Hanged, Drawn, and Quartered, as a Traytor; And more Forces sent at Hammonds Request, to Secure the Island: and Judges were appointed to proceed against those who Mutined, about keeping of Christmas, in London, Canterbury, and other Places.

The Committee of Derby House, how Impowred

And now both Houses Vote, That the Committee of Derby House, have a Plenipotence to Transact the Business of the whole Kingdome, and to dispose as they shall think fit of the Army Commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who is now Impowred to place, and displace the Kings Attendants; provided, he allow him not above Thirty. And a little after he becomes Lord Fairfax, by the Decease of his Father.

Judge Jenkins try'd by the Parl.

About this time, Judge Jenkins was brought to the Bar of the House, where he refused to kneele, his Charge was read against him;

That he had passed Sentence against men to be Hanged, Drawn, and Quartered, for not Assisting against the Parliament.

That he took up Armes himself, and stirred up others against them, and had Charged them with Counterfeiting the Great Seal. Which he was so far from denying, or any way Extenuating, that he boldly owned all, and more then they Accused him of, endeavouring to Terrifie the Parliament with the Numerousness of the Royall Issue; and so provoked the House with his Deportments, and Words, that he was Fined a Thousand pounds; and the House Voted a Charge to be brought in against him.

The

A The Marquis of Ormond after severall Capitulations, had yeilded up the *Irish* Government into the hands of the *Parliament*, by whom was sent over Colonel *Jones* with 1450 Horse and Foot, who took Possession of *Dublin*, June 17. where he with the *Parliament*s Commissioners, were well received by the *Parliament* there at that time Sitting, and is made Governour of the City, at the same time that Sir *Charles Coote* Defeated a Party of the *Rebells*: And not to be Idle, he Marches out with 3000 Men against Generall *Preston*, who met him with 8000, and over-powred him, made him first Retreat, and then Fly, and did much Execution upon his Forces in Four Miles Pursuit. But August the Eighth, they came to a Second Encounter near *Trym*, where Colonell *Jones* did revenge his former Foyle, beat *Preston* out of his *Bogg*, killed 5470 Foot Soldiers, and 300 of the Gentry, took 7000 Armes, 4 Pieces of Ordnance, and great Pillage, with 150 Oxen; And improving his Victory, takes *Castell-Richards*, *Port-Castell*, *Asbby*, *Grucsfort*, the *Mabber*, *Bellisloe*, *Cabbrough*, *Castell-Lewar*, *Danmook*, *Carrat*, *Maestrofe*, *Castell-Down*, and *Castell Amoni*: And in *Munster* near *Megallo*, and *Clancard*, the Lord *Inchequin*, November, the 13. gave such a Defeat to another Party of the *Rebells*, that what, with taken and slain, the Enemies Loss is reckoned Four thousand. So that now the *Parliament* having no need of the *Scottish* Forces in *Ulster*, are earnest to have them recalled Home out of *Ireland*.

The Twentyfourth Year of King *Charles*'s Reign, being the Year, 1648. now begins with the Visitation of the University of *Oxford*, which was performed by the new Chancellor, the Earl of *Pembroke*, not without much Resistance; for the Heads and Principalls would neither own the Authority, nor the Covenant, for which Reason, many of them were Outed of their Places, and others put in: And the *Parliament* Vote, That all those who will not submit to the Power, shall be Expelled the University, and all the Colledge Rents to be paid to the Visitors appointed.

Oxford visited by the new Chancellor.

Muriny of the *London* Apprentices.

This Summer, the King, though a Prisoner, was as Formidable as ever since the late Troubles, the very Name of a King proving sufficient to raise Insurrections, and not only Tumults, but considerable Armies: *London* it self was not free from Muriny; for April the Ninth, The Apprentices set upon a part of the Trained Bands, whom they over-powred, and encreasing hourly, divided into Parties; One whereof made towards *Whitehall*, but were Repressed by the Horse-Guard of the *Mews*, yet at Night they joyn again, Surprize *Newgate*, and *Ludgate*, and shut up the Gates, then they seize a Drake-piece from the Lord Mayors House, which they Planted within *Ludgate*: the Morning following they laboured to get Armes, and broke open some Salemens Houses of Ammunition, and Mastered the Magazine at *Ladenhall*, Crying out for God and King *Charles*: But the next day General *Fairfax* entered *Aldersgate*, with Two Regiments, Marched to *Ladenhall-street*, and there Charged the Rabble, whom after a short Tumultuary Skirmish, they utterly dispersed with little or no Loss; So that this Hubbub might justly be termed, *The Mountains Travell*. But in *Wales* Col. *Poyer*, Governour of *Pembroke* Castle, refused to yeild up his Charge (though Commanded) without full payment of his Arrears: And Major Gen *Langhorn* for the same Reason, refused to Disband his Men; and so both Revolt, and *Langhorn* Surprizes *Tenby* Castle, with the *Parliament*s Commissioners in it: And now they grow bold, Commanding Contribution round about, and Declare for the King. Colonell *Horton* is sent Commander in Chief against them, with 30 Companies of Horse and Foot, who sends out Colonell *Fleming* to gain a Pass from *Poyer*, which he finds Q'irted to his Hands; but going on Improvidently, falls into *Poyer*'s Ambuscado, by whom he was totally Routed, and compelled to fly, with a few others, to a Neighbouring Church, and perceiving himself unable to hold it out, died as it is thought, by his own Sword, and the rest were taken Prisoners. This Success was attended with another, *Chepstow* Castle being taken by Sir *Thomas Keymish* in the Governours Absence. But now the Tyde turns; News comes that Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell* is Advancing with a strong Power to Suppress them, which makes *Langhorn* resolve to Fight *Horton*, before his coming, who as willingly Marched to meet him, and near *St. Fagows*, May the Eighth, views his Enemy, near 8000 strong, but in disorder, unready for Fight. In this Condition *Horton* Charged them, and obtained an easie Victory, killed some, took 1500 Officers, and 3000 common Soldiers, *Langhorn* himself, and *Powell* escaped by Flight. Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell* enters *Wales*, Stormed *Tenby* Castle, and had it yeilded upon Mercy, and *Chepstow* Castle was re-taken by Colonell *Ewer*: But all this could not keep Sir *John Owen* quiet, who whilst *Cromwell* Besieged *Pembroke* Castle, got together some Forces in *North-Wales*, which the County-Sheriff would have Suppressed, but being too weak, was Defeated and taken Prisoner; and shortly after the same Fortune befell *Owen* himself, by the Valour and good Conduct of Major Generall *Milton*: *Pembroke* Town and Castle stood out Courageously, for a long time, but at length were so distressed, that they willingly would have Surrendered, if they could have obtained any other Conditions, then to yeild upon Discretion; *Cromwell* gives a furious Storm, which the Besieged resolutely endured: But the *Scottish* Invasion made the Lieutenant General more inclinable to give them Articles, upon which the Town and Castle was delivered up, July 13. (Viz.) *Langhorn*, *Poyer*, and 3 other Principal Actors, to submit to the *Parliament*s Mercy: the other Commanders, Kts. & Gentlemen, to depart the Kingdom within 6 Weeks, for 2 years, the rest to return to their respective Dwellings, & the Townsmen to enjoy their Freedoms and Liberties, those that submitted to Mercy were afterwards tried as Traytors, notwithstanding the Princes Letter in their behalf to Gen. *Fairfax*: But this Favour was extended towards them, that they should cast Lots for their Lives, and so only *Poyer* Suffered. April 20. The Duke of *York* Disguised in Womens Apparel, made his Escape from *St. James*'s by Water, and Landed at *Dort* in *Holland*, by the help of one Colonell *Bamfield*, sent over purposely on that Design by the Queen.

Poyer and *Langhorn* take up Armes for the King in *Wales*.

Defeated by Col. *Horton*.

Sir *J. Owen* Routed by M. Gen. *Milton*.

Pembroke Castle yeilded up to *Cromwell*. *Poyer* shot to death.

The Duke of *York* escapes into *Holland*.

Petitions
brought to the
Parl. from Ef-
sex, and other
Counties.

The Country began now to be displeased, that after such Expence of Men and Money, there was a yet no likelihood of a Settlement, but rather a fearfull Expectation of New Wars, and therefore resolve to Petition: The County of *Essex* begins the Dance, and desires the *Parliament* that the Army may be payd, and Disbanded, and the King admitted to a Personall Treaty; *Surrey* follows, and desires the like, but in higher Terms; and being Numerous quarrell with the Soldiers at *Westminster*, and come to Blows: some hurt done on both Sides, Night parts the Fray; The City Succeed, and Petition to the same Effect, and also desire, That those Prisoners, who stood Committed for their former Insurrection in *Massey's* Business, might be Released, as shortly after they were, upon the Cities constant Adhearing to the *Parliament*, and refusing to send any Ayde to the *Kentish*, against the Generall: And at their Desire their *Militia* was restored, and Major Generall *Skippon* was appointed Commander of the City, and all the Forces within the late Lines of Communication. The Lieutenant of the *Tower* was discharged, and Mr. *West* Citizen, Surrogated in his Place, and Colonell *Barkstead*, and Colonell *Rich* were Ordered to draw off their Regiments out of *Whitehall*, and the *Mews*, instead of which, the City Common-councell Order a Guard for the *Parliament*, and Six hundred pounds Yearly for their Major Generall: And all this with the Generals free Consent and Approbation.

The *Kentish*
Men in Arms.

The *Kentish* Men would not Petition, but with their Swords in their Hands, and were up in Armes in such considerable Numbers, that it was thought fit for Sir *Thomas* himself to March against them, which he doth, with Six thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse; the *Kentish* were near Ten thousand: but unadvisedly parted their Forces, and sent away a Brigade to besiege *Dover* Castle. The Generall Advances, and Defeats some of them between *Craisford* Heath, and *Gravesend*; from thence he sends Major *Husbands* before, who gains a Passage over a Bridge at *Northfield*, and some Prisoners: the Generall comes on, Marching in a full Body, expecting the Enemy would have Engaged, but they were not prepared, and so without any Resistance he came to *Maidstone*, in which the *Kentish* were drawn up into a Body, the Town strongly Man'd, and well provided with Ordnance, and Barracadoed: *Fairfax* having his Army encreased to Ten thousand, falls to Storming at Seven a Clock at Night, *June* the Second, Twice Repulsed, the Third time got Entrance, but then the Fight was more Perillous then the former, whilst the Assaylants had to do not only with those who Manned the Streets, but were also Galled with continuall Shot from the Houses, getting all by Inches; Nor could they acquire the Victory till after six Hours Fight, and much Loss on their own Side; But of the Enemy Two hundred were slain, above one thousand three hundred Prisoners, divers of Quality, Four hundred Horse, and Eight Pieces of Ordnance, with good Booty: And presently upon this, *Rochester* was also quitted to the Generals Mercy; Many of the *Kentish* Men after this Defeat re-inforcing their Companies, Marched up in a Body towards *London*, and Rendezvous'd upon *Black-heath*, whither some resolute Persons repaired to them, under Command of the old Lord *Goring*: But the *Kentish* perceiving their Succours to come far short of what they expected, quit their Commanders apace, and return Home: but *Goring* with 500 Men crossed over *Greenwich* Ferry into *Essex*; in which County the Committee Men were already Secured, and Sir *Charles Lucas* having gotten together Two thousand Horse and Foot, Joyns with *Goring*, who Seizes the Earl of *Warwick's* Armory, and gets into *Coulchester*, which now becomes a Seat of War, and the Country Flockt in unto them: But Generall *Fairfax* leaving Colonell *Rich*, and Colonell *Hewson*, who had now raised *Dover* Siege, to take in those places in *Kent*, which himself had not time to Reduce, crossed over into *Essex* after the Enemy, and came before *Coulchester*, which he immediately Surrounds with a Potent Army.

Coulchester Be-
siegd.

A part of the
Navy revolt to
Prince *Charles*.

The Seamen being Disatisfied, Muriny, and divers of the Ships went to the Prince, with Vice-admirall *Batten* himself, who was thereupon Knighted: And now the Prince with a considerable Fleet sets to Sea, having with him his Brother the Duke of *Tork*, Prince *Rupert*, the Earl of *Brainford*, the Lords, *Hopton*, *Wilmot*, *Willoughby*, and *Culpeper*, with others of Quality, and came into *Yarmouth* Rode, with Twenty good Men of War, and Two thousand Soldiers; there he would have Landed, but hearing of Colonell *Scroops* coming against him with a Party of Horse and Foot, he Sailed from thence to the *Dunns* in *Kent*, seizing what Merchant-Sips and Goods he could meet withall. *Deal* Castle was at this time Besieged, for Relief whereof, the Prince would needs Attempt something, and therefore sets 500 Men ashore, who at first Charged handsonly, but being too weak, were beaten, severall slain, and taken, and the rest got Aboard again. Soon after this *Sandwich*, *Deal*, and *Weymore* Castles were yielded up, and the whole County of *Kent* fully Reduced. Whilst the Prince Anchors in the *Dunns*, the States of *Scotland* Invite him to them, and engage the Publick Faith of that Kingdome, for his Well-being, in Honour, Freedome, and Safety, with them, or with their Army then in *England*, and to remove from them, or their Army, when, or whither he pleased: But he having Written to the House of Lords, for promoting the Treaty with the King, and in vain Summoned the Earl of *Warwick* (Admirall for the *Parliament*) to submit to him as highest Captain-Generall under his Majesty, and beginning to stand in need of Provision, returned with his Fleet back into *Holland*.

A Party of his
Landing in
Kent, are bea-
ten.

The Earl of
Holland takes
up Armes for
the King.

But the Earl of *Holland* being Commissioned from the Prince, raiseth a fresh Insurrection, just as it were in the View of the *Parliament*, at *Kingston* upon *Thames*; The chief Actors were the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother the Lord *Francis*, and the Earl of *Peterborough*. *July* 2. They Mustered 500 Horse, and some Foot upon *Kingston* Heath, and from thence Marched

A ched to *Darling*, and would have possessed *Riegate*, but were prevented, by Colonell *Rich* and Major *Gibbons*, whereupon they Retreat towards *Kingston*, closely pursued by the other, and sending away their Foot before, to secure their Retreat to the Town, they made a stand, between *Ewell* and *Nonfuch Park*; The Pursuers follow on, the Fight was short and smart: the Lord *Francis Villiers* refusing Quarter was slain, with Major *Dalbier*, and a Son of Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and others, the rest put to flight, and many Prisoners of Note taken, July 7. the Earl of *Holland* made no long stay at *Kingston*, but fled with all speed to *St. Needs* in *Huntingtonshire*, where he was totally subdued, and taken by Colonell *Scroop*, and sent Prisoner to *Warwick Castle*; but the Duke of *Buckingham* fled towards *Lincolnshire*, and escaped beyond Seas. *Conchester* holds out Courageously, makes frequent Sallies upon the Besiegers, with pretty good Success, and B good hopes of Relief from the North; for the Parliament of *Scotland* had sate ever since the Second of *March*, and were Disgusted at the English Proceedings in reference to the King, which was encreased by the Report of their Commissioners now returned: so that notwithstanding the Parliament of *England* made them fair Offers, concerning the payment of the Money due upon Account of their Auxiliary Armies both in *England* and *Ireland*, and shewed moreover some Inclination to settle the Presbyterian Government here; yet all will not serve, for they had formed a Committee of Danger, to Consult of their Affairs in relation to *England*: the Major part of these being *Hamiltons* Faction, Vote a War, which the others Protest against, but to no purpose: And now the Scots Publish their Declaration, the Heads whereof were these;

He is Routed,
and the Lord
Francis slain.
The Earl taken
at *St. Needs*.

C "That his Majesty may come to *London*, or to some of his Houses neer, and that with Safety.

The Scots Declaration.

"That Reparation be made for his Carrying away, or Satisfaction by punishing them that did it.

"That the Army under the Lord *Fairfax* be Disbanded.

D "That *Presbytery* be settled, *Secularies* punished.

"That all Members of the House be restored.

Cavaliers now Flock apace to *Edenborough*, and *Wogan* a Captain in the English Army, Revolts to them with his Troop, and Two Companies of Foot Landed out of *Ireland*, at *Chester*, and Marched thither likewise: *Berwick* is Surprized by the *Cavaliers*, Sir *Thomas Glen* and Sir *Phillip Musgrave* raise Forces for the King in *Westmerland*, and *Cumberland*, with which they Surprize *Carlisle*, and with them Joynes Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with some Horse, Generall of the English Army for the King, who now being 3000 strong, Coasted about the Northern Counties.

Berwick Surprised, and
Carlisle.

July the Thirteenth, The Scots Army entred *England*, the Van was brought up by Duke *Hamilton* their Generall, the Main Body by Major Generall *Middleton*, and the Rear by the Earl of *Calender*; these joyn with *Langdale*, and fall upon Major Generall *Lambert*, neer *Appleby*, and force him to Retire into the Town, from whence he to Retreats *Kirbystevens*, and after to *Bowes*, leaving some of his Forces behind him, to Defend the Castle, which was Besieged and taken, August 7. by Sir *Phillip Musgrave*. Colonell *Boynton* Governour of *Scarborough Castle* Declares for the King, and *Pomfret Castle* was surprized by Major *Morris*, *Tinmouth Castle* likewise Revolts, but was suddenly retaken by Sir *Arthur Haslerig*.

The Scots enter
England under
Duke *Hamilton*.

Sir *Marmaduke*
Langdale joyns
with the
Scots.

F The Scots Retreat to *Kendall* in *Westmerland*, and Major Generall *Lambert*s Army encreases daily, with additionall Forces: Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell* having quieted *Wales*, Marches to Joyn with *Lambert*, and in his way takes *Pomfret Town*, but not the Castle. *Hamilton* leaves *Kendall*, and Marches into *Lancashire*, intending for *London*, which the English Army mean to hinder, and therefore March to *Preston*, where *Hamilton* and *Langdale* lay with their Soldiers little fewer then 24000; *Cromwell* and *Lambert* were reckoned to have 5000 Horse and Dragoons, and 7000 Foot. August 17. both Armies Faced one another, Major *Smithson* commanded the Foreloft of the English, who charged furiously on the other, Routed them, and Alarmed the whole Army, and so the Battells joyn on a Moor two Miles East of *Preston*, and the Fight was very hot for two Hours, and then the Scots gave Ground; which encouraged the English to pursue, and that so fiercely, that they were forced to Divide: One Part being a Body of Three thousand Horse, moved towards *Lancaster*, which was pursued and dispersed by Colonell *Twisselton*, and Colonell *Thornlow*, who took Multitudes of them Prisoners; the other Part Horse and Foot Marched over the River *Ribell*, whom the Main of the English Army follow, and at *Rible Bridge* the Scots make a stand, Defending the Pass stoutly for two Hours, even to Push of Pike, and then were constrained to Retire: The next Morning the Scots draw up upon a Hill on the side of *Preston*, whence being forced by the English, they fled in great Disorder to *Wiggon*, which they Plundered, and next Morning Marched towards *Warrington* (the English pursuing

The Scots Army
Defeated
by Lieutenant
Gen. *Cromwell*.

Hamilton taken
Prisoner by
the Lord Grey
of Groby.

Cromwell en-
ters Scotland.
His Declara-
tion.

pursuing all the while) neer *Warrington* the *Scots* taking advantage of a Pass, make another A
stand, but were again beaten, with the Loss of a Thousand Men slain, and were prosecuted to
the very Bridge, where the Foot in Number 4000, being deserted by the Horse, laid down
their Arms, and submitted to Mercy; *Hamilton* got away with Three thousand Horse to
Nantwich, where the Country being up in Arms, seized 500 of them. Lieutenant Generall
Cromwell Marched towards *Cumberland* to meet *Monroe*, giving Order to all the *Parliament*
Commanders in those Counties to follow the flying *Scots*; by some of whom, Major Generall
Middleton, who Commanded 400 Horse, was Defeated and taken Prisoner, and the rest disperst,
Hamilton himself was met with at *Uxeter*, and made to submit to Mercy, by the Lord *Gray* of
Groby, who sent him Prisoner to *Asby de la Zouch*. In this Daies Fight, the *English* took more B
Prisoners, then their own whole Army amounted to: The Ensigns, Cornets, and Colours here
taken, were afterward hung up in *Westminster-hall*; Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was apprehended
in an Inne. *Cromwell* Improves his Succes, and comes to *Durham*, to look out *Monroe*, suppo-
sed to be about Six thousand strong, but the *Presbyterian* Party in *Scotland*, having now recovered
the Sword, Command him to return, which he obeys more for fear of the *English*, then duti-
fulness to them, and joyning with the Earl of *Lanerick*, both together made 8000 Horse and
Foot, to oppose whom, the *Presbyterians* provided an Army, whereof the Earl of *Arguile*
was Commander in Chief, and *David Lesley* Lieutenant Generall. *Cromwell* enters *Scotland*, and
Publishes this Declaration.

‘**W**Hereas We are Marching with the Forces of the *Parliament* of *England*, into C
the Kingdome of *Scotland*, in pursuance of the remaining Part of the Enemy,
‘who lately Invaded the Kingdome of *England*, and for the Recovery of the Garisons
‘of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*: These are to Declare, That if any Officer or Soldier un-
‘der my Command, shall take, or demand any Money, or shall take any Horses,
‘Goods, or Victualls, without Order, or shall abuse the People in any sort, he shall be
‘tryed and punished with Death, by a Councell of War.

To him *Arguile*, *Lowden*, *Leaven*, and other of the *Scots* Nobility repair, and Contract with
him for subduing of the Publick Enemy: And so much feared he was in *Scotland*, that this D
Agreement was Consented to;

‘First, That the Armies under *Arguile*, and the other under *Lanerick* and *Monroe*,
‘with all the Forces in any of the Garisons in *Scotland* be Disbanded, and *Berwick*
‘and *Carlisle* to be Delivered to the *English*.

‘Secondly, That the Settlement of Religion at Home, and promoting Reformation
‘Abroad, be ordered to the Determination of the Generall Assembly, and all Civill
‘Differences be referred to a *Parliament* speedily to be Called.

‘Thirdly, That no Party that were in the last Engagements against *England*, be of E
‘the New *Parliament*, or of the Generall Assembly. And so he Returns into *England*,
after he had been Invited to *Edenborough*, to Feasts and Banquets, and highly Ca-
ressed by the States of *Scotland*, with all Expressions of Honour: And in *Yorkshire*
he was desired by the Committee to Reduce *Scarborough*, and *Pemfret* Castles,
which was then promised, but afterwards performed.

Coulchester Sur-
renders upon
Articles.

Coulchester had endured a tedious Siege, and was now brought to such Scarcity of Provision,
that they had not Horse-flesh enough to serve them one day, that being the Food, which they
had fed on almost a Fortnight, and purchased with much Blood spilt in divers Sallies for dead F
Horses: and now perceiving all hopes of Succour utterly frustrated, were necessitated to yeild
upon these Conditions;

The common Soldiers to depart with Life, and the Officers to remain at the Generals Dispo-
sall, he to Exempt from Mercy, whom he pleased, the Remainder to be remitted to the *Parlia-*
ments Mercy, and the Town to raise 14000 *l.* to preserve it from Plunder. The Prisoners of Qua-
lity, were the Lord *Goring*, *Capell*, and *Loughborough*, Eleven Knights, Twelve Colonels, Eight
Lieutenant Colonels, Nine Majors, Thirty Captains, and Sixty five Gentlemen, the private Sol-
diers were above Three thousand; Three of the Knights were Condemned by a Councell of War,
(*Viz.*) Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Bernard Gascoyn*, a Papist; this last was Re- G
prieved, and the other Two were Shot to Death. The First having (as the Generall said in
his Letter to the *Parliament*) contrary to his Promise falsified his Word with him; The Se-
cond directed the shooting of poisoned Bullets, being against the Law of Arms.

Sir Charles Lu-
cas, and Sir
George Lile,
shot to death.

And so Generall *Fairfax* after much Loss of Time and Men, and difficult Service for a Qu-
arter of a Year (for undoubtedly the Besieged were valiant Men) took possession of the Town of
Coulchester, August 27. After which he Marches up, and down the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Nor-*
folk, *Cambridge*, and *Hartford*, to settle Peace, and visit the Garisons, and so returns to *St.*
Albans

A *And* his Head-quarters. And thus we have ended with the Military Actions this Year. Whilst the Army was busied in Fighting, the *Parliament* were taken up with Petitions from the severall Counties, for a Treaty with the King; the City among the rest had preferred One, and withall desired the Release of their Aldermen, *Gayer, Langham, and Bunch*, and Serjeant *Glynn*, which the *House* Voted, and likewise Repealed them Orders against the Earls of *Lindsey, Suffolk, and Middlesex*, and the Lords, *Berkley, Hunsdon, Maynard, Willoughby of Parham*, and the Eleven Members: And now they apply themselves to the Business so much desired; The Earl of *Middlesex*, Sir *John Hipley*, and Mr. *Bulkley*, were sent to the King, to let him know the *Parliaments* Intentions; who returned with his Desires, upon which the *Parliament* Voted:

Petitions from City and Country, for a Treaty with the King.

B 'That the Votes of Non-Addressees should be Recalled.

The Vote of Non-addressees recalled.

'That such Persons as he should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty, be Admitted.

'That he be in the same state of Freedome, as at *Hampton-Court*, with such Servants as he desires.

'That Five Lords, and Ten Commons be chosen Commissioners to Treat with the King, and the place to be *Newport* in the Isle of *Wights*. And that the King be admitted to Invite the *Scots* thereunto, but to Treat only concerning that Kingdome.

C Which Votes were sent down to the King, who was to Treat Personally with these Commissioners; The Earls of *Salisbury, Penbrek, Middlesex, Northumberland*, and the Lord *Say*, for the House of Lords: And the Lord *Wanman*, Mr. *Pairpoint*, Sir *Henry Vane* the Younger, Sir *Harbottell Grinston*, Sir *John Potts*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Bulkley*, for the House of Commons; and with these were joyned, Mr. *Hollis*, and Mr. *Glyn*, both lately re-admitted to the House. *Monday, September* the Eighteenth, the Treaty begins; the Propositions were in Number Eleven.

Commissioners sent with new Propositions to the King.

'The First was, For calling in all his Declarations, which he Assented to, with this Proviso, That neither this Concession, nor any other of his should be taken Advantage of, unless the whole were concluded.

'The second Proposition was, Concerning the settlement of the Church, in reference to which he Condescended; To settle the Directory, to pass an Act to Confirm the Assembly, and to Establish *Presbyterian* Government for three Years, reserving Liberty to himself and his Party to use the old Form: But would not agree to the utter Abolishing of the *Episcopall* Hierarchie, nor the selling of their Lands.

'The third Proposition was, For settling the *Militia* in the Hands of the *Parliament* for twenty Years solely, to which he Assented.

E 'And likewise to the Fourth, For making void the Cessation of *Ireland*, and permitting the Government of it both Civill and Military to the Two Houses at *Westminster*.

'And to the Fifth, and Sixth, For Nulling all Honours and Titles, since the carrying away of the Great Seal, and for payment of Publick Debts.

F 'The seventh Proposition, Concerning Delinquents, to whom the *Parliament* intended great Severity: The King was contented that they should be Fined, and prohibited Access to Councell of Court, without the *Parliaments* Consent; That they be deprived for three Years, of their Right of Sitting in *Parliament*, and brought to Tryall, if the Two Houses think fit, to suffer according to the Merit, whereof they shall be Legally Convicted: But he would by no means hear of Branding them with Treason, nor taking away either Lives, or Possessions, or any others but such as after a Legall Triall shall be found Guilty of. Among the Established Laws of the Land.

'The Eighth, for Impowring the *Parliament* to Confer all Offices of the Kingdome and chief Magistrates for twenty Years.

'The Ninth, For Confirming the New Great Seal, with all Grants and Commissions Sealed by it.

G 'The Tenth, For Ratifying all Priviledges, Grants, Charters, and Immunities; Power to dispose of the *Tower*, and *Militia* be Confirmed to the City of *London*; And all the Citizens to be Exempted from Military Service out of the Liberties; unless at the *Parliaments* Appointment.

All these were fully Consented to, and likewise was the Last, for totall Exterminating the Court of Wards. Provided, That 10000 *l.* be yearly paid to the King by way of Compensation.

The Parl. Vote
a full Agree-
ment with the
King.

The Earl of *Ormond* had gotten back into *Ireland*, and raised Forces there in Opposition to A
the *Parliament*, by the Kings Commission; But the King assured the Commissioners, That if
the Treaty take effect, the *Irish* Affairs shall be managed at the Discretion of the *Houses* only.

The King having thus far Complied with the *Parliament*, They likewise at his Desire Vote;

‘ That he be in Honour, Freedome, and Safety, according to the Laws.

‘ Secondly, That he have his Revenue as before, excepting the Dedications of such
‘ Forts and Garisons, as were of old Accustomed, to be Allowed Maintenance. B

‘ Thirdly, That he have Compensation for the Court of Wards.

‘ Fourthly, That an Act of Oblivion be past.

The Army Pe-
tition for Ju-
stice against
the King.

Most men thought now, that the King and *Parliament* would have Cemented, and so in all
likelyhood they had, nothing being in Difference but only the Business of Episcopacy. But all
this is broken off by the Armies Interposall, who could not think themselves secure so long as
the King lived; And therefore to find other Work for the *Parliament*, They first sent up for
their Arrears, Amounting to a vast Summ of Money, which whilst the *Houses* were Debating,
they prepare a Petition. C

*For a Scrutiny to be taken for discovery of Contrivers and Actors in the late bloody
Wars, and that speedy Justice be done upon them. That the same Fault may have the
same Justice and Punishment in the Person of King, or Lord, as in the person of the
poorest Commoner. That such as Speak or Act in the Kings behalf (till he be Acquitted
of shedding Innocent Blood) be proceeded against as Traytors.*

Their Re-
monstrance to
the same effect.

When this would nor do, the Army draw neerer, and taking up their Head-quarters at *Wind-*
sor, conclude a Remonstrance, which they send up to the *Parliament*. D

‘ Requiring, First, That the King be brought to Justice as the Capitall Cause of all
‘ the Evills of the Civill War.

‘ Secondly, That a peremptory Day be set for summoning the Prince of *Wales*, and
‘ Duke of *York*, and if they refuse, to Declare them Incapable of Government,
‘ or Succession, and stand Exiled as Traytors; and if they render themselves, yet they
‘ to be proceeded against for Satisfaction. That the Revenues of the Crown be se-
‘ questred. E

‘ Thirdly, That Publick Justice be done against the Actors in the late Wars.

‘ And Lastly conclude, Desiring their Arrears, with the old Pretence of easing
‘ the Country of Free quarter, and desire, that a Period may be put to this *Parliament*,
‘ and a good care taken to Elect a new Representative.

Col. *Ever* put
in the place of
Hammond.

In the mean time, Generall *Fairfax* Commands Colonell *Hammond* to deliver up his Charge
to Colonell *Ever*, by whom the King is Conveyed out of the Isle of *Wights*, to *Hurst* Castle,
November 30. And all this contrary to the Intentions of the *Parliament*, who Voted, That the
Seizure upon the Person of the King, and carrying him Prisoner unto *Hurst* Castle, was without F
the Advice and Consent of the *Houses*.

The Parl. di-
state the Ar-
mies Proceed-
ings.
Divers Mem-
bers excluded
by the Army.

And thus the Treaty was violently broken off; yet the Lords Vote the Kings Concessions a
sufficient Ground for Peace, and forthwith Adjourn; and the Major part of the Commons Vote
the same: But the Army being now come up to *London*, resolve to hinder these Proceedings,
and therefore discharged the Trained Bands, from being a Guard to the *Parliament*, and Order
Pride's and *Riche*'s Regiments to supply their Places, by whom above Forty Members coming
to the *House*, were Seized, and shortly after sent with a Guard, to an adjoining Inne called *Hell*,
from thence to the Kings-head near *Charingcross*, and so to the Swan in the Strand. Not satisfied
with this, the Army Accused Major Generall *Brown*, and Ninety odd Members, for Inviting in G
the Scots the last Summer, and therefore desire they may be excluded the *House*. At which
time the Commons being Angry, Adjourn, *December* 8. for Four, or Five Daies; in which space,
the Army is busied, in devising a new Way of Government, and their Committee at *Whitehall*
move, That this present *Parliament* be dissolved the last of *April* next: And that the Repre-
sentatives of the whole Nation, shall consist of Three hundred Persons, half of which Number,
shall suffice to make an Act of Law, and that in the Intervalls of *Parliament*, a Councell of
State shall Govern; And this Declaration, together with half a Score of Modifications,
they

A they stile The Agreement of the People, which was afterwards presented to the *House of Commons*, by Sir *Hardress Waller*, and Sixteen Officers. The *House* new Moulded met again, Annulled the Votes against Non-Addressees, and those Others, which approved of the Kings Concessions; and Vote, that no Message be received from him, upon pain of Treason. That the Generall take care of the King, And the *Councell of War* to draw up a Charge against him: So now they are resolved upon his Tryall, and accordingly Orders are Issued out for his Removall.

The Parl. new Model'd by the Army.

December the Tenth, the King was brought from *Hurst Castle*, with a strong Guard of Horse to *Winchester*, next day to *Farnham*, and the next to *Windsor*.

The K. removed from Hurst Castle.

In the mean time, the Two *Houses* differ among themselves; The *Commons* Assert, That it is Treason for the King to levy War against the *Common-wealth*; And the Lords deny, that the King cannot commit Treason against the *Common-wealth*, and therefore Reject the Ordinance of the *Commons* for his Tryall; and Declare, That no Act of the *Commons* is Binding without their Consent: Upon which the *Commons* Vote, That all Members, and others appointed to Act in any Ordinance, are Impowred and Injoynd to Sit, Act, and Execute, notwithstanding the *House of Peers* joynd not with them: And so Earnest were both the *Commons*, and the *Army* about it, That the Queen desiring to see her Husband before his Tryall, could not obtain a Pass for her secure Coming and Returning.

January the Sixth, The Ordinance for the Kings Tryall was Ingrossed, and Proclamation was made two Dayes after in *Westminster-hall*, *Cheapside*, and the Old *Exchange*, for Witnesses to come in against the King, and Commissioners were appointed about it: And now the City Petition the *House of Commons* for Justice against the King; And *Hillary Term* beginning January 23. was Adjourned for Fourteen Daies after.

January the Nineteenth, The King was brought from *Windsor* to *St. James's*, and from thence next Day through *Whitehall*, so by Water to Sir *Robert Cotton's* House: All things are now in readines for this Important Business; and notwithstanding the Dissenting of the *House of Lords*, and the Remonstrance of the *Scottish Parliament* against it, The *Commons* Erect a new Tribunal, which they call the *High Court of Justice*, who are Impowred to Convene, Hear, Judge, and Execute, CHARLES STEWART, King of England: His Title in Writs, *Carolus Dei Gratia*, the *Commons* had already Voted to be altered, and the Great Seal of *England* to be broken, and a new Seal Ordered, with the Armes of *England*, and the Harp for *Ireland*, with these Words, *The Great Seal of England*. And on the Reverse, the Picture of the *House of Commons* Sitting, with these Words, *In the First Year of Freedom by Gods Blessing Restored, 1648*.

He is brought to St. James's. A High-courte of Justice Erected for the Tryall of the King.

Thus this Great, though Unfortunate Prince, once Owner of Three Mighty Kingdoms, was now through the unsearchable Providence of the Omnipotent Disposer of all things, cast down into the miserable Condition of a Calamitous Prisoner, to his own Subjects, by whom he was Tried, Condemned, and lastly Executed.

Of his Taxations.

E King James Dying, left his Son a large Dominion, but a poor *Exchequer*, which was the Occasion that his Taxations were so many.

In his First Year, the *Parliament* at their first Session Granted him from the *Layety* Two Subsidies from *Protestants*, Four from *Papists*, and from the *Clergie* Three.

In his Second Year being Engaged in a War with *France*, for the Relief of *Rochill*, he borrowed 300000 *l.* by way of *Loan*.

In his Third Year, in a *Parliament* holden at *Westminster*, they gave him Five Subsidies; And Doctor *Mannering* was Fined 1000 *l.* to the King.

In his Sixth Year, the Statute of *Knighthood* was put in Execution, whereby above 100000 *l.* was brought into the *Exchequer*.

The Statute of Knighthood executed.

F And in his Seventh Year, Sir *Giles Allington* was Fined 12000 *l.* to the King for his Incestuous Marriage with his own Neice.

In his Ninth Year, a *Parliament* holden at *Edenburrrough*, a Tax was Granted to be paid in Four Years, amounting to 100000 *l.* Scots per Annum.

In his Tenth Year, Attorney Generall *Noy* set the Design of Ship-money on Foot, Grounded upon an Ancient Precedent, for raising of a Tax upon the Nation, for setting forth a Navy, in case of Danger, by sole Authority of the King, whereby he procured to the King vast Summs, but with much Reluctance, and no less hatred. And in a *Parliament* holden in *Ireland* the Deputy *Strafford* obtained a Subsidy for the Payment of the Army, and his Majesties Revenue.

Ship-money set on foot by Attorney Gen. Noy.

G In his Thirteenth Year, *Burton*, *Pryn*, and *Bastwick*, were Fined in *Star-chamber* 3000 *l.* apiece: And Bishop *Williams* of *Lincoln* was Sentenced 10000 *l.* by the same Court.

In his Fourteenth Year he obtained a Free Contribution, from the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, towards the raising of an Army, for the suppressing of the *Scottish* Insurrections: which being likely to break out more violently the following Year, the King Consulted with his Cabinner Councell, who subscribe considerable Loans: The Earl of *Strafford* 20000 *l.* the Duke of *Richmond* as much, and the others according to their severall Abilities. And at the Queens Desire the *Papists* Contributed very Liberally.

In

A sum of money borrowed of the City toward the Building of a Palace in St. James's Park.

The King borrows money & Plate of the Nobility. Parliament borrow upon Publick Faith. Weekly Assessment. Excise layd upon severall Commodities.

Delinquents come to Composition for their Estates, 200000 l. payd to the Scots. Great summs of money given to severall Members of Parliament.

60000 l. a Month settled upon the Army for their Pay.

In his Sixteenth Year, the Earl of *Strafford* was led into the *House of Lords*, with much Honour **A** for his good Service in *Ireland*, where he obtained of the *Irish Parliament* the Grant of Four Subsidies: And the Convocation of Bishops gave him an ample Beneyolence of Four Shillings in the Pound for Six Years, to be Assessed on all the Clergy in *England*, towards the carrying on of the *Scottish War*: The City was also Summoned to lend, which they refused, yet were contented to part with a considerable Summ towards the Building of a Royall Palace for the King, in *St. James's Park*, which never yet took effect. And all Knights and Gentlemen who held Land in *Capite* of the King, were to send Horse and Men answerable to their Abilities, for the Compleating of the Royall Army. And the *Scots* being now gotten into *England*, Taxed the Bishoprick of *Durham* 350 l. per diem, and the County of *Northumberland* 300 l. per diem, upon penalty of Plundering. The long *Parliament* Commencing this Year, borrowed 100000 l. of **B** the City of *London*, upon Interest to be re-payd out of the Subsidies, and Voted as much to the *Scots* for the Expence of their Army. May the Fifth, the *Parliament* offered the King to procure him the Loan of 650000 l. till the Subsidies might be raised: Provided that the King would pass a Bill not to Adjourn, Prorogue, or dissolve this *Parliament*, without Consent of both *Houses*, to which he Assented. In *February* following, they Voted 300000 l. to be payd to the *Scots* for their Charges, for levying of which, the Bill for Poll Money was passed.

In his Seventeenth year, the *Irish Rebellion* brake out, for suppression of which, the *Parliament* Voted, that 500000 l. should be forthwith provided: And the King at *Tork*, puts forth Proclamations for Tunnage and Poundage, and infinite Collections were made for Relief of the Pro- **C** testants in *Ireland*.

In his Eighteenth Year, this Civill War began, and the King was fain to borrow much Money and Plate of the *Cavalier Nobility*; as likewise did the *Parliament*, of those who were Affected to them, Ingaging the *Publick Faith* for payment out of Delinquents Estates; by which means, an Incredible Mass of Money and Plate was brought into *Guildhall*: And after this came out a Weekly Assessment from the *Parliament*, upon *England* and *Wales*, which amounted unto Thirty three thousand nine hundred eighty one pounds, thirteen shillings.

In his Nineteenth Year, Mr. *Waller*, one of the Conspirators with *Tomkings* and *Challoner*, was Fined 10000 l. to the *Parliament*, who Voted, That the Kings and Queens Revenue should be detained and Employed in the Publick Service; And that a Tax should be layd upon Beer, Ale, Wine, Tobacco, and such other Commodities, which was called Excise: And also Order Thirty **D** thousand pounds to be instantly borrowed; for Advancing the *Scottish Army* to their Assistance.

In his Twentieth Year, the *Scots* were Impowred by *Parliament* to Asses for themselves, the Twentieth Part over all the *North*, and all Malignants Estates they could Seize within their Reach. The King likewise makes Proclamation, for Assistance of all the Neighbour Counties, to come in with Provision to *Oxford*: And the *Parliament* borrowed A hundred thousand pounds of the City, for Recruit of their Army under the Earl of *Essex*; and in the end of the Year the Army was new Modelled, not without great Charges, and Ten thousand pounds per annum was given to Generall *Essex* out of Delinquents Estates, to Discard him.

In his One and twentieth Year, Thirty thousand pounds was payd to the *Scots*, to Induce **E** them to Besiege *Newark*, and vast Summs of Money were raised by Delinquents Compositions, which for the most part was payd to the Army for their Arrears.

In his Two and twentieth Year, the *Parliament* being weary of the *Scots*, and desirous also to have the King in their Possession, payd to them Two hundred thousand pounds, which was Conveyed to them by Major General *Skippon*, being raised out of the Sale of Bishops Lands, and the Excise, and Ingaged the *Publick Faith*, for the payment of the other Two hundred thousand pounds, and Sixteen thousand pounds was allowed for the Charges of the Carriages; Five thousand pounds was given to Mr. *Denzill Hollis*, Five thousand pounds to Mr. *Selden*, Five thousand pounds to the younger Children of Sir *John Elliot*, and to his eldest Son, his Fine in the Court of Wards was remitted, Five thousand pounds to Mr. *Strouds* Kindred, Five thousand pounds to Mr. *Valentine*, Five thousand pounds to Mr. *Longe*, Five thousand pounds to Sir *Miles Hubbert*, Five thousand pounds to Sir *Peter Haimans* Children, Five thousand pounds to Mr. *Hamden's* Chhildren, Ten thousand pounds to Mr. *Vassell*, Ten thousand pounds to the Earl of *Northumberland*; And this to be levied upon the Subjects. **F**

In his Three and twentieth Year, the Army was Modelled into less, and Sixty thousand pound a Month settled for their Pay. And after the Reducing of *London*, a Months Pay was given them for a Gratuity, and Thirty thousand pounds in part of Payment of their Arrears.

In his last Year, the Army doubting least the Treaty at *Newport* might take effect, made a great Bufile for the payment of their Arrears, whereupon Three and twenty thousand pounds was payd them in part, but their Necessities were more Urgent, and therefore they seize Twenty thousand **G** pounds in the Treasuries of *Haberdasher*, *Goldsmiths*, and *Weavers Hall*, and demand Forty thousand pounds of the City, which was accordingly Collect for them: And *Colechester* being taken by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, was Ordered to raise Fourteen thousand pounds to prevent Plunder: Besides these Taxarions, much more was raised by Monopolies, Privy Seals, Court of Wards, Beneyolences, and otherwise more then can be parallel'd in any precedent Reign.

A

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN a Parliament holden in his First Year, An Act was made for punishing of Abuses committed on *Sundays*; and likewise for the King to make Leases of Lands, parcell of his Dutchy of *Cornwall*: For easie obtaining Licenses of Alienation, and in the Pleadings of Pardon in the *Exchequer*, or elsewhere; And for Restraining of ill-behaviour in Innes, and Alehouses.

The Petition of Right Signed by the K.

In his Third Year, Personall Liberty of the Subject was settled, and the famous Petition of Right was Signed by the King, and Laws were also Enacted;

B First, For Reformation of divers Abuses committed on the *Lords-day*, commonly called *Sunday*.

Secondly, To restrain the passing, or sending any to be Popishly Bred beyond Seas.

Thirdly, For the better suppressing Unlicensed Alehouse-keepers.

Fourthly, For Continuance and Repeal of divers Statutes.

Fifthly, For the Establishing of the Estates of the Tenants of *Bromfield*, and *Tale*, in the County of *Denbigh*, and of the Tenures, Rents, and Services thereupon reserved, according to a late Composition made for the same with the King, then Prince of *Wales*.

In his Sixteenth Year, an Act was passed for preventing of Inconveniencies hapning by the long Intermission of *Parliaments*; and also for the Limitation and Abbreviation of *Michaelmas* Term: Monopolies were likewise Voted down, together with Ship-money: And the King passed the Bill for the *Trienniall Parliament*.

Monopolies & Ship-money Voted down; Also Tunnage and Poundage, the High-commission and Star chamber, Bills for a Trienniall Parliament, and its continuation signed. Ordinance for a new Excise.

In his Seventeenth Year, Tunnage and Poundage were Voted down, together with the Court of *Wards*, *High Commission*, and *Star-chamber*; And the King passed the Bill for Continuation of the *Parliament* then Sitting, during the pleasure of both *Houses*.

In his Eighteenth Year, the *Parliament* Ordered the Monthly Assesment; And the King by Proclamation demanded Ayde of his Subjects against the *Parliamentarians*.

In his Nineteenth Year, the *Parliament* Voted a Tax to be layd upon Beer, and other Potable Commo dities, which was called Excise.

D In his Twentieth Year, an Ordinance was passed for a new Excise upon Allum, Coperas, Munn-mouth Caps, and Hats of all sorts, Hops, Safferan, Starch, and all manner of Silks and Stuffs made in this Kingdome: And for making of *Saltpetre*, and raising of Moneys for Redemption of distressed Captives.

In his One and twentieth Year, An Ordinance passed for giving the *Publick Faith* of the Kingdome, for repayment of publick Debts, out of the Twentieth and Fifth Parts of Delinquents Estates; Also for Authorizing Commissioners to Settle and Regulate the *Heralds Office*.

Bishops and Archbishops Abolishd.

In his Two and twentieth Year, an Ordinance passed for Abolishing Bishops, Archbishops, within *England* and *Wales*, and for selling of their Lands and Possessions to be settled upon Trustees for the use of the *Common-wealth*.

Festivals and Stage plays Abolishd.

E In his Three and twentieth Year, Festivalls and Stage-playes were Abolished by Ordinance of *Parliament*.

And in his last Year, An Ordinance passed for better payment of Tithes and Dues to Ministers and for punishing of Blasphemies and Heresies: And the *Commons* being Resolved upon the Tryal of the King, Voted the Title in Writs, *Carolus Dei gratia &c.* to be altered and referred to a Committee; That the Great Seal of *England* be broken, and Ordered a New Seal, with the Armes of *England*, and the *Harp* of *Ireland*, with this Motto, *The great Seal of England*, And on the Reverse, the Picture of the *House of Commons* Sitting, with these Words, *In the First Year of Freedome, by Gods Blessing Restored, 1648.*

Titles of Writs altered, and a new Seal made

F

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

THe King at his Coronation had Sworn to Maintain Episcopacy, in Observation of which Oath, he was so strictly Exact, that it Involved him in many Troubles, and was the main Cause of bringing him to his End, as will appear in the Sequell: In *England* the Estate of the Church had not the least Wrinkle of difference for divers Years, since the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, in King *James's* time; But in *Ireland*, in the Second Year of this Kings Reign, a Proposition was made, for a further Toleration for Popery, which the *Papists* were willing to buy at a good Price: But the Archbishop of *Armagh*, and the other Protestant Bishops, with Vehemency Protested against it; That that Design was presently quashed.

A Toleration for Popery propounded. Committee for Regulation of Religion.

In his Fourth Year, Sate the Committee for Regulation of Religion, then Endangered by the Two Rocks of *Arminianisme*, and *Popery*.

In his Sixth Year, hapned a notable Contest between the Jesuits, and Secular Priests in *England*, to Reconcile whom, *Panzain*, *Con*, *Rozetti*, and others came over, and spent much Labour in vain: for the Feude in stead of being Extinguished, did rather Dilate it self in *France*, *Flann-ders*, and other Countries.

The Contest between the Jesuits and Secular Priests: The Controverisie about the Sabbath.

In his Seaventh Year, the *Sabbatarian* Controversie waxed very hot, while some Maintained the

the Fourth Commandment to be simply and intirely Morall, and Christians Obliged as well as the Jews, to observe everlastingly that Day. That the *Lords-day* is an ordinary Working Day, it being Will-worship to make it a *Sabbath* by Vertue of the Fourth Commandment: This begat many Disputations, between *Sabbatarians*, *Moderate Men*, and *Antisabbatarians*, some of whom Asserted, That the poor Labourers who had no other time for Diversion, or Recreation, were not so much Obliged to the strictness of the Day, as the Richer Sort. But in *Somersetshire* the Case is Disputed more ruffly, where at their *Church-Ales* and *Wakes*, on that Day they fell to Fightings, which was Suppressed by Order of Judge *Richardson*: This was Interpreted by the Archbishop as an Usurpation upon Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction; And the King himself was troubled to settle this Difference, between these Two Great Men, and so thought good to set forth his Declaration, For tolerating of Sports on the *Lords-day* in the Afternoons, which the *Parliament* afterwards charged home upon his Account. These were but petty Businessses, to that which followed.

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combe.

Ground bore
of Grills where
Lile and Lucas
were shot to
death.

Sights were seen in the Ayre, as Armies fighting one against the other, all looked upon as sad Prefages of the ensuing Broyls. Neither is that strange Thunder and Lightning unworthy of mention, which hapned at *Witbecombe*, in the County of *Devon*, in the Fourteenth year of this Kings Reign, where a Ball of Fire was seen to come into the Church, in the time of Divine Service, whereby Three persons were killed, and Threescore and two hurt, and divers of them having their Linings burnt, though their outward Garments were not so much as Singed, most of the Seats turned up side down, the Pillars, Steeple, and Church more endamaged then Three hundred pounds will suffice to repair.

In his last year, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle* were shot to death, concerning whom, it is credibly reported by Eye-witnesses, that in the place where they fell, there grew no Grasse for sundry years, notwithstanding the Ground round about be very fertill.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE Married *Mary* the Daughter of *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, whose Marriage was Solemnized in the year, 1625. He had Issue by her Four Sons, and as many Daughters; his eldest Son born before the time, was Baptized *Charles*, and lived not above Two hours: His Second Son born, *May* the Twenty ninth, 1630. was also named *Charles*, and afterwards Created Prince of *Wales*. His Third Son was Born, *October* the Thirteenth, 1633. was Baptized *James*, and Created Duke of *Tork*: His Fourth and last Son was Born the Twentieth of *July*, and Christned *Henry*. His Eldest Daughter *Mary* was Born, *November* the Fourth, 1631. and afterwards Married to *William* of *Nassaw*, Prince of *Orange*, by whom she had one Son Named *William*, Heir and Successor to his Father in his Dignities: His Second Daughter *Elizabeth*, the Twenty eighth of *December*, 1635. And his Third Daughter *Anne*, the Seventeenth of *March*, 1636. which both died young: His Fourth and last Daughter was Born, *June* the Sixteenth, 1644. at *Exeter*, from whence she was brought up to *St. James's*, but afterwards Conveyed into *France*, by her Governess, the Lady *Dalkeith*.

Of his Personage and Condition.

His unweariedness in active Exercises.
His Imperfection of speech

His failings in Policy.

His Chastity, Learning, and Civility.

His even and constant Temper.
The unhappy Choice of his Friends.

HE was of a comely Stature, and of an even well timbred Talness, which Assisted him to be Excellent in all Exercises, and therein to be Indefatigable both in Mind and Body; His Hair of a darkish Brown, and somewhat long; One Imperfection he had of Stuttering, which yet might be esteemed a Royall Infirmary, and a Kings Evil, it being much more abundant in the Kings of *France*, and *Spain*, then living; which yet he so ordered, that whereas it substracted from the Eloquence of others, yet it seemed to add some Grace and Ornament to his Speech. He had his failings of Policy: In the First year of his Reign, not so well Versed in the Affairs of State, but that he being put to it, trusted too much to others; And afterwards recovering that Inconvenience, he was so constant to himself, and over-weening, that his Opinions became Resolves: And this was the Reason, that he seldom Granted any thing of Consequence, till too late: And after he had shewed such Signs of Reluctancy, as kept his Parliament and People in continuall Suspition of the Sincerity and Singleness of his Intentions; yet was he ever Eminent for Chastity to his Marriage Bed, very Learned, Affable, and Courteous, and of a most unchanged Mind, in the greatest Changes of his Fortunes; Neither in Prosperity Elevated beyond his Ordinary Temper, nor in Adversity Dejected: But most unhappy in the Mischoice of fit and able Persons to be his best and chiefest Friends, which proved Fatall to him. And lastly, Brought him to that unhappy Catastrophe, which we must now Recite.

Of his Death and Buriall.

His Death was strange, and unparalleled; we may read of many Kings who came to violent Ends, but never any that was so Formally and Solemnly: First, Tryed for his Life, and then Judicially Executed in Publick by his own Subjects.

The House of Commons on the Fourth of *January*, being turned into a Grand Committee, passed these following Votes.

I. That the People under God, are the Originall of all just Power.

II. That the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, being Chosen by, and representing the People, have the Supream Authority of this Nation.

III. That whatsoever is Enacted and Declared for Law by the Commons of England, Assembled in Parliament, hath the force of a Law.

IV. That

A IV. That all the people of this Nation are Included thereby, although the Consent and Concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto.

V. That to raise Armes against the People Representative, or Parliament, and to make War upon them, is High-treason.

6. That the King himself took Armes against the Parliament, and upon that Account is Guilty of the Bloodshed throughout the Civill War; and that he ought to Expiate the Crime with his own Blood.

B

Next an Ordinance for the Kings Tryall was resolv'd on, which on Saturday the Sixth of January, was Ingrossed and Read, and Commissioners were appointed for his Tryall; and on the Munday following, Proclamation was made, That those who had any thing to say against the King, should have a Hearing given them: and this was Proclaim'd first in Westminster-hall, by one Denby, who was Serjeant at Armes to the Commissioners, who Rid into the Hall with his Mace, Attended with Six Trumpeters, and other Officers who also Rode bare into the Hall with him; the Drums of the Guard in the meantime Beating without in the Palace Yard: And the day after, Proclamation was made to the same Effect in Cheapside, and at the Old Exchange; And in order to this Grand Tryall, Hilary Term which usually begins on the Twenty third of January, was Adjourned for Fourteen dayes. The House of Lords refusing to Concur with the Commons in their Ordinance for the Kings Tryall, the Commons Resolve, and Vote;

That all Members and others appointed to Act in any Ordinance, are Impowred and Injoynd to Sit, Act, and Execute, notwithstanding the House of Peers joyn not with them.

The Ministers in generall, and now even the Presbyterians also (heretofore Furious Enemies to the Kings Cause) Declare themselves both in their Pulpits, and by earnest Petitions to the Parliament, Zealous Deprecators of the Kings Death, and every where publickly Protest against this Tryall. The Nobility offer themselves Pledges on the Kings behalf, and the People Universally seem greatly troubled and Astonisht: Notwithstanding all which, the House of Commons and the Army went Resolutely on, and according to Agreement, a High-court of

D Justice was Erected, the Commissioners whereof met in the Painted Chamber, to Consult what Course to take about the Tryall of the King; the Names of the Commissioners were as follow;

Serjeant John Bradshaw President, Lieutenant Generall Oliver Cromwell, Commissary General Iveton, Major General Skippon: Colonels, Thomas Harison, Edward Whaley, Thomas Pride, Isaac Ewer, Richard Ingoldsby, Rowland Wilson, Henry Martin, William Purfrey, Godfrey Boswell, John Barkstead, Harbottell Morley, Major Tomlins, John Hewson, Edward Ludlow, John Haschinson, Robert Tichborne, Owen Row, Robert Lilburn, Adrian Scroop, Richard Dean, John Okey, John Harison, John Desbrough, William Goff, John Moor, Francis Lasfley, Edmund Harvey, John Ven, Anthony Stapley, John Downs, Thomas Hammond, George Fleetwood, James Temple, Thomas Ewait: Esquires, William Hennington, Isaac Pennington, Alderman, Thomas Atkins Alderman, John Blackstone, Gilbert Millington, Cornelius Holland, John Carme, John Jones, Miles Corbet, Francis Allen, Peregrine Popham, John Gowden, Francis Thorp Serjeant at Law, Thomas Challoner, William Say, John Aldred, Henry Smith, James Chaloner, Dennis Bond, Humphrey, Edward Gre, Clemend, John Fry, Thomas Wogan, John Fowke Alderman, Thomas Scot Alderman, Thomas Andrews Alderman, William Coult, Abraham Burre, John Lysle, Nicholas Love, Vincent Potter, John Corbet, Thomas Blunt, Thomas Boon, Augustine Carclanell, John Dukewell, Simon Mayne, David Blagraves, John Down, John Lowns. Officers Attending the Court; Doctor Darislaus, Mr. Ashby Counsellor, Mr. Cook Solicitor, Colonell Humphrey Sword-bearer, Mr. Dendy Jun. Serjeant at Armes, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Broughton, Clerks to the Court. Messengers, Wolfred, Pains, Radley, Powell, Isaac King the Cryer. The Lords that did Sit, Thomas Lord Gray, of Groby, Phillip Lord Lysle. Many besides these were Nominated, as Generall Fairfax, and others, but they refused the Employment.

On Friday the Nineteenth of January, the King was brought with a strong Guard of Horse from Windsor to St. James's, and the next day he was led to his Tryall; In the Morning the Commissioners Met in the Painted Chamber, where they sate awhile in Consultation, from thence they went into Westminster-hall, at the upper end whereof the Fabrick was framed for this Tribunall; the President in his Skarlet Robe had the Sword carried before him by Colonell Humphrey, the Mace by Serjeant Denby the younger, and a Guard to Attend him, consisting of Twenty Men with Partisans: In the midst of the Court was placed for the President to sit on, a Chair of State of Crimson Velvet, with a Cushion thereon of Crimson Velvet, and a Desk before him, on each side were Benches for the rest to sit upon, covered with Skarlet Cloath; the Court being sate, and Silence Proclaim'd, the Hall-Gates were set open, and the Royall Prisoner having been brought from St. James's through the Park to Whitehall, and from thence by Water to Sir John Cotton's House, was thence Conducted into the Hall by Colonell Thomson, and a Guard of Twenty Partisans. At the Bar was plac'd for him a Chair of red Velvet, where after he had look sternly round about him, upon the Court, and up into the Galleries, he sate down without taking the least notice of his Judges, then presently he rose up again, and lookt

downward on the Guards, and the Throng of Spectators: The Commission from the *House of Commons*, by which they Sate, was read by *Phelps* the Clerk, who sate at the Feet of the President, on the right side of the Table (covered with a Turkey Carpet) wherein lay the Sword and the Mace; and after that, was read the Charge against the King, which was to this Effect.

‘**T**Hat the said *Charles Stuart* being admitted King of *England*, and Intrusted with a Limited Power to Govern, according to the Laws, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and preserving their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheless out of a wicked Design, to uphold himself by a Tyrannicall Power, according to his Will, thereby to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People: yea, thereby to make void the Foundation thereof; He the said *Charles Stuart*, for Accomplishing such Wicked Designs, and for the promoting himself, and his Adherents in his and their wicked Practises; Hath Trayterously and Maliciously levied War against the present *Parliament*, and the People therein Represented, particularly, upon, or about the Thirteenth day of *June*, 1643. At *Beverley*, in the County of *York*; That at or upon the Thirteenth day of *July*, in the year aforesaid, in the County and City of *York*: And upon the Twenty fourth day of *August*, in the same year, at the County of the Town of *Nottingham* (when, and where he set up his Standard of War) And on, or about the Twenty third of *October*, in the same year, at *Edgehill*, *Keinton Field*: And upon, or about the Thirteenth day of *November*, in the same year, at *Brandsford*, in the County of *Middlesex*: And at, or upon the Thirteenth day of *August*, 1643. at *Caversham* Bridge, neer *Reading*, in the County of *Berks*; And at, or upon the Thirteenth day of *October*, in the same year, at, or neer the City of *Gloucester*: And at, or upon the Thirtieth day of *November*, in the year last mentioned, at *Newbery*, in the County of *Berks*; And at *Copredibridge*, the Thirteenth, 1644. And the third of *September*, in the same year, at *Boadwin*, and other places neer Adjacent in *Cornwall*: And on the Thirtieth day of *November*, in the year last mentioned, at *Newbery* aforesaid; And on the Eighth day of *June*, 1645. at the Town of *Leicester*: And also on the Fourteenth day of the same Month, in the same year, at *Naseby* Field. At which severall Times and Places, or most of them, and at many other places in the Land, at severall other times within the years aforementioned, as also in the year, 1646. He the said *Charles Stuart*, hath caused many Thousands of the People of this Nation to be slain; And by Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections in the Land; and by Invasions from Foreign Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evill Waies and Means, He the said *Charles Stuart*, hath not only maintained and carried on the said War by Land and Sea, during the years aforementioned; But hath also Revived, or caused to be Revived the said War against the *Parliament*; and the good People of this Nation, this present year, 1648. In the Counties of *Essex*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Suffex*, and *Middlesex*, and in many other Counties in *England* and *Wales*; and also by Sea; And particularly, He the said *Charles Stuart*, hath given Commissions to his Son the Prince, for that Purpose. By the which Cruell and Unnaturall War, by him the said *Charles Stuart* Levied, Continued, and Revived as aforesaid, much Innocent Blood hath been spilt, many Families have been undone, the Publick Treasury Wasted; and Exhausted, Trade Obstructed and decayed, vast Expence and Damage to the Nation Incurred, and many parts of the Land spoyled, some even to Desolation. And for further prosecution of the said evill Designs, He the said *Charles Stuart*, doth still continue his Commissions to the said Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters. All which wicked Designs, Wars, and evill Practises, of him the said *Charles Stuart*, have been, and are carried on, for the Advancing and Upholding of Will, and Power, and pretended Prerogatives to himself, against the Publick Interest, Right, Justice, and Peace of this Nation, by, and for whom he was Intrusted as aforesaid. By all which it appeareth, That he the said *Charles Stuart* hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author, and Contriver of the said Unnaturall War, and thereby Guilty of all the Treasons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damages, and Mischiefs to this Nation, Acted and Committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby.

‘And the said *John Coke*, doth for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the People of *England*, Impeach the said *Charles Stuart* as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtheier,

A 'Murthurer, and a Publick and Implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of England: And therefore prayeth, that the said Charles Stewart, King of England, may be put to Answer all and every of the said Premises; that such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryalls, Sentences, and Judgments may be hereupon had, as may be agreeable to Justice.

The Charge being Read, which the King heard with a Countenance for the most part unalter'd, only at some Passages disdainfully Smiling, the President standing up;

B. Sir, said he, *You have heard your Charge, containing such Matters as appear in it, and in the Close it is pray'd, that you Answer to your Charge, which this Court Expects.*

In Answer to which, the King Askt,

By what Authority they brought to Tryall a King, their most Rightfull Sovereign, against the Publick Faith so lately given him, at a Treaty between Him and his Two Houses? By what lawfull Authority, said he again, more Emphatically; for I am not Ignorant, continued He, *that there are on Foot every where very many unlawfull Powers, as of Thieves and Robbers in the High-way? Moreover he told them, That whatsoever they did, he was resolv'd not to Betray the Charge Committed to him by God, and Confirmed to him by Ancient Descent.*

Then the President told the King;

That he was called to Account by the Authority of the People of England, by whose Election he was admitted King.

D To which the King made Answer;

That the Kingdome descended not to him by Election, but by Hereditary Right derived from above a Thousand years, That by refusing an unlawfull Power, he stood more Apparently then they for the Liberties of the People of England, whose Authority was shewed in Parliamentary Assemblies, but that there appeared none of the Lords, whose presence (and not only theirs, but the Kings also) was required to the Constituting of a Parliament, but that neither One, nor both Houses, nor any Judicatory upon Earth, had Power to Call the King of England to Account, much less some certain Judges Chosen by his Accusers, and Masked with the Authority of the Lower House. That he could not make his Defence, unless they produc'd their Authority, since it would be the same Offence to acknowledge a Tyrannicall Power, as to resist a lawfull One.

The President often Interrupted the Kings Speech, saying;

That they were satisfied with their Authority, and that their present Work to do Justice was upon Gods Authority, and the Kingdomes.

F To which the King urged;

That it was not his own Apprehension, nor theirs neither, which ought to Decide the Matter.

Hereupon the President gave Command, that the Prisoner should be taken away, and remanded into Custody, so the Court Adjourned till the next day following, save one; and this was the Result of the first Daies Tryall.

Two daies after, being the Twenty second of January, the Court met again in the Painted Chamber, and considering the Kings Resolution, and to hinder him from Arguing again, against G the Courts Jurisdiction, they make their Pre-Order;

'That if the King offer to Dispute the same again, the President shall tell him,
'That the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, have Constituted this Court, whose Power may not be permitted to be Disputed by him.

'That if he refuse to Answer, it shall be accounted a Contumacy to the Court.

'That if he Answer with a *Salvo* of his pretended Prerogative, above the Court, he shall

shall be required to Answer positively Yea, or No.

That he shall not have a Copy of his Charge, till he own the Court, and declare his Intentions to Answer.

On the Two and twentieth of *January*, the Court met again, the King was brought to the Bar, and Solicitor *Coke* again Accuses him, and requires, That the King may be put to it, either to give in his Positive Answer, or else the Charge to be taken *Pro confesso*; accordingly the President having in brief repeated the Passages of the last Day, required his Answer: But he persisted firm in the Disowning their Authority, and offered to give in his Reasons for it, saying;

That he less regarded his Life, then his Conscience, his Honour, the Laws, and Liberties of the People; which that they might not all perish together, was a sufficient Reason why he could not make his Defence before the Judges, and acknowledge a new Form of Judicature: For what Power had ever any Judges to Erect a Judicature against their King? Or by what Power, said He, was it ever Granted? Not by Gods Laws, which on the contrary command Obedience to Princes; Nor by the Laws of the Land, which Injoyn all Accusations to be read in the Kings Name: Nor do the Laws give any Power to the Lower House, of judging even the meanest Subject. Nor lastly, Doth their Power flow from any Authority which might be pretended Extraordinary, delegated from People, since they had not asked the Consent so much as of every Tenth Man in this Matter.

The President still Ever and Anon Interrupting the Kings Speech, and telling him, That the Court, abundantly satisfied of their Authority, would not admit of any Reasons that should detract from their Power: At last prest upon him to be mindfull of his Doom; But where, said the King, in all the World is that Court, in which no place is left for Reason? You shall find, Sir, Answered the President, That this very Court is such a One. Then the King still urg'd, That they would at least permit him to Exhibit his Reasons in Writing, which if they could Satisfactorily Answer, he would yeild himself to their Jurisdiction. Hereupon the President growing into Choler, Commanded that the Prisoner should be taken away: Remember, said he then, as he was going away, That it is your King from whom you turn away your Ear; In vain certainly will my Subjects expect Justice from you, who stop your Ears to your King ready to plead his Cause.

The very next Day being the Twenty third of *January*, The King was the Third time brought to his Tryall, where when he came, the Attorney Generall stood up, and addressing his Speech to the President, with a large Preamble, moved for speedy Justice against the Prisoner, saying; That his standing in Contempt, and not Pleading, ought by an Implicite Confession to be taken *Pro confesso*. Hereupon the President stood up, and having put the King in mind of what Mr. Solicitor had moved against him in behalf of the Kingdome, urged him to give his Positive and Finall Answer to the Charge of Treason brought in against him; the King Answered, That having somewhat to say for the Liberties of the People, as he had formerly exprest, he desired to know whether he might freely speak without Interruption, or not: To which the President reply'd, That as soon as he had acknowledged the Jurisdiction of the Court, he should be heard at large, to make what Defence he could for himself, but till then, he was not to be permitted to run into any other Discourses. The King then again made Answer, That he valued not the Charge a Rush, it was the Liberty of the People he stood for; and that for him to acknowledge a new Court, that he never heard of before, was a thing he could not do: for which refusall he was ready to shew his Reasons; if he might but have time Granted him. The President having again told him, That the Court Commanded him to give in his Positive Answer. Brought on one of the Clerks read as followeth;

C H A R L E S S T E W A R T, King of England, You are Accused in the behalf of the Commons of England, of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been Read unto you; The Court now requires you to give your Positive and Finall Answer, either by way of Confession, or Deniall.

But the King still persisted in his first Resolution, alledging, That to acknowledge this new Court, was against the Priviledges of the People; and the Fundamentall of the Kingdome. Then the President commanded the Clerk to Record the Default, and the Guard to take back the Prisoner, which accordingly was done.

But his Fourth and last Tryall was on *Saturday, January* the Twenty seventh. When the Court being Sate, the King again brought to the Bar; yet still refused to plead his Cause before them, but said; He had some things conducing to the good of the People, which he desired

A desired liberty to deliver before the Members of both *Houses*: But the President replied, That it was but a further declining of the Courts Jurisdiction, and a Retardation of Justice. To which the King made Answer; That a short Delay was much more Safe, and Conduceable to the Good of the Kingdome, then to precipitate a dangerous Sentence; And therefore desired, that he might have leave to Withdraw for the present, and they have time to Consider. Accordingly they all Withdraw for half an Hour, and then returned: And the King being demanded what he had more to say? Only Insisted upon being heard before the *Lords and Commons*: Whereunto the Court would by no means Condescend; But forthwith proceeded to pass Sentence of Death upon him: Which Sentence was usher'd in by a large and Elaborate Speech of the Presidents; wherein he first maintained,

B

'That the King ought not to think himself Exempted from the Law, for that the Law was his Superiour; and that the only Estate Superiour to the Law, as being the Parent and Author of it, was the People of *England*: Whose Representative the *Parliament* being the Sovereign and Highest Court of Justice, were to be lookt upon as the Supream and most Authentick Expounders of the Law, since they are the sole Makers of it: He confest that the King hath not *Parem in Regno*, and that he is *Major singulis*, but that he is *Minor universis*, & in exhibitione juris quasi minimus. Next he called to mind, how the Barons in their Wars stood out for their Liberties against those Kings that did Invade them, and play the Tyrants, calling them to an Account for those things which they did amiss: And thus, said he, We see the Nobility then took upon them *Frangere*, to put a Curb to the Exorbitant Actions of their Kings, and if they are now unmindfull of their Honours and the Kingdomes Good, certainly the *Commons* of *England* will not. He said also, That the King is but an Officer in Trust, and takes his Oath at his Election to be true to the People, and that *Parliaments* were Instituted as Remedies, in case this Oath be not duly observ'd, to adjudge the Wrongs done by the King to the People. He shewed, That this last *Parliament* had been Call'd upon the same Occasion; Namely, To Redress the Grievances and Miscarriages of his Government, and that he had done all that in him lay to Subvert this *Parliament*, and take away their Priviledges. Next, he endeavoured to Evince that his Proceeding was not without President, as was alledged by the Kings Party, but that it had been the Custome of other Nations in former Ages; As *France, Spain, Germany* (from whence he yet brought no Examples for want, as he said, of time) to call their Kings to an Account in case of Misgovernment: More especially, he remembered that the Ancient Law of *Arragon*, whereby the Justice of *Arragon* hath power to Reform whatsoever Wrong is done by the King, and also to prosecute against him for his Miscarriages in Governing. Also that the *Tribunes of Rome*, the *Ephori of Sparta*, were of the same Nature. Next, he omitted not to mention the frequent Practice of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, in Ancient Times to Punish, Depose, and put to Death their Kings. And moreover he Instanc'd in our own Kingdome of *England*, the Case of *Edward the Second*, and *Richard the Second*; And whereas the King had stood upon his Descent, the President Asserted, That although many times it had Succeeded according to Descent, yet the Kings of *England* ever held the greatest Assurance of their Titles when it was Declar'd in *Parliament*; And however the next Person in Blood hath been still Design'd, the People may upon just Cause refuse him: He Affirmed the Liege, or Contract between King and People to be Reciprocall, a Bond of Perfection from the King of Subjection from the People; which first, said he, being broken *Subjectio trahit*. Lastly, He went about to prove wherein the King stood Guilty of those Crimes, for which in the Charge he was termed a *Tyrant, Traytor*, and a *Murderer*, wishing him seriously to consider of his own Estate, and of the Guilt of his Mis-doings; and telling him, That they ought not to decline the doing of their Duty, in the Administration of Justice even to Himself: And that whatsoever Revenge was Threatned by his Party, they were Resolv'd, by the Grace of God, to go on with it.

G

The King once more desired, That he might be heard for the clearing himself of those heavy Imputations which they had layd to his Charge; but the President told him, that since he had been pleas'd to Disavow them as a Court, it would be Improper for them to Hear him, nor could they admit of any further Delay: And thereupon he Commanded the Clerk to read the Sentence, which was done in manner following.

WHEREAS, The Commons of England in Parliament Assembled have appointed them a High Court of Justice; for the Trying of Charles Stewart, King of England; before whom he had been Three times Convented: And at the First time, A Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanours was Read in behalf of the Kingdome of England, &c. (Reading the Charges) To which Charge, He the sayd Charles Stewart, refused severall times to Answer. For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth Adjudge the sayd Charles Stewart, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a Publick Enemy, to be put to Death, by Severing his Head from his Body. ^A

This Sentence being Read, was approved by the Members of the Court, by holding up their Hands; The King offered to Speak, but he was instantly Commanded to be taken away, and the Court broke up: And the King was Conveyed back to Sir Robert Cotton's House, Sir Hardress Waller, Commissary Generall Iretton, Harison, Dean, and Okey, Colonels, were appointed to consider of the Time, and Place, for the Kings Execution: By whom it was resolved, that he should be Executed on Tuesday, January the Thirtieth, between Ten, and Two of the Clock, upon a Scaffold covered with Black, in the open Street before Whitehall Banqueting-house. In the mean time, one of his Chaplains, Doctor Juxton, Bishop of London, was allowed him to Administer those Spirituall Helps, which should be futable to his present Condition: But he would by no means admit of Mr. Marshall, Mr. Nye, Mr. Carrell, Mr. Salway, and Mr. Dell, whom the Court had Ordered to Attend him for that Purpose. January the Twenty seventh, the King lay at Whitehall, and the next day being Sunday, the Bishop of London Preached before him in his Chamber, and the same day the Members of the Court, at the Chappell of Whitehall. Munday following, he was conveyed to St. James's, where his Children had leave to Visit him, but stayed not long: Being come, he gave them his Blessing, and told them, That it was the last time they should ever see him; And withall, he Commanded them to look upon Prince Charles, hereafter not only as their Brother, but their Sovereign: And told the Duke of D Glouster, that he heard the Army intended to make him King, a Thing not for him to take upon him, his two Brothers being before him, and therefore Commanded him upon his Blessing, never to Attempt it, unless it lawfully Redounded upon him; And so they parted from him, with his Command to send his Blessing to his other Children beyond the Seas, and Commendation to all his Friends. The Dutch Ambassadour, in behalf of his Majesty, made Intercession to the Parliament for the Kings Life, but prevailed nothing; For Tuesday the Thirtieth of January, having Prayed and received the Sacrament, he was Attended with a Regiment of Foot, and a Guard of Partisens through the Park, with the Bishop of London on the one Hand, and Colonell Tomlinson on the other: He bids them go faster, telling them, That he now went before them to strive for a Heavenly Crown, with less Sollicitude than he had often times bid his Soldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem. Coming to Whitehall, he spent above two Hours in his Devotion, in his Cabiner-Chamber, eating only a bit of Bread, and drinking a Glass of Claret Wine; Neer One of the Clock, he was Conveyed through the Banqueting-house, and past through the great Window, unto the Scaffold; Where being nothing Daunted at the sight of the Block and Axe, nor to behold his Executioner (who was more possessed with Fear, then He, and therefore Disguized with a Vizard), He Addressed his Speech to Colonell Tomlinson, as followeth. ^C

I shall be very little heard of any Body else, I shall therefore speak a Word to You here: Indeed I could have held my peace very well, if I did not think, that holding my peace, would some Men think, That I did submit to the Guilt, as well as to the Punishment: But I think it is my Duty to God first, and then to my Country, to cleer my Self, both as an Honest Man, A good King, and A good Christian. ^E

I Shall begin First, With my Innocency; And, In Troath, I think it not very needfull for me to Insist long upon this: For all the World knows, That I did never begin a War with the Two Houses of Parliament; And I Call God to Witness, unto whom I must shortly make an Account, That I did never intend to Incroach upon their Priviledges: They began upon Me; It is the ^G

^A the Militia they began upon: They Confess the Militia was Mine, but they thought it fit to have it from Me. And to be short, If any body will look to the Dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and Mine, And likewise to the Declaration, he will see cleerly, that they began these Unhappy Troubles, not I. So as that for the Guilt of these Enormious Crimes that are layd against Me, I hope that God will cleer Me out. I will not (for I am in Charity) And God forbid that I should, lay it upon the Two Houses of Parliament,

^B there is no Necessity of Either, I hope they are free of this Guilt; But I believe, that ill Instruments between Them and Me, have been the chief Cause of all this Blood-shed: So that as I find my Self cleer of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too; Yet for all this, God forbid, that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say, that Gods Judgments are Just upon Me: Many times he doth pay Justice, by an Unjust Sentence, that is Ordinary: I will only say this, That unjust Sentence that I suffered to take Effect, is Punished

^C by an unjust Sentence upon Me. So far I have sayd, to shew you, That I am an Innocent Man: Now for to shew you, That I am a good Christian: I hope there is a good Man, that will bear Me Witness, That I have forgiven all the World; And even these in particular, that have been the chief Causers of my Death: Who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity must go further, I wish that they may Repent, for Indeed they have committed a great Sin in that

^D Particular; I pray God with St. Stephen, That this be not layd to their Charge: And withall, that they may take the Right Way to the Peace of the Kingdome; For my Charity Commands Me, not only to forgive particular Men, but to Endeavour to the last Gaspe, the Peace of the Kingdome. So (Sirs) I do wish with all my Soul: (I see there are some here, that will Carry it further:) that they endeavour the Peace of the Kingdome. (Sirs) I must

^E shew you, both how you are out of the Way, and put you in a Way. First, You are out of the Way, for certainly all the Wayes you ever had yet, as far as I could find by any thing, is in the Way of Conquest: Certainly this is an ill Way, for Conquest, in my Opinion, is never just, except there be a just and good Cause, either for matter of Wrong, or A just Title; And then if yee go beyond the first Quarrell that yee have, that makes it unjust at the End, that was just at First: for if there be only Matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery. As a Pirate said to Alexander, That He was the great Robber Himself, &

^F himself was but a petty Robber. And so, Sirs, I do think, for the Way that you are in, you are much out of the Way: Now, Sirs, to put you in the Way, believe it you will never go Right, nor God will never Prosper you, untill you give God his Due, the King his Due (that is, My Successor) And the People their Due; I am as much for them as any of you. You must give God his Due, by Regulating Rightly his Church, according to the Scripture, (which is now out of Order.) And to set you in a Way particularly, now I

^G cannot: But only this, A Nationall Synod freely Called, freely Debating among themselves, must Settle this: When every Opinion is freely and cleerly Heard. For the King, Indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land will cleerly Instruēt you for that; Therefore because it Concerns mine own Particular, I only give you a Touch of it. For the People; Truly I desire their Liberty.

and Freedome as much as any Body whomsoever: But I must tell you, that ^A their Liberty and their Freedome consist in having Government under those Laws, by which their Lives and theirs may be most their own; it is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Sovereign are clean different things; And therefore untill you do that, I mean, that you put the People into that Liberty, as I say, Certainly they will never Enjoy themselves.

Sirs, It was for this that now I am hither Come, for if I would have given ^B Way to an Arbitrary Way, for to have all Laws Changed according to the Power of the Sword, I need not have come here; And therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not layd to your Charge) That I am the Martyr of the People. Introath Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer, I will only say this to you, that I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this, what I have said, in a little better Order, and have had it a little better Digested then I have done, and therefore I hope you will Excuse Me; I have delivered my ^C Conscience, I pray God you take those Courses, that are best for the Good of the Kingdome, and your own Salvation.

This his Speech did deeply Affect the Stranders by, who yet for fear of the Soldiers, durst not make any great shew thereof: Then having put up some short Prayers, He openly Declared, He died a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of England, as he found it left him by his Father. After which, he Discourted a little with the Bishop, to whom he gave his George for the Prince: And having his Hair put up under his Night-Cap, and being Uncloathed to his Sky-colour Wascot; I go, said he, from a Corruptible, to an Incorruptible Crown; where no ^D Disturbance can be: And so after some few Ejaculations, layd down his Head upon the Block, and stretched out his hands (The Sign) had it Severed from his Body at one Blow, by the Vizarded Executioner, who presently held it up, and shewed it to the People: His Head and Trunk were afterwards Coffined in Lead, and Exposed to Publick View at St. James's; till, lastly, The Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hartford, the Earl of Southampton, and the Bishop of London, begged the Body to Bury it, which they Conducted to Windsor Chappell-Royall, and there Interred it, with only this Inscription upon the Coffin; CHARLES, KING OF ENGLAND, MDC XLVIII. Princepsne prisco natus ab Inacho; Nil Interest, an pauper, & Infima de gente: Sub dio Jacebit, Victima nil miserantis Orci. ^E

Of Men of Note in his Time.

^F Men of Valour in his Time, were so frequent, That to Enumerate them all, were to fill a Volume; Yet we shall Particularize in some of the Chief, the rest may be seen in the History of this Kings Reign. We shall begin with Sir Charles Morgan, whose Fortitude is sufficiently Renowned in Germany, where, with Six thousand English Men, He more Troubled Count Tilly, the Imperiall Generall, then the King of Denmark could do, with all his Protestant Confederates. Then Sir John Burroughs gave Eminent proofs of Courage in the Expedition of Cales and Rhe: The Earl of Strafford was, Ex utroque, A Valiant Soldier, and of such State Abilities (sayes the King) as might make a Prince rather Afraid, then Ashamed, to Employ him in the greatest Affairs. But when the Civill Wars broke out, the English Nation was then divided into Royallists, and Parliamentarians: Of the Royallists, the most Famous were the Earl of Lindsey Cleaveland, Northampton, and Carnarvan; The wise and Learned, Lord Falkland, the Lords, Ashley, Goring, and Capell, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Thomas Glenham, Sir Henry Gage, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Bevil Grunvill, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Sir Richard Grenville, Sir John Winter, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lyffe, Colnell John Arundell, Colnell John Trevanion, and Sir William Vavasor.

Of the Parliament Side were the Earls of Essex, and Manchester, the Lord Fairfax, and his Son Sir Thomas, Lieutenant Generall Oliver Cromwell, Major Generall Phillip Skippon, Lieutenant Generall Thomas Hammond, Commissary Generall Henry Ireton, Major Generall Edward Massey, Governour of Gloucester, Colnell Robert Blake Governour of Taunton, and afterwards Admirall, Colnell John Lambert, Colnell Charles Fleetwood, Colnell Thomas Rainsborough, Colnell John Desborough, and Sir William Waller. Colnell Richard Ingoldsby, Colnell Thomas Morgan, and Colnell Poyne, Major Generall Brown.

In Ireland, The Earl of Ormond, the Lords Moor, and Inchiquin, Sir Henry Tichburn, Sir Charles Coote, Colnell Michael Jones, and Colnell George Monk, Eternized their own Memories by notable Performances against the Rebels. ^G Of

A Of the *Scots*, the most Famous for the King, were the Earls of *Forth*, and *Montross*, with the Lords *Gurdon* and *Ogleby*: for the Covenanters, were the Earl of *Leven*, and his Nephew *David Lesley*, with the Colonells, *Meldrum*, *Strawburn*, *Ker Montgomey*, *Brown*, *Middleton*, *Bayley*, and *Hurrey*, and the last, though not the least, was the Lord *Douglas*, in the King of *Sweden*'s Service.

As there was this great Plenty of Martiall Men, so there was no less Plenty of Learned Men; *William Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Bishop *Prideaux* of *Worcester*, and Bishop *Hall* of *Exeter*, whole Abilities and Learning are Conspicuous in their Treatises, Doctor *Reynolds* of *Christ's-church* in *Oxford*, Doctor *Collins*, Doctor *Comber* of *Kings Colledge*, and *Trinity* in *Cambridge*. But He whose Fame swallowed up all the rest, was *James Usher*, that Incomparable Archbishop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, Famous and Renowned both at Home and Abroad, for his universall Learning, Piety, Prudence, and Moderation; Archbishop *Spotswood* of *St. Andrews* in *Scotland*, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, Mr. *John Selden*, Doctor *Preston*, and Profound Doctor *Hammond*. The Worth and Excellent Parts of which Men, are sufficiently Portraited by their Admired Works: But we shall be Injurious to Physitians, if we forget Doctor *Harvey*, the Ornament of our Age and Country, by whom that deep and abstruse Mytery of the Circulation of the Blood, was first Published to the World, since universally acknowledged and approved by the ablest Practitioners of that most necessary Science. Poetry was never more Replendent, nor never more Graced; wherein *Johnson*, *Silvester*, *Shakspeare*, *Beaumont*, *Fletcher*, *Shirley*, *Broom*, *Maffinger*, *Cartwright*, *Randolph*, *Cleaveland*, *Quarles*, *Carew*, *Davenant*, and *Sucklin*, not only far excelled their own Countrymen, but the whole World besides. And in a Word, we may truly say, That in this Kings Reign, *Bellona* and *Minerva* contended, who should have the most Adorers: And these Lands for their Happines might have proved the Envy of *Christendome*, if it had not been for: *Discordia demens Vipereum vittis innexa cruentis.*

Of the Solemn League and Covenant.

AFTER Men of Note, it will not be amiss to Insert a thing of Note. At what time the *Scots*, in Opposition to the *English Liturgie*, and *Service-book*, obtuded upon them by Archbishop *Laud*; And the *English Prelacy* had set up their Four Generall Council-Tables: They then framed their Solemn League and Covenant, to be taken throughout all the Nation: But when the *Parliament of England* desired the Assistance of that Kingdome, a Confederacy was then entred into, between both Nations, for Defence of their Liberties both Civill and Ecclesiasticall, against all men that should endeavour Oppression, whether it were the King himself, or any other. One of the Conditions of this Confederacy was, That the People as well of *England* and *Ireland*, as of *Scotland*, should take this Nationall Solemn League and Covenant, which followeth.

E WE Noble Men, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all Sorts in the Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; By the Providence of God Living under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion: Having before our Eyes the Glory of God, and the Advancement of the Kingdome of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, the Honour and Happiness of the Kings Majesty, and his Posterity, and the true Publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every ones private Condition is Included. And calling to Mind, the Treacherous and Bloody Plots, Conspiracies, Attempts, and Practises of the Enemies of God, against the true Religion and Professors thereof in all Places, especially in those Three Kingdoms, ever since the Reformation of Religion; And how much their Rage, Power, and Presumption are of late, and at this time Increased and Exercised: Whereof the Deplorable Estate of the Church and Kingdome of *Ireland*, the distressed Estate of the Church and Kingdome of *England*, and the dangerous Estate of the Church and Kingdome of *Scotland*, are present and publick Testimonies. We now at last (after other means of Supplication, Remonstrance, Protestations, and Sufferings) for the Preservation of our selves, and our Religion, from utter Ruine and Destruction, according to the Commendable Practise of the chief Kingdoms in former Times, and the Example of Gods People in other Nations, after mature Deliberation, Resolved and Determined to enter into a Mutuall and Solemn League and Covenant, wherein We all Subscribe, and each one of us for Himself, with our Hands lifted up to the most high God, do Swear,

‘First, That We shall Sincerely, Really, and Constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our severall Places and Callings, the Preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, against our common Enemies; The Retormation of Religion in the Kingdomes

'Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches, and shall endeavour the Churches of God in the Three Kingdomes, to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, Directory for Worship, and Catechising; That We and our Posterity after us, may as Brethren live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may Delight to Dwell in the midst of Us.

'*Secondly*, That We shall in like manner, without Respect of Persons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (*That is*) Church-Government by Archbishops, their Chancellors and Commissioners, Deans, and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiasticall Officers depending on that Hierarchy, Superstition, Heresie, Schisme, Profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine and the Power of Godliness, least We partake in other mens Sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their Plagues: And that the Lord may be One, and his Name One in the Three Kingdomes.

'*Thirdly*, We shall with the same Sincerity, Reallity, and Constancy in our several Vocations, endeavour with our Estates and Lives, Mutually to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of the *Parliament*, and the Liberties of the Kingdomes; And to Preserve and Defend the Kings Majesties Person and Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdomes; That the World may beare Witness with our Consciences, of our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts or Intentions to diminish his Majesties just Power and Greatness.

'*Fourthly*, We shall also with all Faithfulness endeavour the Discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindring the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdomes from another, or making any Faction, or Parties among the people, contrary to this *League and Covenant*; That they may be brought to publick Tryall, and receive Condigne Punishment, as the Degree of their Offences shall require or deserve, or the Supream Judicatories of both Kingdomes respectively, or other having power from them for that Effect, shall judge Convenient.

'*Fifthly*, And whereas the Happines of a blessed Peace between these Kingdomes, denied in some times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto Us, and hath been lately Concluded and Setled by both *Parliaments*, We shall each one of Us, according to our place and Interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoynd in a firm Peace and Union to all Posterity; And that Justice may be done upon the wilfull Opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent Article.

'*Sixthly*, We shall also according to our places and Callings in this common Cause of Religion, Liberty, and peace of the Kingdomes, Assist and Defend all those that enter into this *League and Covenant*, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; And shall not suffer our Selves Directly or Indirectly, by whatsoever Combination, Perswasion, or Ferrou, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make Defection to the contrary Part, or to give our Selves to a detestable Indifferency or Neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerneth the Glory of God, the good of the Kingdomes, and Honour of the King; But shall all the daies of our Lives, Zealously and Constantly continue therein, against all Opposition, and promote the same according to our Power, against all Lets and Impediments whatsoever: And that We are not able our Selves to Suppress or Overcome, We shall Reveal or make Known, that it may be timely prevented and removed. All which We shall do as in the sight of God.

'And because these Kingdomes are Guilty of many Sins, and Provocations against God, and his Son *Jesus Christ*, as it is too manifest by our present Distresses and Dangers, the Fruits thereof, We profess and decleare before God and the World, our

unfained

A^c unfained Desire, to be Humbled for our own Sins, and for the Sins of these King-
 domes, especially, that we have not as We ought, valued the Inestimable Benefit of
 the Gospel: That We have not laboured for the Purity and Power thereof; And
 We have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of
 him in our Lives, which are the Causes of our Sins and Transgressions so much
 abounding amongst Us; And our true and unfained Purpose, Desire, and Endeav-
 our, for our Selves, and all others under our Power and Charge, both in publick
 and private, in all Duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our Lives, and each
 one to go before another in the Example of a reall Reformation, that the Lord may
 B^c turn away his Wrath and heavy Indignation, and Establish these Churches and King-
 domes in Truth and Peace: And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty
 God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the same, as
 We shall Answer at that Great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed;
 Most humbly Beseeching the Lord to strengthen Us by his holy Spirit for this End,
 and to Bless our Desires and Proceedings, with such Success, as may be Deliverance
 and Safety to his People, and Encouragement to other Christian Churches, Groan-
 ing under, or in danger of the Yoke of Antichristian Tyranny, to joyn in the same
 or like Association and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the
 C^c Kingdome of *Jesus Christ*, and the Peace and Tranquillity of Christian Kingdomes,
 and Common-wealths.

I thought it not Impertinent to bring in at large this Solemn *League and Covenant*, since it is
 known to have been a Matter of no less Remark and Consideration, then what ever this Age
 hath produced extraordinary, and however it hath been layd aside in this Nation for many years,
 as a thing out of Date; Yet for the time it was received by us, with high Veneration and esteem
 from our Brethren of *Scotland*, it wrought wonderfull Effects, and is to this Day the Great
 Diana of the *Presbyterian Cause*: Nor is it strange, considering the Mutability of Affairs be-
 D^c low, That those things which at one time have been held most Sacred and Inviolable, should
 afterward give place to higher Dispensations; however it be, it hath the Fortune to be the
 Epilogue to this present History, which seems to have been the Prologue to the late Wars.

And thus you have Exactly, though in Brief, described the Life, the (for the most part)
 troublesome Reign, and the Untimely and Deplorable *Death*, of this, once Great and pow-
 erfull *MONARCH*: a Prince he was, not ill beloved of his Subjects whilst alive; And
 although by some his Memory is Branded with the Name of *Tyrant*, yet by others it receives
 the Stile of *Saint*, and *Martyr*: Nor could I ever perceive by the generall Suffrage of people,
 E^c but that he is accounted to have been a Pious Man, and good KING, though some Miscar-
 riages might happen in his Reign, through his overmuch Lenity, and trusting too much to some
 about him, who sought their own Interests, more then the Publick Good.

Among all the Elegies and Epitaphs that have been written of him, I judge this following
 (written by an unknown Author) Worthy (for it is, *Much comprehended in a Little*) to
 be hereunto Adjoynd.

Within this Sacred Vault doth ly,
 The Quintessence of Majesty,
 Which being set, more Glorious Shines;
 F^c The best of Kings, best of Divines,
 Britains Shame, and Britains Glory,
 Mirrour of Princes, Compleat Story
 Of Royalty; One so Exact,
 That Praise comes short, and doth detract.
 If you would see Him to Endure,
 Behold him in his Portraicture;
 G^c If such another you will find,
 It must by Angels be Design'd.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in his Reign.

In his first year 1625.
 Sir Allen Cotton was Mayor.
Thomas Westraw, Ellis Crisp, died.
Jo. Pool, and *Christopher Cletherow* after, Sheriffs

In his second year 1626.
 Sir *Cuthbert Hacket* was Mayor.
Edward Bromfeild, Richard Fenn, Sheriffs,

In his third year 1627.
 Sir *Hugh Hamersley* was Mayor.
Maurice Abbot, Henry Garraway, Sheriffs,

In his fourth year 1628.
 Sir *Richard Dean* was Mayor.
Rowland Backhouse, William Alton Knight and
 (Baronet, Sheriffs,

In his fifth year 1629.
 Sir *James Cambell* was Mayor.
Humphrey Smith, Edmund Right, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year 1630.
 Sir *Robert Ducie*, Barr. Mayor.
Arthur Abdy, Robert Cambell, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year 1631.
 Sir *George Whismore* was Mayor.
Samuell Cranmore, Henry Prat, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year 1632.
 Sir *Nicholas Raynton* was Mayor.
Hugh Perry, Henry Andrews, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year 1633.
 Sir *Ralph Freeman*, & Sir *Tho. Mouldston*, Mayor
Gilbert Harrison, Richard Gurney, Sheriffs,

In his tenth year 1634.
 Sir *Robert Parkhurst* was Mayor.
John Heylord, John Cordell, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year 1635.
 Sir *Christopher Cletherow* was Mayor.
Thomas Soame, John Gaire, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year 1636.
 Sir *Edward Bromfeild*, Mayor.
William Abell, John Garrat, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year 1637.
 Sir *Richard Fenn* was Mayor.
Thomas Atkin, Edward Rudge, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year 1638.
 Sir *Maurice Abot* was Mayor.
Isaac Pennington, John Wollaston, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year 1639.
 Sir *Henry Garraway* was Mayor.
Thomas Adams, John Warner, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year 1640.
 Sir *Edmund Wright* was Mayor.
John Towse, Abraham Reynardson, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year 1641.
 Sir *Richard Gurney* was Mayor.
George Garret, George Clarke, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year 1642.
Isaac Pennington was Mayor.
John Langham, Thomas Andrews, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year 1643.
 Sir *John Wollaston* was Mayor.
John Fowke, James Bance, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year 1644.
Thomas Atkin was Mayor.
William Gibbs, Richard Chambers, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year 1645.
Thomas Adams was Mayor.
John Kendrick, Thomas Foot, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year 1646.
 Sir *John Gaire* was Mayor.
Thomas Cullam, Simon Edmonds, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year 1647.
 Sir *John Warner* was Mayor.
Samuell Avery, John Bide, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth year 1648.
 Sir *Abraham Reynardson* was Mayor.
Thomas Vyner, Richard Brown, Sheriffs.
Thomas Andrews Mayor, in room of *Reynardson* sent to the Tower.

A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
CHRONICLE
OF
ENGLAND,

To the End of the Year M. DC. LVIII.

BEING A FULL
NARRATIVE of the AFFAIRS
OF
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND;

More especially Relating unto the


TRANSACTIONS
OF
CHARLES,
Crowned KING of the SCOTS at SCONE,
On the First Day of JANUARY, 1650.



L O N D O N :

Printed by E. Cotes, and are sold by G. Saubridg at the Bible on Ludgate-hill,
and T. Williams at the Bible in Little-Britain without Aldersgate. M. DC. LX.

THE
P R E F A C E.

 T happening to be my Province, To write of the Actions and Fortunes (or rather Misfortunes) of a Great and Illustrious Prince, born in an unhappy age, and under malevolent Stars ; I shall indevor to observe that Impartiality which best becomes every one that undertaketh ought of History, faithfully delivering matters of Fact, without any needless Comments, favouring either of Prejudice or Favour: and as I intend not to Vindicate any Action which hath been repugnant to the Publick Decrees and Edicts of the State; so neither can I in justice detract from the Natural Virtues and Laudable Qualities of any one though otherwise Declar'd an Enemy, in this present History. I am necessarily confined to a very scant and narrow compass of time, in regard it was the space but of a very few years, in which he had the occasion and opportunity to discover himself in Personal Action, the remainder (and that the far greater part) of His life having been Obscured, and the native generosity of His soul eclipsed by a tedious and miserable Exile, wherein, nevertheless (as he was not wanting formerly to give testimony of His Valour and Prudence when occasion serv'd) it must be confest that He hath manifested such a fortitude in suffering with constant Equanimity, as no lesse befits an Heroick Spirit then that of doing bravely; considering, no doubt, That there have been few ages since the beginning, wherein, in some parts of the World or other, the greatest Potentates of the Earth, have not, either by their own Voluntary Resignation, or by Inevitable Constraint, been brought to the like, or worse, Exigence of Fortune; whereof, to passe by the Examples of *Darius Codoman K. of Persia*, *Dioclesian the Emperor*, *Perseus* and *Gentius Kings of Macedon* and *Illyrium*, *Zenobia Q. of Palmyrene*, *Conradin K. of Sicily*, *Ferdinand of Naples*, *Lodovick Sforza D. of Millain*, *Osman the Great*, *Ottoman Pr.* with a multitude of others; I shall more particularly bring instances from this our own Nation, and principally in *Edgar Atheling*, who, being heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, as Grandchild of *Edmund Ironside*, and designed by *Edward the Confessor*, to succeed him, dying childless, was, nevertheless, excluded from his Right of Suecession, by the Usurpation of *Harold Earl Goodwin's Son*,
(H h h 2) and

The Preface.

and afterwards, by the Invasion of the *Norman Conquerour*, forced to retire into *Scotland*, having twice attempted, with the help of some of the chief *English Nobility*, to recover the Kingdom; yet at last he had a plentiful Allow assign'd him by King *William*, and from thenceforth led a private and quiet Life in the Country. Worse was the Fate of King *Edward the Second*, surnamed of *Caernarvon*, who, at the instigation of his Wife, was devested of the Royalty he had enjoy'd for 19 years, and lived for sometime a most miserable life in Prison, and in the end suffered death, after a most cruel and barbarous manner, by the hands of his Keepers. Neither is the strange Vicissitude of King *Henry the Sixth's* condition to be forgotten, who, overcome in Battel by Great *Warwick*, and *Edward Earl of March* (the latter of whom became thereby himself King of *England*, the Fourth of that Name) when he had been 38 years King, spent the remaining Twelve of his life a Prisoner (excepting one half year, in which he recovered his Kingdom, and again lost it) and at last was stab'd to death in the Tower by the bloody Duke of *Glocester*, who afterwards made himself King, by the Name of *Richard the Third*. Lastly, One next in Quality to a King, *H. Holland*, D. of *Exeter*, falling with K. *Henry* and the House of *Lancaster*, was brought to so low an Ebb, that, bare Legged and in Raggs, he begged in the Low-countries to sustain life. Thus we see the common Calamities of man-kinde are no less incident to the Mighty of the World; then to the meanest in Degree; But of the misfortunes that attend this Prince, of whom we now write, I am easily induc'd to think he undergoes not any greater then this, That he is chiefly accompanied, and for the most part abetted by a Generation of men; who suffer themselves to be carried upon every little gust of hope, unto such a height of empty confidence, as leads them inevitably to their own confusion: like the *French* of old at the Battel of *Agin Court*, who, while they thought of nothing more then of Spoyle and Prey, became themselves a Prey to K. *Henry's* Soldiers: and of late years the *Scots* at *Dunbar*, through whose secure relying upon an advantage gain'd, *Cromwells* Army was lifted from the depth of Despair, to a most signal Triumph. Since therefore it is not in the power of mortal Industry to avert an evil Fate impending, to conserve a fortunate Estate once had, or, being lost, to regain it, if the unalterable Decree of Heaven gain-say, he certainly then loseth least of his Happiness, who least gives way to Cares and Anxieties of minde for what he hath lost: and if of the Greatest that fall low, the greater be the misery, the greater also ought their hearts to be to bear it, especially fortifi'd with this Consideration, That it is not Crowns and Scepters, nor the external Pomp of a brave and glorious Court, but it is a Regal Heart that best shews a King.



A
CONTINUATION
OF THE FORE-GOING
CHRONICLE:
Being a full Narration of the AFFAIRS

OF
England, Scotland and Ireland,
From the Death of the late *King CHARLES*, to
the latter end of the Year 1658.

More especially Relating unto the TRANSACTIONS

OF
CHARLES,
Eldest Son to the late KING, Crowned KING of the
SCOTS at SCONE, on the First Day of *January*, 1650.

F



AFTER the Decollation of *Charles*, the First of that Name, King of Great Britain, which was done on the Thirtieth of *January*, 1648. (a Thing which gave no small Amazement and Grief to a great part of the People throughout the Nation) And of the Three Lords who had taken up Armes for the late King, *Hamilton*, *Capell*, and *Holland*: The Supream Authority then immediatly Constituted out of a Select Number of the Commons in *Parliament*, joyn'd with the General and chief Officers of the Army, proceeded next to an Alteration of the Form of Government, from a *Monarchy*, to a *Free State*, resolving not only to exclude the

Royall Line, but utterly to Abrogate *Kingly Government*, and together with that the, *House of Peers*. To this end it was Ordered, That all publick Writings should be Issued out under a new Test and Style, That a New Great Seal should be made, the Old one being broken, And that the Inscription and Stamp of the Coyn should be chang'd: Also it was Enacted and Proclaim'd, That none upon pain of High-treason, should presume to Declare, or publickly to promote *CHARLES STEWART*, Styled Prince of *Wales*, Eldest Son to the late King, or any of the rest of his Children, to be King of *England*. Nevertheless there were not wanting

The Govern-
ment of the
Nation alter-
red from a
Monarchy to a
Common-
wealth.

H h h

those

those who shew'd themselves resolute in Asserting the Title of Prince *Charles* to the Crown of *England*, as appears by this following Proclamation framed by them, which was Printed and Dispersed in severall places of the City of *London*.

A Proclamation of certain Royallists proclaiming under hand *Pr. Charles* to be King of *England*.

WTE the Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Freeholders, Merchants, Citizens, Yeomen, Seamen, and other Freemen of *England*; Do according to our Allegiance and Covenant by these Presents, Heartily, Joyfully, and Unanimously, Acknowledge and Proclaim the Illustrious *CHARLES*, Prince of *Wales*, next Heir to his Father King *Charles* (whose late wicked Mother, and all Consenters thereunto, We from our Souls Abominate) to be by Hereditary Birth-right, and lawfull Succession, rightfull and undoubted King of Great Britain, &c. And that We will Constantly B and Sincerely in our severall Places and Callings, Defend and Maintain his Royall Person, Crown, and Dignity, with our Estates and Lives, against all Opposers, whom hereby We Declare to be Enemies to his Majesty and Kingdomes: In Testimony whereof, we have caused these to be Publisht throughout all Counties and Corporations of this Realm; The First Day of February, in the First Year of his Majesties Reign.

The Marquis of *Ormond's* Army Defeated before *Dublin*.

The Siege of *Londonderry* rais'd by Sir *Charles Coote*. *Cromwell* lands with an Army in *Ireland*. *Tredah* taken by Storm.

Pr. Rupert's Fleet Blockt up in the Harbour of *Kingsale*. He is Enterprised by the King of *Portugall*, which breeds a Quarrell between that King and the *English* Commonwealth. The States of *Scotland* consult about a Treaty with *Pr. Charles*.

But so totally was the Kings Party suppressed, in all parts of the Nation, that this Proclamation was of no Effect, none daring in the least manner to appear in behalf of the Royall Interest. Nor had the *Scots* yet absolutely entertain'd Prince *Charles* for their King, only *Ireland* was yet in a manner wholly at his Devotion; in many places whereof he was Proclaimed King: The C Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Inchequin*, and others, had at the first considerable Forces in the Field, and all the Garrisons in that Island held out for him, *Dublin* only and *Londonderry* (the Two most Important places excepted) besides the Islands of *Jersey*, *Gernsey*, *Scilly*, and *Man*, which places serv'd as a Retreat for that small Fleet that was left him, being the Remainder of those Ships which had formerly Revolted to him from the *Parliaments* Navy. Thus while his Affairs were in a posture not altogether desperate, the Marquis of *Ormond* with a Gallant and well-furnish'd Army (a Gallanter and Richer had scarce been seen in all the late Wars) layd Siege to *Dublin*, on the One and twentieth of June, 1649. but that City being re-inforc'd with a supply of 3000 Horse and Foot, sent them over from the *Parliament*, and a much greater Army suddenly expected; the Besieged took the Courage first in small parties, and afterwards D (having discovered the Security and careless posture of the Enemy, a thing most Destructive in Martiall Affairs) with their whole Strength Sallied out upon them, not fearing to venture even upon the main Army; and so far did Fortune favour this their bold Attempt, that in a short while they utterly Defeated them, with little Loss on their own Side, killing and taking Prisoners divers of the most eminent Commanders, the Marquis of *Ormond* not without much difficulty, saving himself by Flight: the Lord *Inchequin* had Advanc'd a little before with a party of Horse towards *Munster*, so that he was not present at this Engagement: The Siege of *Londonderry* was also rais'd by a resolute Sally of Sir *Charles Coote*, forcing Sir *Robert Stuart*, and Colonell *Mervin* to Retire. Immediately upon this Success, not to give the Royal Party time to recover Strength, all Disturbances being quieted in *England*, and the Discontented Faction E of the Army called *Levellers*, being suppressed at *Buryford*, by Generall *Fairfax*; *Oliver Cromwell* then Lieutenant Generall of the *Parliaments* Army, landed in *Ireland* with a considerable power of Men, and Invested with the Title and Authority of Lord Governour, or Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and presently after him followed his Son-in-law Major Generall *Ireton* with about Forty Sail of Ships. Soon after their Arrival, *Droghedab* was Attackt by the Lord Lieutenant, who within a short while took it by Storm, and put Sir *Arthur Aston*, and all that were within the Town to the Sword. Then follow'd from time to time the taking of a Number of considerable Towns and Castles, in all parts of *Ireland*, besides severall Field Battels gained over the Lord *Inchequin*, the Lords *Ards* and *Clanduboy*, with Lieutenant Generall *Farrell*, and others of the Kings party by the Lord *Broughill*, Sir *Charles Coote*, Colonell *Venables*, *Zanchy*, *Reynolds*, and *Hewson*: So that in all less then a years time, all *Ireland* was in a manner totally subdued to the power of the *English* Commonwealth; to which the *English* Plantations in *Virginia* and the *Caribe* Islands refusing all Obedience and Subjection, publickly own'd the Royall Interest, whereupon they were by the *Parliament* Interdicted all Traffick and Commerce, and thereby driven to great Straights; and soon after a Fleet of Ships from *England* was sent against them, under the Command of Sir *George Ayscough*, whereby in a short while, they were absolutely quell'd and brought to Conformity. Prince *Rupert* who had been Constituted Admirall of Prince *Charles*'s Fleet, having for a while much infested the Coasts of *England*, and taken many rich Prizes, was at length blockt up in the Harbour of *Kingsale*, by some of the *Parliaments* Ships, and the Town being suddenly after taken by *Cromwell*, the Prince forc'd to G leave Three of his Ships behind him, had enough to do, making all the Sail he could, to get clear off with the rest: It was thought safest at that Exigence of his Affairs, to Steer his Course for *Lisbone*, where he met with an Entertainment according to his Expectation, and was receiv'd into the Protection of King *John* of *Portugall*, which was an Occasion of a great Contell between that King, and the State of *England*.

All this while the *Parliament*, *Assembly*, and Committee of Estates of *Scotlands*, were in Consultation about a Treaty with Prince *Charles*, whom (whether to Advance their own Interests thereby,

A thereby, or really intending his Good) they had resolved (though upon certain Conditions to Own and Declare for their King, presently after his Fathers Death; ever since which time, those Brethren (for so they were termed) who had been so firmly Confederated with the *English Parliament*, became thenceforth Disavowers of their Proceedings, and entertain'd, not obscurely, Thoughts of Hostility against them, as will hereafter more plainly appear: Only in this one particular, they Sided with the *English Parliament*, That they endeavoured as much as might be to Depress and Discourage the Malignant Party (so those were called, who taking part with the Royallists in *England*, and other places, were the most zealous and professed Voraries to the Princes Cause, and who indeed were most intimately Favoured by him) With these they refus'd to have Intercourse, nor would they in any of their Transactions with the Prince, admit them into their Councils: There were also of the *Scots* some so strictly Devoted to the Kirk and Covenant, that they only intended the Advancement of them, and minded not any other Interest either of King, or *Free State*, but strenuously oppos'd them both, of which Faction Colonell *Straubern*, and Colonell *Kerr* were Two principall Men: Nor were there wanting in that Nation such as held secret Correspondence with the Army, and power of *England*. Of such a Quadruple Division did *Scotland* at that time Consist; but they were most considerable both for Number and the Power they held in the *Parliament* and *Committee of Estates*, who persisting in their Intentions of Address to their King continued yet firm to their Kirk and Covenant, rather endeavouring to draw him over a Proselyte to them, then for his sake to Abandon them.

C As for the *Royallists*, they conceiving themselves the most constant and reall Assertors of the Kings Cause (whereas they of the Covenant, in seeking unto him, sought their own Advantages by him, not intending to admit him but upon their own Terms: As, That he should Sign their Covenant, Submit to the Kirk Censure, Renounce the Sins of his Fathers House, and the Advice of his Mother: With things of the like Nature) sought to raise a Considerable Party for him by their own Endeavours and Contrivances, and that chiefly under the Auspices of the Marquis of *Montrose*, who having been Commanded by the late King, at the Instigation of the Covenantors to quit *Scotland*, and to cease from Armes, began now to appear again, having receiv'd a Commission from Prince *Charles*, to raise Forces for him in *Holland* and other parts: This the Covenanters, however they could not choofe but know of, yet dissembling, it seems, their knowledge of it, they went on in their Overtures of Treaty with the Prince, who on the other side, finding those of the Covenant to be in a better posture and capacity to help him, then those of his own party, who were in all places at a low Ebb; and considering that his expected Levies would be but a weak Foundation to rely upon, did not think it safe to reject the Overtures that were made to him by the *Scots*, from whom, during his Abode at *St. Germain* in *France*, he expected Letters which were preparing to be sent him from the *Parliament*, the Copy of which Letters are said to have been, before-hand, conveyed to him by a private Agent residing at *Edenburgh*, and a Councell being held about them, it was thought fit that the Modell of an Answer should be fram'd to be in a readines against they came.

Montrose's commission from Pr. Charles to raise Forces for him.

D The Prince having long expected the *Scots* Message at *St. Germain*, resolved upon a removal from thence to the Isle of *Jersey*.

E A little before his Departure out of *France*, the Duke of *York* came to him, and was Visited by the *French King*, and Cardinall *Mazarine*, of whom he humbly Implored Ayde in behalf of his Brother: Whereunto the Cardinall made a very specious Answer, promising all the Favour and Assistance that could be, as soon as the King should have the power and opportunity to serve him: In the mean time, the Duke had a Present given him of 10000 Crowns.

The Duke of *York* implores Aid of the *French King* in behalf of the Pr. his Brother. He is presented with a rich Present by the Cardinall. Pr. Charles removes out of *France* into the Island of *Jersey*

About the beginning of *September*, Prince *Charles* accompanied with his Brother the Duke of *York*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, his whole Retinue amounting in all to about 300 persons, landed in the Island of *Jersey*, having a little before his departure from *St. Germain*, Confer'd the Order of the Garter upon Prince *Maurice*, Prince *Edward*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*; and the same Honour was designed for the Marquis of *Ormond*.

Upon his first Arrivall he was Proclaimed King, and the Lord *Ferman* formerly Created Earl of *Yarmouth*, made Governour of the Island, under whom Sir *George Carteret* was Constituted Deputy Governour: *Guernsey* being possess'd by the *Parliaments* Forces, all except *Cornes Castle*, A Declaration was thought fit to be sent thither, to Invite the Governour and People of that Island, to Submit to the Prince his Obedience: But neither did this Invitation any whit avail, nor those Opportunities that were lookt for, succeed, for the gaining of *Dartmouth*, and other places in the *West* by the help of the Levellers, who at that time had made a Defection from the Army, but were immediately Suppress'd and brought to nothing.

The *Committee of Estates* at *St. John*, having been a long time in Debate, about the Letter to be sent to Prince *Charles* their designed King, and about a fit person to be sent with it unto him; they at length made choice of Mr. *George Windram Laird* of *Libberton*, who all the while shew'd much unwillingness to take that Employment upon him; and desired to have been excus'd: so that much Importunity was us'd to bring him to accept of it; nor had he been prevailed with, but that they condescended to remit of the strictness of their Demands, and the matter of the Covenant.

Forces land in the Isle of *Orkney*, and in the North of *Scotland*.

About the same time there Landed some few Forces in the Isle of *Orkney*, sent from the Marquess of *Montrose*, besides some that came out of *Ireland* into the North of *Scotland*, with

Sir James Montgomery: for the opposition of these Forces; the Scots began to make preparations, notwithstanding that at the same time they were upon terms of Treaty with their King, for whose Service these Forces were Design'd, having long since Excommunicated Montros, they also gave strict Order for the suppressing of a certain Declaration which he had caused to be published in Scotland, for the justifying of his Proceedings

Mr. Windram
Lord of Liber-
ton, sent Com-
missioner
from the E-
states of Scot-
land to Prince
Charles the
Scots King.
The Message
sent by the
Scots to their
King.

On the Five and twentieth of September, Windram was dispatcht away with his Message to the Scots King; he first put in at Zealand, where he lay for some time, expecting a convenient Passage over to Jersey: After his Arrivall, he waited for an Audience, till an Agent that had come from Ireland was dismiss'd, and then being admitted to the Princes Presence to deliver his Message, he presented him with the Desires and Offers of the States of Scotland, which were to this Effect.

'I. That his Majesty would Sign the Solemn League and Covenant of the Three Kingdomes, and pass an Act for all Persons to take it through the Kingdome of Scotland, and Ratifie all that had been done there concerning the same.

'II. That he would pass divers Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, which were Ratified by their two last Sessions: As for his Approbation of their Disclaiming Duke Hamiltons Design, For the receiving of the severall Acts made by the English for the Militia, For the Kings of Scotland to have no Negative Voice in that Parliament.

'III. That he would withdraw his Commissions to the Marquis of Montros, for raising of Forces to be sent over from any Parts beyond the Seas, into the Kingdome of Scotland, and that he would give present Order for the stopping thereof.

'IV. That he would put away all Papists from about him, and let none be of his Councell but known Protestants.

'V. That he would appoint some place about Holland to Treat with Commissioners from the Estates of Scotland, who would then send a Splendid Deputation of Eminent Lords of Scotland to him, to Treat and Conclude there upon all particulars, and that from that time that he should come into Holland, they would provide for him what should be necessary to make him and his Train to Reside there in a Regall Manner.

'VI. That he would give a speedy Answer to their Desires.

These Propositions from the Scots having been receiv'd and read, long it was ere a perfect Answer to them could be agreed on, both in respect of the different Sense, that those about the Prince had of them, and in respect of the Resolves that were to be expected out of France, and other Parts, concerning them, the Prince having it seems Oblieg'd himself not to make an absolute Conclusion in any Matters of Grand Importance, untill he had first acquainted the Queen his Mother with them and expected her Advice about them; Montros being also a Person so much concern'd, it was thought highly expedient to send with all speed that might be, to acquaint him with this Business.

In the mean time, serious and frequent Debates were held among the Lords of his Highness's Councell at Jersey, about the Scots Message; some there were (the most Cordiall Favourers, as it was thought, of Montros's Designs) who Counsell'd the utter rejection of these Propositions, as Dishonourable and Disadvantageous to his Majesties Affairs, but the greater part of those about him were of Opinion, That the safest way would be to accept of those Conditions that were offer'd, and to make a speedy Agreement with that Party of Scotland that was the most prevalent, and by whom he had far greater probability of obtaining the Crown than by Montros's Designs, which were full of Hazard and Uncertainty: to the same effect likewise came Letters from the Queen, urging, that if the Scots Propositions seem'd at present too severe and Insupportable, there might hereafter be offer'd Opportunity enough, as soon as he had obtained the Kingdome, to free himself, at least in some measure from the Inconvenience of them; so that whatever his own Repentments were (as haply those Conditions were not very agreeable to his Mind and Inclination) the main of his Counsells tended to this; That according to the Exigence of his present Affairs, it was absolutely necessary to Comply and Agree with the Kirk of Scotland, and how little shew there was of Contradiction in Montros himself, appears by his own Letter to the Scots King, the Substance whereof was;

I. That his Majesty would hearken to the Scots Commissioners, so far, as if possible, to make an Agreement with them, so that he might be honourably and with Safety admitted into Scotland.

II. That

- A II. That he would not break off with the Kingdom of Scotland, but (so that himself might be safely restored to his Rights and Dignities) that he might give Consent to have him Banish'd the Kingdom of Scotland, that so himself might receive no prejudice by him.

To which the King returned this Answer.

That he had found him so faithfull all along, and to have perform'd such Eminent Services, both to his Father, and to himself, that he could not in Justice, or in Honour leave him; and therefore desired him to urge him no further to it.

Much Debate there was in the Councell, about an Answer to be drawn up to the Scots Message, some Petitioning the King to Reject the Scots Demands; as the Lord Byron, the Lord Cleveland, the Lord Gerard, and others: alledging, That the Scots how fairly soever they promis'd, would in all likelyhood when they had him in their power, be induc'd either out of Fear, or for hopes of Gain to deliver him up to the English, as they had formerly done his Father. Others on the contrary (as the Lords, Piercy, Wentworth, and Wilmot, and the Governour Sir George Carteret) perswading him by all means not to break off with the Scots, but to make use of all Opportunities and Offers that presented themselves to him, to get Footing in Scotland. This late Advice being in all likelyhood the most safe, and most Consistent to Reason, and being backt by the great Sway and Power which the Queen had with her Son, was after long Consultation, and many Reasons urged on both sides, carried by the suffrage of the Major, and the most prevalent Party: yet it required some considerable time before the Answer could be compleated that was to be returned by the Lord of Liberton, who since he could not be dispatcht homeward, so soon as was expected, Sir William Flemming was sent as Agent before hand to Edensburgh, from whence he was to give Advice of the State of Affairs in Scotland, that thereby the Councell might the better know how to proceed in the framing of the Answer.

Besides these Transactions with the Scots, great hope there was still remaining, of raising a sufficient Force in England, among the Friends and Favourers of the Royall Interest there: Upon this Design severall were sent from Jersey into the West of England, among whom Two principal Men, Sir John Berkley, and Colonell Slingsby, who went up and down among their Correspondents, earnestly stirring them up to take Armes for their Prince, were accidentally discovered by a Country Fellow, and thereupon notice being given to the Committee of the County, were enquired after, and Apprehended at Sir Charles Trevannions House, by one Captain Keckwisch, and sent Prisoners to Truro in Cornwall.

Sir John Berkley, and Col. Slingsby apprehended in England.

The Scots King had at this time Ambassadors Residing in the Courts of severall great Princes and States, as the Emperour, the King of Spain, the Duke of Muscovy, the State of Venice, the great Prince of Turkey, and others, to Sollicite their Ayde and Contribution for the recovery of his Fathers Kingdom. Many Complements no doubt they received, and many fair Pretences of their good Will to help him; but for the most part little or nothing beside, so little regarded is the Petition of a Person Deprest in Fortune, though a Prince: The most considerable Embassie, and which was thought most probable to take Effect was that to the King of Spain, which how it Succeeded will appear by the Answer to the Address made by the Lord Cottington Ambassador to that King, when at length he was admitted to have Audience; The Substance of the Embassie was:

Ambassadors from the Sc.K. resident in the Courts of severall Princes.

I. That the Parliament of England having been in Armes against his Father, had prevailed against him, and caused him to be put to Death.

The Lord Cottington's Embassage to the K. of Spain.

II. That he being the Son and Heir of the sayd Charles late King of Great Britain, and Ireland, was yet kept out of his Kingdomes by the aforesaid Parliament.

III. That he desir'd his Neighbourly Assistance, and that he would afford him what Ayde he could, to Establish him into his Rights and Dignities in the Kingdomes.

To this the King of Spain made Answer;

I. That he was sorry for his Fathers ill Success, wishing that he had been more Prosperous.

The King of Spains Answer.

II. That he Condol'd with him for his Fathers Death, and was much Affected with Sorrow, at the manner of it.

III. *That concerning the Difference between him and the Parliament, and the Rights A*
on the one or the other Side; they being Matters out of his Territories and Jurisdiction,
he could not take Cognizance of them, nor should he meddle therein; But for any thing
within his own Dominions, he should be ready to do him what lawfull Favour he could.

It is in vain to sue for help to those, against whose Interest it is to afford it. This King, notwithstanding the Sorrow he profest for King Charles his Misfortune and Death, thinking it to be most for his Profit to Comply with the prevailing Party, was the first that own'd the Power of the *English* Common-wealth, and shew'd himself desirous to enter into a League with them.

Guernsey Island
 attempted by
 the Scots K.
 Frigors.

Guernsey Island being a place of Importance, and which would have much Conduc'd to Prince Charles his Advantage, preparation was made for the Attacking of it with a Fleet of his Frigors, and his Friends within the Island, upon secret Intimation of the Design were ready to have Contributed their Assistance, but Colonell Russell who was Governour for the Parliament, having a fresh Supply sent him of about Five hundred Men, not only Secur'd the Island, from all danger of an Assault, but gave a strong Alarm to Cornet Castle, whereof Colonell Burges was appointed Governour in the Room of Sir Baldwin Wake, who was Drowned: Nor was it thought safe to continue much longer in the Isle of Jersey, in regard there was a great talk of a Fleet of Ships ordered by the Parliament to be suddainly set out for the Reducing of that Island: So that Care was taken for the speedy dispatch of the Answer to the Committee of Estates of Scotland; To which end, the King and his Lords sat every day close in Councell about it, and though an absolute Resolve could not then be concluded touching every particular of the Scots Message, yet great Diligence was used to deal so effectually with the Laird Liberton, that at his Return he should so represent all things, and with such Advantage, that they might tend to a perfect Agreement, which already was brought so far, that a Treaty was desired to be shortly held at Breda, for the more ample discussing of all matters yet in Controversie. The Answer being drawn up, together with a Letter directed to a Committee of the Kirk Assembly, the Laird Liberton took his leave, and departing from Jersey into France, took Shipping at Havre-de-grace, for Scotland: And now it was also judg'd high time for the King and his Attendants to leave Jersey, and betake themselves to some more secure Place of Abode; to that purpose severall Reasons were presented to him by the Lord Hopton, and others of his Counsell.

The L. Liberton
 departs
 from Jersey to
 return for
 Scotland.

I. *That whereas there was a Considerable Fleet of the Parliament of England, come already to Portsmouth, with Store of Provisions; it was necessary to prevent the danger that might fall upon them, in case the sayd Ships should make an Attempt upon the Island, which was the more probable, because there were already Men Landed in Jersey.*

II. *That if they should lye under that Hazard, they knew not where to expect Relief, except all other Services should be neglected, and Prince Rupert and Montros called thither, which would be the Ruine of their Designs.*

III. *That their Removall would give great Satisfaction to the Kingdome of Scotland, and be an Encouragement to their Friends in England.*

IV. *That thereby they should be the more free from Hazards and Dangers, both as to themselves and others that should make Addresses to them.*

The Sc. King
 leaves Jersey,
 and returns
 into France.

These things being Maturely Considered, a speedy removall out of the Isle of Jersey was resolved upon, and from thence the King went back again into France, where he Resided with his Mother, the late Queen of England, till the time appointed for the Treaty at Breda drew neer.

Immediately after the Departure of Windram, a Letter was sent away to Montros, to acquaint him with the Result of these Transactions at Jersey; which Letter was as followeth,

Most Dear and Well-beloved Cousin,

The Sc. K. Let-
 ter to Montros.

WE have received Letters from our Kingdome of Scotland, of which you receive herewith a Copy, by which Our Subjects Demand of Us, That We would please to acknowledge for lawfull, their Parliament, and particularly the two last Sessions of that Assembly, which being obtained of Our Grace, they offer to send Us their Deputies, with full Commission to Treat with Us, of the means to re-establish Peace and Obedience in that Kingdome. We have made them an Answer, That We have made known to their Envoy, the place where We desired their Deputies should come to Us with all diligence: And to the end you should not apprehend that

A^c that by Our Letters, or by the Treaty, We had any Design to hinder the Affairs We
 ' had Committed to you, We have thought fit to let you know, that as We judge the
 ' Levies you have made for Our Service, to have been a powerfull Motive to Oblige
 ' them to send their Deputies, and to enter into Treaty with us; So We also believe, that
 ' the progress you shall make in your generous Designs, will dispose them to Treat
 ' with the more Moderation, to the end the whole Realm may again happily return
 ' under our Obedience. We assure you we have not the least thought to derogate
 ' from that ample Commission which we have given you, nor do diminish that Au-
 ' thority in which We have Invested you by Our Letters Patents; And We do pro-
 B^m mise you also, if it shall come to pass, that We shall enter into any good Intelligence
 ' with our Subjects, We shall have so much Care of your proper Interest, that all
 ' the World shall see how much We esteem your Person, and what Confidence We
 ' have in your Conduct and your Courage, whereof not only the late King Our Fa-
 ' ther, but Our Self also have receiv'd proofs both by what you have done and suffered
 ' for Us; Meantime, you shall understand that We have qualified the Assembly of
 ' Our Subjects, with the Appellation of the Committee of Estates, which We have
 ' done only for this Treaty, which if it shall not succeed as We desire; as We know
 ' already this Qualification of the privy Signet does not at all Authorise them to be
 C^such: So We shall then forthwith Declare for what We hold them, notwithstanding
 ' this Title which We have given them, both for their own proper satisfaction, and
 ' as also to make known to all the World, that We desire to bring back our Subjects
 ' of the Kingdome of Scotland to their Duty, rather by wayes of sweetness and Amity,
 ' then by the Rigour of Our Armes, if their Obstinacy and the Injustice of their De-
 ' mands should constrain Us to recover it by force. We therefore do hereby give you
 ' full Power to proceed Vigorously in your Enterprises, not doubting, but all Our
 ' Loyall Subjects of Scotland will joyn themselves with you, and by that means, all
 D^those who are otherwise disposed, will submit themselves to reason in that Treaty
 ' which We now accept, or shall be forc'd thereto by Armes.
 ' To this We permit you to publish these Presents, and to Communicate them to
 ' such as you shall judge fit. So We pray God to preserve you most Dear Cousin.

Written from Jersey, 30
 of January, 1650.

The Laird *Liberton* being returned to *Edenburrrough*, great expectation there was of what
 E Answer he brought from the *Scots King*, to the Propositions that had been sent him, and
 what likelihood of his Compliance with them: To particular persons that enquired any thing
 of him, concerning the Result of his Negotiation, he answered with a politick Reservedness,
 as not intending to Impart the utmost that he knew, only in generall terms he spoke as hand-
 somely as he could in Favour and Advantage of the Prince, and of his Inclination to Correspond
 with them in all things which he thought just and reasonable. Moreover affirming, that he had
 Declared this to be his Resolution, *To do for, and stand by the Kingdome of Scotland in an especiall*
manner. This gave occasion to people to pass their Censures upon the Laird *Liberton*, according
 to their severall Fancies, some saying, that this Embassie of his had made him a Compleat
 Courtier; others, that by his long Converse with the Royall Party, and the private Instru-
 ctions of some of the Councill at Jersey prevailing with him, he was himself become a
 F Royallist.

The L. *Liberton*
 Arrives at
Edenburgh.

As soon as the Committee of Estates and Assembly of the Kirk were met, he delivered his
 Message and Letters to them from their Declared King, acquainting them also by Word of
 Mouth, how far he seem'd Inclined to Condescend to their Propositions, Namely,

He delivers
 his Message &
 Letters to the
 Committee of
 Estates and
 Assembly of
 the Kirk.

As to the Ratifying all that the Parliament of Scotland did in their Two last Sessions, so far as
 concerns the Kingdome of Scotland. That there be a generall Act of Oblivion: And that Montrois
 and those of Duke Hamilton's Engagement bear no publick Office without Consent of Parliament.
 And for the Concluding of a perfect Agreement, if it were possible, with his Subjects of Scotland, he had
 willed and appointed a Solemn Treaty to be held at Breda, upon the Fifteenth of March next ensuing.

© The Form of the Message to the Committee of Estates, was as followeth.

For the Committee of the Estates of Scotland,

CHARLES R.

WE have received your Letters lately presented unto us, by Mr. Windram of
 Liberton, and we accept Graciously all the Expressions of Affection and Fidelity
 therein

The Sr. R.
 Message to the
 Committee of
 Estates.

therein contained towards us, with your tender Resentment of our present Condition, and A the just Indignation which you profess to have against the Execrable Murder of your Father; And we believe that your Intentions are as full of Candor towards us, as we are and alwaies really have been desirous to settle a clear and right Intelligence between us and our Subjects of our Ancient Kingdome of Scotland, which may be an assured Foundation of their Happines and Peace for the time to come, and an Effectuall Means to root out all the Seeds of Animosity and Divisions caused by these late Troubles. And also to reunite the Hearts and Affections of our Subjects one to another, and of them all to us their King and lawfull Sovereign; to the end that by their Obedience to our Royall and just Authority, we may be put into a Condition to maintain them in Peace and Prosperity, and to B Protect them in their Religion and Liberty, as it appertains to us, according to our Charge and Office of a King. And as we have alwaies resolved to Contribute what ever is to be done by us to obtain these good Effects, and for the just satisfaction of all our Subjects in this Kingdome.

We have now thought fit upon the return of Mr. Windram, to Command and desire you to send unto us Commissioners sufficiently Authorized, to Treat and Agree with us, both in Relation to the Interest and just Satisfaction of our Subjects there; as also concerning the Ayde and Assistance which in all Reason we may expect from them, to bring and reduce the Murderers of our late most dear Father of happy Memory, to Condign Punishment, and to recover our just Rights in all our Kingdomes. And we will that they attend us on the Fifteenth Day of the Month of March, at the Town of Breda, where we intend to be in Order thereunto: And in Confidence of a Treaty, as also to make known to you, and to all the World, that we sincerely desire to be agreed; We have resolved to Address these unto you, under the Name and Title of a Committee of Estates of our Kingdome of Scotland; And will, and expect that you use this Grace no otherwise for any Advantage, to the prejudice of us, or our Affairs, beyond what we have given this Qualification and Title for, Namely, only, For the Treaty, and in Order to it; Althoug we have D Considerations sufficient, and very Important to Dissuade and Oblige us, to do nothing in this kind Antecedently at this time. Also we hope the Confidence which we Declare to have in your clear and Candid Intentions towards us, will furnish you with strong Arguments, to form in your selves a Mutuall Confidence in us, which by the blessing of God Almighty, by your just and prudent Moderation, and by that greatest desire that we have to Oblige all our Subjects of that Kingdom, and by the Means of the Treaty which we attend and hope for, maybe a good Foundation of a full and happy Peace, and an assured Security to this Nation for the time to come, which we assure you is wished of us with Passion, and which we shall endeavour by all means in our Power to Effect. E

Their Consultations about it.

To the same Effect also was the Letter to the Committee of the Kirk, which as soon as they met was delivered to them; the Message having been received and perused by the Committee of Estates, they choose out of themselves a Sub-committee, consisting of Nine Lords and Burgeses, to consider what was most expedient to be done therein, and to present their Opinions to the whole Committee of Estates, which not long after Conven'd again for the receiving of the Reports from the Sub-committee, and so to prepare and state the Matter, that it might be presented to the Parliament of Scotland, which was shortly to Assemble: And moreover for the more speedy and effectuall carrying on of the Business, there was afterwards F Chosen a Joynt Committee, out of the Committee of Estates, and that of the Kirk by common Consent, to consider what was to be done, about sending of Commissioners to their King, and so to make Report, the One to the Committee of Estates, the Other to the Committee of the Kirk. Much Debate there was, and it is said, much Clashing between those of the Committee of Estates, and those of the Kirk, in regard the last Sort being more Rigid and Jealous of their Kings Designs, would have had new Propositions drawn up, much higher by far then any thing that had been formerly presented; As that if he came into Scotland, he should be altogether guided by them, and he should cast off Montros, and all others of their Enemies: With other things of the like Nature; but those of the Committee of Estate were the more prevalent, and at length, the Matter was accorded between them, and Commissioners were joyntly Chosen by them to G be sent to their King: Those sent from the Committee of Estates, were the Earl of Castles, the Lord Loshian, the Laird Bursley, and the Laird Liberton, Sir John Smith, and Mr. Jeoffres, those from the Committee of the Kirk, were Mr. Broady, Mr. John Lawson, and Mr. James Wood.

Commissioners sent to Treat with the Sc. K. at Breda.

The Commissioners Arriving at Breda, before their King was come thither, went the next day to meet him on the Way, and at Berghen-ap-Zoom, they met and came together to Breda, on the Sixteenth of March; on the Eighteenth they were Visited by the Earls of Landerdales, Callender, and Dumferling, and the next day they were Conducted by the Lord Wentworth Master of the

the

A the Ceremonies, in the Kings Coach, which was sent to receive them unto a Chamber, where the King sat ready to give them Audience, while the Lords of his Councell, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen were present; The Earl of Castles made his Address in the name of the rest of the Commissioners, and presenting the Message from the Committee of Estates, spake to this Effect.

The Earl of Castles his Speech to the Se. K.

‘That the Kingdome of Scotland upon his late Message, together with the Confid-
‘eration of all former Overtures with him, have now again sent to him these Propo-
‘sitions, which they humbly tender to his Majesty; Not that they have thoughts to
‘force him to a Compliance, through his Necessity, to his prejudice, or weary him
B ‘by Importunities; but by making their Loyall Addressees to him, by this their hum-
‘ble Submission, in which, their Desires, they hope, will appear so reasonable and
‘just, that he will soon condescend unto them: which they humbly beg at his hands.
‘Assuring him that by that means he will be most powerfull in the Advancing and E-
‘stablishing his Throne, it being the Nature of his Loyall Subjects, and all truly No-
‘ble Minds, to be soonest overcome with such Allurements.

‘That in these their humble Addresses, they did manifest to the World their Loy-
‘alty and Constancy to him, neither was it their purpose to Flatter, but to be Faithfull
‘and Free. That if he would please to Condescend to what was propounded by the
C ‘Kingdome of Scotland, it would make him happy, and give them some hopes to live
‘at Peace, under the shadow of the Wings of his Government.

Then the Commissioners from the Kirk presenting themselves, one Mr. Levinston made a
short Speech, in which, He prest his Majesty to hearken to the joynt Desires of the Estates and Kirk
of Scotland, that so he might enjoy the Blessing of God, and be received by his People in Comfort and
Peace, to promote the Work of the Lord, and make them happy.

Mr. Levinston's Address to him.

Afterwards their Commissions being Demanded, they produced them, and at the same time
delivered him the Propositions and Letters from the Estates and Kirk of Scotland, the Propo-
D sitions were as followeth;

‘I. That all those who have been, and continue Excommunicate by the Kirk of
Scotland, may be removed from having Access to the Court.

The Propo-
sitions of the
Estates and
Kirk of Scot-
land.

‘II. That he would be pleased to Declare, that he would by Solemn Oath, under his
‘Hand and Seal, allow the Nationall Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League
‘and Covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and that he would prosecute the
E ‘Ends thereof in his Royall Station.

‘III. That he would Ratifie and Approve all Acts of Parliaments, enjoying the
‘Solemn League and Covenant, and Establishing Presbyterian Government, the Di-
‘rectory of Worship, the Confession of Faith, and Catechisme in the Kingdome of
‘Scotland, as they are already approved by the Generall Assembly of the Kirk, and by
‘the Parliament of that Kingdome. And that he would give his Royall Assent to the
‘Acts of Parliament, enioyning the same in the rest of his Dominions; and that he
‘would observe the same in his own Practice and Family, and never make Opposition
‘therein, or endeavour any Change thereof.

F ‘IV. That he would Consent and Agree, that all Matters Civill might be Determi-
‘ned by the present and subsequent Parliaments of the Kingdome of Scotland, and all
‘Matters Ecclesiasticall by the ensuing Generall Assembly of the Kirk, as was former-
‘ly Condescended and Agreed to by his late Father.

After the reading of these Propositions, and the Letters, the King returned Answer:

That he would take these things into Consideration, and doubted not to give them such
a full Answer, as should give them and his Kingdome of Scotland ample Satisfaction.

The Se. K. Answer.

G And so they were for that time dismiss.

In this Treaty at Breda as formerly in those Overtures at Jersey, were many Demurs in regard
of Montross his Interest, and the Power that his chief Friends and Sticklers had at Court, and
haply it was by their Intigation, that it was further demanded of the Scotch Commissioners by
their King;

Whether

Whether these Papers they had delivered to him, contained all Particulars which they had to Propound A or Desire? Whether they had Power to Recede from any Particular proposed, or to be proposed? Also what they had further to propound, for the carrying on of his Service against England.

To which they Answered; That they had acquainted him with the utmost of their Power and Instructions.

Then followed great Debates on both Sides, concerning the severall Heads of the Treaty; The main thing stuck at by the Scots King, was, the Business of the Covenant, which was as mainly pressed upon him by the Commissioners, who also gave a solemn Visit to the Prince of Orange, desiring him to be a Mediatour betwixt them and their King, and it is said, that they endeavoured to have transfer'd the Treaty to the Hague, as hoping to find there more effectually wayes for a Mediation, which Intention of theirs notwithstanding was soon altered. About the same time, the Scots King withdrawing himself for awhile from Breda (perhaps to Consult with the Prince of Orange, off the Queen of Bohemia, or some other of his Friends, what were best for him to Resolve on) gave occasion to the generality of people to suspect that he had a Resolution to break off the Treaty; but by his quick Return thither again, it appear'd only to have been Intermitted, and not quite broken off; for then they renew'd their Consultations, and the rest of the Propositions were taken into Debate; as, That for the Confirming of all that had been done by the Parliaments of Scotland in some late Sessions: And For the not admitting Montros, or any of his Adherents into that Kingdome.

The Earl of Carnwarth and Mr. Murry arrive at Breda, with further Instructions to the Scots Commissioners.

There likewise came the Earl of Carnwarth, and Mr. Murry of the late Kings Bed-chamber, from Scotland, with Letters containing further Instructions from the Committee of Estates, to the Commissioners at Breda.

In the mean time, the Earl of Landerdale, and other Scotch Lords that were of the Court were still earnestly labouring with their King, to bring him to an absolute Condescension to the Scots Desires; the like also did the Lords, Piercy, Wilmot, and others of his Councell: so that what with the assiduous Sollicitations of these Lords, and the Consideration of the tottering posture of his Affairs abroad, both in Ireland, Montros's Army, and the Navy Commanded by Prince Rupert, he was so far wrought upon, as that he judg'd it his most convenient Course to come to a speedy Agreement with the Scots Commissioners, notwithstanding that the contrary Faction about him perswaded him (as formerly, during the Laird Libbertons Negotiation at Jersey) not to trust himself into the hands of the Scots.

While now the Treaty at Breda was almost brought to a conclusion, Montros, being, as it is probable, not altogether ignorant of Proceedings there, and fearing lest, if the Agreement between the Scots, and their King, should be absolutely made up, and that Article among the rest which concern'd him in particular, should be Sign'd before his Arrivall in Scotland, his Hopes and Endeavours for his Princes Service would thereby be utterly overthrown, and he himself, as he had formerly been forc'd to leave Scotland at the Command of the late King, and through the Instigation of the Scots, should now at the Command of the Son, the same Parties Instigating, be forc'd to keep away from thence, made therefore all possible speed into Scotland, having sent the greatest part of his Forces before him, under the Command of Sir John Urry, and others, about the Tenth of April, 1650. he Arriv'd himself at the Isle of Orkney, ha sting to joyn with the Lords Napier, Frendraught and Pittfoder, and expected the coming up of Pluscardy to his Ayde, with Two thousand Men, rais'd out of the Earl of Seaforth's Territories, while Lieutenant Generall David Lesly was Marching against them with Seven thousand Foot, and Thirty Troops of Horse, they took Dunbeth House by Surrender, from the Earl of Sutherland: But long before the coming up of Generall Lesly with his Army, a considerable Party of Montros's his Forces, Commanded by Montros and Urry in person, were set upon at Corbisdell, by Lieutenant Colonell Straughan (who had been sent before from the Main Army, to Command those Troops that lay about Ross and Innerness) and it seems utterly beaten and dispers'd, and that so strangely and Fatally, that a man would wonder, if, as the Scots report, Straughan's Men consisting of his own, Collonell Kerr's, Kolonell Montgomery's, Lieutenant Colonell Hacket's Troops, and another, amounted in all but to Two hundred and thirty; whereas Montros's his Party were at least Twelve hundred, and their chief Leaders such Resolute and Expert Soldiers, unless struck with a Pannick Fear, upon an Apprehension that Lesly's great Army had been come up against them: However it were, so great was the Defeat, that of the whole Body of the Montrossians who Engaged in this Battell, there Escaped not above an Hundred, from being either taken, or slain; Among the Prisoners were, Sir John Urry, Major Generall of Montros's his Army, the Lord Frendraught, Collonell Gray, Lieutenant Colonell Stuart, with a great number more of other considerable Officers: Montros himself made a shift to escape for the present, but his Horse, together with his Belt and his Coat, with the Star, being found, made it Conjectured that he had been slain in the Field. In this Fight the Royall Standard was taken, upon which was Protraited the Head of the late King lying a bleeding, and severed from the Body; and the Lord Pittfoder's Son who was Standard-bearer was slain, Lieutenant Colonell Straughan received a Shot upon his Belly, but in regard it lighted upon the double of his Belt and Buff Coar, he had no harm thereby.

Montros's lands with Forces in Scotland.

He is defeated by Straughan.

So Welcome was the News of this Victory to the State and Kirk of Scotland, that they bestowed as a Reward upon Straughan a Thousand pounds Sterling, and a Chain of Gold: Upon Lieutenant Colonell Hacket a Thousand Mark Sterling; But that which Crown'd this Victory to them

A them with the highest Joy and Satisfaction, was the getting of *Montrose* his person into their Power; for he having wandred so long in the Woods, to avoid being detected, till he was driven to that Necessity, as to eat his Gloves, and gnaw a piece of his flesh for very extremity of hunger, was at length discovered by a Country Fellow, and by a Party sent to apprehend him, dragg'd out of some kind of Cave, or hollow Tree; he was no sooner taken, but immediately sent up to *Edenborough*, whose Streets were filled with infinite Crouds of people thronging to see him, while he was brought into the City in a Cart, in which was placed a Chaire for him to sit in, whereunto he was bound with a Rope, and bare-headed; his Hat having been taken off by the Executioner who Rode before him with his Bonnet on: Wounds he had many upon his Body, but such, as it is thought, might have been easily Cured, had he not been so suddenly taken off by a violent Death; Some there were that pitied him, but the greatest party, as it is usuall when men are in Adversity, insulted and triumpht over him: Being Summoned to appear before the Lords, Barons, and Burgessees, Assembled in *Parliament*, he came into the House Apparell'd in a very rich Suit, thick over-layd with costly Lace, and over it a Scarlet Rocket, a Beaver Hat with a very rich Hatband upon it, Carnation Silk Stockings, Carters, and Roses, with other Habiliments suitable, all which he had caused to be made for him, immediately upon his coming to *Edenborough*, as if he had been going rather about some Festivall then Tragical Affair; As soon as he was brought to the Bar of the House, the Lord Chancellour (who according to the Custome of that Kingdome is alwaies Speaker) told him first, *That he must kneel at the Bar*; Whereunto he Answered, *My Lord, I shall with all my heart observe any Posture you shall appoint me, to appear before you in, whereby I may manifest to you, that I freely submit to the Authority of Parliament, and to this present Parliament in a more especiall manner, because you have concluded so neer a Conjunction with his Majesty my Master in the late Treaty.* Then the Chancellour made a Speech to him, the Substance whereof was this.

He is taken Prisoner.

Brought to *Edenborough*.

He is brought to his Tryall in *Parliament*.

Sir,

'I am Commanded to mind you of the last Judgment of God befallen you, for your perfidious breaking of the Covenant, which might justly provoke God thus to divert your Counsells and Affairs, for having been so eminent an Author and Actor of Mischief against this Nation, You Abandoned the Covenant, and despised the Oath of God, and did Invade your Native Country, and with most Inhumane and Barbarous Cruelty did burn and waste divers parts thereof, and have spilt much blood of his Majesties good Subjects, taking Advantage of that time, when the prime Commanders and Forces thereof were Employ'd elsewhere. For these Crimes you were Excommunicated by the Church, and sore Faulted by the *Parliament* of this Kingdome, and yet still continued in the highest Contempt against God, under that fearfull Sentence of Excommunication; And to this day have you remained without the smallest shew of Repentance. And God by his Providence hath now E justly brought you hither to receive the Sentence of your Condemnation.

The Lord Chancellors Speech to him.

Hereupon *Montrose* humbly desiring to know of his Lordship, whether it were the *Parliament*s pleasure that he might be permitted to speak what he had to say for himself, and humbly craving that Liberty from them, he was told by the Chancellour, That the Estates in *Parliament* did give him free liberty to speak what he could say for himself. Then *Montrose*;

My Lord, said he,

'I am glad that I may have Liberty to Answer for my self, though I am here your F Prisoner, yet my Cause is good; Nor is there any Breach of the Covenant on my part, in which I Swore to be true to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors. Concerning what I have done in relation to the Wars and Affairs of this Kingdome, I had not only a Generall Commission, but particular Orders for what I have done from his Majesty, which I was Engag'd to Obey by the said Covenant. And concerning my coming over now, I was Ascertain'd that you had profest to Comply with his Majesty in the present Affairs in which he hath Employed me; and upon that Account it was that I have Acted. I desire to refer my self, and do submit unto this present *Parliament*, and the Authority thereof to be my Judges in this Case, whom G I own as a true *Parliament*, by Authority from his Majesty, and I shall be content, however it shall please God to deal with me. As for my Life, if you take it away by this Authority, it is well known unto the World that I regard it not; Death is a Debt which all owe, and must once be paid by every One: And I shall be willing and much rejoyce to go the same way which my Master passed before me; and it is the Joy of my heart, not only to do, but also to suffer for Him.

His Answer.

After

After he had been thus Examined and Tryed, and Commanded to withdraw, the *Parliament* A were not very long Debating the Matter, ere they unanimously resolved to proceed to Sentence of Condemnation, which, he being called in again, was Denounced against him in this Form.

The Sentence pronounced against him in Parliament.

'You are to be carried back to the Place from whence you came, and from thence you are to Morrow, being the One and twentieth of *May*, 1650. to be carried to *Edenburgh* Cross, and there to be Hanged upon a Gallows Thirty Foot high, for the space of Three Hours, and then to be taken down, and your Head to be cut off upon a Scaffold, and hanged on *Edenborough Talbooth*, and your Legs and Armes to be hanged up in other publick Towns in this Kingdome, and your Body to be Buried at B the place where you shall be Executed, except the Kirk shall take off your Excommunication, then your Body shall be Buried at the Common Place of Buriall.

He is brought to Execution and hang'd upon a Gallows 30 Foot high.

After the Denouncing of the Sentence, at which he altered not his Countenance, or seemed in the least manner to be moved, he was again Guarded back, and Workmen forthwith set a-work for the Erecting of a Scaffold, and Gallows, and the One and twentieth of *May*, the day appointed for this Tragedy being come, he was led forth to his Execution, at which time, so winning was his Deportment, and his Speeches so powerfull, that they made a very great Impression upon the Spirits of the People, inasmuch, as some who observ'd the Passages of his Death, were of Opinion that he had drawn away more from the Kirk-Party by his manner of dying, then he could have Vanquish'd in the Field by the force of Armes.

Thus was this Famous, but unfortunate man, Sacrificed to the Revenge of the *Scotch* Covenanters, after a most shamefull and despitefull manner, even at that very time when they were Treating with their King, whom they knew full well to have a very great regard and Affection for him. Together with *Montrose*, though not in so disgracefull a way, were Executed, Two other chief Men of his Party, as Sir *John Urry* Major Generall to *Montrose*, and Colonell *Sporfwood* Laird of *Darcy* (who by his own Confession was one of those who a Twelve month before at the *Hague*, Assassinated Doctor *Dorilaus*, Agent in *Holland* for the *English* Commonwealth) who had both the Favour to be Beheaded.

While these Transactions were in *Scotland*, the Treaty still went on at *Breda*, yet not without D some Controversie and Demur, especially about the Business still of the Covenant: The *Scots* King Arguing, That the Covenant by them tendered, is the Subjects Covenant to bind them to him, and not for him to take, to Swear to himself, so that he thought it sufficient to pass an Act for his People to take it. As for the Militia, he offered to Confirm it in the hands of the Estates for five years; Provided, that afterwards it might return to himself. He likewise offered to Confirm the Presbyterian Government in *Scotland*: Provided, that he himself might have alwaies Three Chaplains with him of his own Election.

The Treaty at Breda concluded.

And some particulars there were, as the passing of the late Acts of the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, and the Prohibition of *Montrose*'s his Command, which were brought to a full Agreement, but upon the news of the *Scots* extream Rigour and Cruelty towards *Montrose*, it was believ'd by E many, that their King would have been so far Incens'd, as utterly to have broke off the Treaty; but it seems he judg'd it not Conduceable to his present Affairs, to take so much notice of it, as thereby to break off with his Subjects of *Scotland*, but rather to make the utmost Tryall of the Reality of their Intentions toward him; So that notwithstanding *Montrose*'s his Death, a sudden Conclusion, such as it was, was put unto this Treaty: however the *Scots* King did not omit to express his ill Repentment of their Proceedings, by this ensuing Message sent them by Mr. *Murry*.

The *Sc.* King Letter to the *Scots* about their severe proceedings against *Montrose* and others.

'That he was very sorrowfull and grieved, to hear a Report which came to him by F Credible Persons, that notwithstanding those hopefull Overtures lately made between him and them, tending to their Peace: Yet that there hath been some Blood shed of late of his good Subjects of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and that the manner and result thereof according to the Reports he had heard of it, did very much trouble him, but that he might know the Particulars more certainly, he desired to understand the Business fully from themselves, of whom he requir'd an Account.

To which they return'd for Answer this lame Excuse.

Their Answer.

'Having profess'd their Affections to him, and how much they Rejoyc'd at his Engagements, to Concur with them in a happy Agreement; They desire him not to G stumble at some seeming Obstacles, as the Death of *Montrose*, or their Reducing of his Forces; Assuring him that there was nothing in what they did, but to Accomplish his Ends, and to serve his Interests to his best Advantage.

The Treaty of *Breda* being Concluded, it was notwithstanding Debated in the *Parliament* of *Scotland*,

A Scotland, whether any more Addressee should be made to their King; there were Thirty who gave their Negative Voyces, but by the Major Part it was carried in the Affirmative: And thereupon another Message was resolv'd upon to be sent unto him; wherein they Invited him, To make all possible speed in coming to them, and Protested that they would Assist him with their Lives and Fortunes, to Establish him in his Throne. Yet withall they forbore not to signifie unto him their having some Testimonies to produce of his Ailings, by Letters to Montros (for belike they had Intercepted Three or Four of the Kings Letters to him) contrary to his Promise to them at the Treaty at Breda, however that they were willing to pass over what was past (Wonderfull Clemency) so that he would without delay, according to the Articles of Agreement, come over into Scotland, and Comply with his Parliament, and the Kirk.

Another Message of the Scots to their King.

B And thenceforth there being a generall Expectation of his Coming, great Preparations were made for his Reception, Two of the chief Houses in *Edenborough* were Richly Furnisht, and the Parliament took into Consideration the Nominating of Officers for his House, who were such only as they thought fit to place about him, for he was not only not permitted to have those to Wait upon him, whom he chiefly Favoured, and whom he thought were best Affected toward him; but besides, that severall great Scotch Lords, as Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Lauderdale*, and *Seaforth*, with many other Persons of Qualiry, who were with him all along in *Jersey*, and *Holland*, were Prohibited by Proclamation from returning into Scotland; many more also who had been Officers in *Montros's* Army were put to Death.

Preparations for his reception.

C About the beginning of June, the Scots King took Shipping for Scotland, at *Scheveling* in *Hollana*: He was in some danger of certain English Vessells that Waited about that Coast to Way-lay him, but with much ado he made a shift to escape them, and Landed safe at a Place called the *Spy*, in the North of Scotland. The Estates in the mean time, and Parliament of Scotland, Employed their Consultations about the forming of an Army for the Service of their King, as they pretended, and an Act was publisht for the Training of every Fourth Man through the Kingdom, who was capable to bear Armes, the Earl of *Leven* was made Generall of the Foot, and *Holborn* Major Generall, *David Lesley* Lieutenant Generall of the Horse, and *Montgomery* Major Generall, the Supream Command of the whole Army being reserved for their King himself, whom at his first Arrivall they Entertained with high Complements, and much Acclamation, and seem'd to Congratulate his coming with great Demonstrations of Joy and Affection; And on the Fifteenth of July solemnly Proclaimed him King at *Edenburgh* Cross, and had Design'd (had not certain Obstacles come in the way) to have Crown'd him the following Month: But he had not been long among them, ere they began according to their usuall manner, to Curb him, and to hold him to hard Conditions.

He lands at the Spy in the North of Scotland.

D At *Dundee* new Propositions were by Commissioners from the Parliament and Kirk sent unto him to Sign; And not long after when the Town of *Aberdeen* presented him with 1500 pounds, the Committee of Estates sent to divers Places, enjoying them what ever Money or Plate they had to bestow; to bring it into the Publick Treasury appointed by that Committee; so that it seems their King must not be Master of any Money more then what they were pleased to Allow him: Then they began afresh to busie themselves about reforming his Retinue, and purging his House of those Malignants, as they call'd them, whom he had gotten into his Service, Interdicting them also all Employment both about his Person, and in the Army: As for himself, he had a strong Guard continually about him, to Attend him, and watch his Motions.

Is proclaimed King at *Edenburgh* Cross.

E The Republick of England, having sufficient Intelligence of the Scots Proceedings in their Treaty with their King, and of their Engagement therein to Establish him in the Throne of England, thought it best by a seasonable prevention to Invaide them first, and thereupon resolv'd upon open War with Scotland, and the preparing of an Army to send against that Kingdom. They had at this time sufficient Forces to spare, and no great Matter to Divert them; *Ireland* was in a fair way to be wholly Subdued, and *Cromwell* leaving his Son-in-law *Irton*, Deputy in his stead, and other notable Commanders to finish the Conquest there he had so successfully begun, return'd into England, and was made chief General of all the Parliaments Forces in the Room of the Lord *Fairfax*, who (I know not by what Reasons Induc'd) layd down his Commission.

New propositions sent to him to sign.

F About this time, the Parliament sent a Complaint to the King of Spain, about the death of one *Ascham*, who having been sent Agent from them to that Kingdom, was slain, together with his Interpreter *Signour Riba*, by a Combination of Six or Seven Men at *Madrid*; As Doctor *Dorislaus* had been about a Twelve Month before in *Holland*: The Conspirators though they fled to some Religious House, the common Sanctuary in those Countries for all kind of Malefactors, were yet pursued by Justice, and all except one Apprehended and Imprison'd, which bred a great Contest between the King and the Church, who stood high upon the Vindication of their Priviledges, which by this Act, they sayd, were Violated.

The Republick of England prepare to send an Army against Scotland.

Cromwell returns out of *Ireland*. Is made General of the Parli. Forces in the room of *Fairfax*. *Ascham* the English Agent slain at *Madrid*.

G From *Holland* came the Lord *Gerard Scarph*, with Commission to Treat about a fair Correspondence and Commerce with England; and not many Months after, *Oliver St. John*, and *Walter Strickland* were sent into *Holland*, but being Affronted and ill used by the common people, they returned home in Discontent.

Overtures of Treaty between *Holland* and England.

The Differences between the King of Portugal, and the English State, about the Harboursing of Prince *Rupert* and his Ships, continued yet very hot, but the Portugal suffered great Prejudice by it, many rich Prizes being taken upon his own Coast by Generall *Blake*, who also not

Pr. *Ruperts* Fleet destroy'd by *Blake*.

Cromwell marcheth into Scotland with an Army,

The Scots routed at Musselborough.

The Statues & Armes of the late K. demolished by Order of Parli.

Col. Andrevs beheaded at Tower-hill.

The Battell at Dunbar.

The death of the Princess Elizabeth.

The Sc. K. departs secretly from St. Johnstons in discontent.

long after pursued Prince *Rupert's* Fleet toward the Coast of *Spain*, and utterly destroyed it.

The *English* Army under the Conduct of *Cromwell*, now Lord Generall, Advanced toward *Scotland*, on the Twenty eighth of *June*, and when they came upon the Borders, they sent the *Scots* a Declaration from the *Parliament*, and another of their own, to justify their Proceedings, and to shew the Grounds and Reasons of this their Advancing against them. As for the *Scots*, they seem'd to be much startled at this sudden Invasion, without any Warning given, and directed severall Papers to Sir *Arthur Haslerigge*, in which they Expostulated the Matter, and urg'd the Solemn Covenant, and the former Union between the Two Nations: but neither what the one side declar'd, or what the other urg'd, could ought avail to allay the Hostility that was begun between them.

At *Muscleborough* the *English* were set upon by Major Generall *Montgomery*, and Colonell *Stranghan*, yet they not only defended themselves, but also Charged the *Scots*, Routed them, and did great Execution upon them. The next piece of Action was the taking of *Collington* House, and *Readhall*, and then the *English* moved forward, and Encamped within a litle of the *Scotch* Army.

The *Parliament* in *England* at the same time, were no less Active in carrying on the Designs and Interests of their Common-wealth; in Order to which, they caused the Statues of the late King, the one over the North entrance of the *Royal Exchange*, the other at the West end of *Pauls*, to be thrown down and Demolish'd, and ordered his Armes to be Erased out of all Churches and publick Places, in the Room of which the States Armes were set up.

Who ever were taken either Actually, or in Design, raising Armes, or acting Violence against the present Establish'd Government, or had receiv'd Commissions to that intent and purpose, from *Charles Stuart* the Declared King of the *Scots*, were to be proceeded against as Capitall Offenders, and punish't with Death; among the Number of which, was one Colonell *Eusebius Andrews*, who having been found with a Commission from the said *Scots* King, was Condemned of Treason, and beheaded at *Tower-hill*.

The *Scotch* and *English* Armies having for some space moved at a small distance one from the other without Engaging, came at length to *Dunbar*, where the *Scots* had the *English* Army at a great Advantage by reason of a Pass at *Copperspath* whereof they had possess't themselves, but by the Care and Industry of the *English* Generall, whose Vigilancy, to say the truth, made him never to be overcome, his Men not only wound themselves out of those Straights to which they were reduc'd, but also clearly made that Victory their own which the *Scots* had so surely promised to themselves: In this Battell there were slain of the *Scots* Three thousand, and the Lord *Libberton*, and Colonell *Lumsden* mortally Wounded, Ten thousand taken, together with Sir *James Lumsden* Lieutenant General of the Foot, and about Two hundred and sixty other Officers, Two hundred Colours, Fifteen thousand Armes, and Thirty Pieces of Ordnance.

Immediately after this famous Victory, *Cromwell* made himself Master of the City of *Edenborough*, and of *Leith*: and the next considerable Enterprize he went upon, was the Reducing of the strong Castle of *Edenborough*, to which end all kind of Preparations necessary for a hard Siege were made.

On the Eighth of *September*, the Princess *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the late King, died at *Canisbrook* Castle in the Isle of *Wight*; her Death much grieved her Brother the *Scots* King, more, some think, then the Defeat at *Dunbar*, since he could not but Imagin, that the Covenanters by how much the more Successfull, so much the more Imperious would they have been toward him, and so ill did he already brook their hard Impositions, their earnestness to purge his House, and their Extorting a Declaration from him against his own Proceedings and best affected Party, that great Differences and Animosities dally encreased between him and them, insomuch that at length, he evaded his Guards, and went secretly away in much Discontent, accompanied only with Four Horsemen toward the North of *Scotland*, where the Marquis of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Arboly* and *Seaforth*, the Lords *Ogleby* and *Newburgh* with the *Guardians*, and the men of *Arboly* were ready to appear for him, and were able to make up in all a considerable Force, Major Generall *Middleton* was thought also to be among them.

This sudden and secret Departure of the King did very much trouble the Committee of Estates at *St. Johnstons*, especially for that they fear'd he was going to *Middleton*, and the *Arboly* Men, to quiet whom they first offered an Act of Indemnity; when that avail'd nor, but that they fell upon Sir *John Brown's* Regiment, slaying and taking Prisoners, many of his Men Lieutenant Gen. *David Lesly* was sent against them. Likewise what Course to take about their King, there were Grand Consultations, and much Controversie and Dissention among them; Some were of the mind, that since he had thus deserted them, they ought not to trouble themselves any more about him, but to leave him to himself and his own waies: Others judg'd it more convenient to send to him, to let him understand their Resentment of his going from them, and adhering to Malignants. Nor were there wanting of the great Lords of *Scotland*, such as were Active Sticklers for the King; for besides those purely of his Interest, who were crept into Play by degrees, there were other Lords of the Kirk Party, who were at last become very inclinable toward him, but there was also a different Faction of the Covenanters that Associated chiefly in the West, and some parts of the South of *Scotland*, more rigid and cross then any of the rest, who set forth a large Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates, wherein,

They

A They Taxt them of too much Hast and Precipitation in their Treaty with their King, of their Entertaining and Receiving him among them, before he had given any convincing Evidence of a real Change; nay, when he was known to have given Encouragement and Commission to Montros to Invade Scotland: Moreover they manifested an utter dislike and disowning of theirs, and their Kings Proceedings, as fully perswading themselves, that his Profession of the Cause and Covenant was merely Counterfeit, as appeared by his favouring and frequenting the wicked Company of Scotch and English Malignants, therefore that they absolutely refus'd to submit to his Power and Authority: they also Declar'd against their Intentions of Invading England for his sake, being a Nation not Subordinate to them, without consideration of the lawfulness, or necessity thereof.

The Remon-
strance of the
Western Co-
venanters in
Scotland.

The most Eminent Men of this Faction, were Colonell Kerr, Colonell Straughan, the Lord Warreston, and Sir John Chieflly: Nor were they without a Committee, or Synod of their own, called, *The Synod of Glasgow*, from whom there was also issued out a Declaration (to the same Effect, as the forementioned Remonstrance) which they sent by Four of their Com-
C millioners to those of the Kirk at *St. Johnstons*; But this Declaration of the Synod of *Glasgow*, as also the Remonstrance of the *Western Association*, were very much disgusted by the chief Ruling Men, even of the Kirk Party themselves, who mainly endeavoured to bring off Kerr and Straughan to a Conjunction with them; and to that end, they sent the Earl of *Cassiles*, the Lord Brady, Mr. *Robert Douglass*, and others, to Treat with them; but they still stood high upon their Terms, and peremptorily Declar'd as well against King and Lords on the one Side, as against Sectaries (for so they called the *English Army*) on the other, and resolved equally to op-
C pose both.

A Declaration
sent from the
Synod of Glas-
gow to the Es-
tates and Kirk
at *St. Johnstons*.

However the Committee of Estates, and Kirk at *St. Johnstons*, were minded not to omit any possible Expedient for the bringing back of their King unto them, and therefore sent Major Ge-
D neral *Montgomery* with a Party of Horse to March speedily and make diligent Inquiry after him, and to endeavour by earnest Supplications to bring him back to *St. Johnstons* along with him. *Montgomery* being Advertiz'd that he was at the Lord *Dedups* House in the North Counties of *Fife*, went directly thither, and having found for certain that he was there, he first Surrounded the House, and then sent in to the King to acquaint him, that he came thither Employ'd by the
D Committee of Estates, to entreat his Majestie to return back: At first he absolutely refused, as not enduring the Subjection that he had liv'd in with them, the News hereof being brought to the
E Estates, bred much Disturbance among them, and some there were of them who Counsell'd that there should no more Addresses be made to him, whose perswasions began also to have some In-
F fluence upon the rest: and at the same time the King was earnestly Solicited by the *Gordonists*, and the *Athol Men* that rose for him in the North, to adhere totally to them, undertaking to secure him against the Kirk and all others that should oppose him, to which Invitation, he was Inclenable enough of himself, so that there had like to have been an utter Breach between him and the Covenanted Party that brought him in, had it not been for the Active and unwearied
E pains of a certain Scotch Gentleman, one of the Bed-chamber named *Scots-Gray*, who rid day and Night to and fro, between the severall Parties, to Mediate a Reconciliation: Nor did his In-
F dustry lose its wisht Effect, since he so far prevail'd, that at length an Agreement was made, and the King condescended to return with *Montgomery* to *St. Johnstons*; The next Care was to bring in *Huntly* and *Middleton*, and the rest in the North, but they refused to submit (though their Kings Authority was made use of to Command their Coming in within Fifteen or Twenty daies)

The Estates at
St. Johnstons
send M. Gen.
Montgomery to
bring back
their K.

And having taking *Aberdeen*, Marched directly up towards *St. Johnstons*; by the Way they were
F Accosted with an Act of Indemnity, which they sleighted and would not thereby be drawn to a Submission, unless according to their further Demands, they might be received into places of Trust, which with some other of their Propositions not being yeilded to, they came with Two thousand Foot, and Nine hundred Horse, within a Mile of the Town; and *David Lest* being at hand with a Thousand Five hundred Horse, it was thought the Business would have come to an
F Engagement, but it hapned to end in a Treaty. *Lauderdale* and *Arguile's* Sons were Hostages for the Kirk, *Tullibardin* and *Ogleby* for the Kings Party: The Ministers at *Sterlin* were so far from Consenting to this Treaty, that they past the Sentence of Excommunication upon *Middleton*, which Act very much displeas'd those at *St. Johnstons*, who now began to see a Necessity of taking in all Parties and uniting against the common Enemy: *Arguile* and *Douglass* were earnest for it, and *Cassile's* by degrees was brought to Comply; So that the Earl of *Lithgow*, and others that were grand Actors in the year 1648, were declar'd capable of Trust by the Kirk, and the Estates having resolv'd upon a general Meeting to be held at *St. Johnstons*, consisting of their King, Lords, Barons, Burgesses, and Assembly of Ministers, to Consult for the good and safety of the Kirk, King, and Kingdome; Summon'd the Commissioners of the Kirk at *Sterling*,
G to Adjourn their Sitting thither, and to appear among the rest at this Grand Convention: To this they of *Sterling* sent back an Excuse by their Messengers, alledging severall things against this
C Convention, and advising them to be at a greater distance from the King and his Conncell, and to think upon *Sterling* as a more Convenient place for their Meeting; To which the Estates re-
turn'd Answer: They held *St. Johnstons* the fitter Place, and that if they would not joyne with their Meeting, they should look upon them accordingly, and Consult for their own Securities
I 1 1 2 Whereupon

The Se. K. re-
turns back
with *Montgo-*
mery to *St.*
Johnstons.

A grand Con-
vention held at
St. Johnstons.

Whereupon after much Debate, and many of them expressing their Dissent, it was at last carried A in the Affirmative by the Major part of Voyces, for their going to the Grand Convention at *St. Johnstons*: but the Committee of War remained at *Stirling*, and now there seem'd to be an unanimous Agreement amongst the severall Factions against this Common Enemy, namely, The *English* Army; only in the *Highlands* some Forces yet stood out and refus'd to submit, whereupon *Middleton* was Employed with a new Commission and Instructions from the *Scots* King, *Estates*, and *Kirk*, to go and Treat with them; divers of the *Scotch* Lords that had been formerly in Disfavour with the *Kirk*, were now received in, as *Duke Hamilton*, the Lords *Lauderdale*, *Leith*, *Buchheim*, *Dedop*, *Craford*, and others who were designed to have Commands in the Army, and some of them were admitted to Sit in *Parliament*: Of the *English* Commanders about the *Scots* King, Major Generall *Massey* was one of the Chief, who though formerly of the Opposite Side, had yet constantly appeared for him ever since his Fathers Death. B

Col. Kerr defeated and taken Prisoner by M. Gen. Lambert, A Rising in *Norfolk* soon suppressed.

Colonell *Kerr* in the *West* of *Scotland* was at length so far Induc'd to Comply with the Grantees of the *Kirk*, that he took Prisoner Colonell *Straughan*, who still stood out and Inclined to Side with the *English*: But not long after *Kerr* himself giving an On-set to the *English* Forces under Major Generall *Lambert*, was Routed, his Men put to Flight, and he himself with others of his chief Commanders taken Prisoners. These *Scotch* Forces some say, were appointed to have joyn'd with a Party of *English* in *Norfolk*, who about the beginning of *October* gathered together in Armes against the *Common-wealth*, declaring the intention of their Rising to be for *Charles* the Second, and to restore the Ancient Government of the Land; but upon the approach of some of the County *Militia*, and Two Troops from *Lin*, they presently disperst themselves and fled, being pursued, severall of them were taken and Imprison'd, and the chief Ringleaders Executed: A little before this Insurrection, there was also Executed at *Tyburn* one Mr. *Benson*, for having been of the same Conspiracy with Colonell *Ensebimus Andrews* formerly Beheaded.

The death of the Prince of *Orange*.

His Attempt against *Amsterdam*.

About the latter end of *October* died the Prince of *Orange*, Brother-in-law to the *Scots* King, who much bewailed his Loss, having received from him very high Testimonies of Friendship and Good-will: Not many Months before his Death, he sent a Body of Horse under Count *William*, of *Nassau*, toward the City of *Amsterdam*, with pretense of apprehending and removing from the Government, certain ill-affected Lords, especially *Cornelius* and *Andrew Bicher*, though it is thought, the reallity of his Intention was to seize upon the Treasury and Bank of *Amsterdam*, and to have Employed it, as some Conjecture, for the Service of his Brother-in-law, and the Vindication of his Title; but the Magistrates of the City having timely Intelligence of the Armies Approach, made hast to shut the Gates, and stand upon their own Defence, so that the Design was prevented: yet this Advantage the Prince had by it, that he brought the Citizens to somewhat better Terms with him then they were at before; His Death was by his Widow the Princess *Mary* above all others very sorrowfully Resented, who being left by him great with Child, was within a little while after brought to Bed of a Son. D

The Princess *Mary* brought to Bed of a son.

Edenborough Castle taken by the *English*.

The Siege of *Edenborough* Castle had been closely carried on for the space of Three Months, or thereabouts, many strong Batteries had been made, and Mines wrought against it, insomuch that on the Twenty fourth of *December* it was Surrendered, with all the Armes and Magazine that belonged to it, into the power of Generall *Cromwell*, by the Governour Colonell *William Dundas*, Son to the Laird of *Dundas*, besides other Castles and strong Houses that were taken by Surrender, as *Nesbit*, *Berthwick*, and *Roswell*, so great indeed was their Success, that what ever they Attempted, first or last they Effectuated their Design. E

The *Scots* K. solemnly Crowned.

The Grand Business in Agitation at this time at *St. Johnstons* was the Coronation of the *Scots* King, by the name of *Charles* the Second; for the Celebrating whereof, the First of *January* had been long since design'd by the *Estates* of *Scotland*, and the wonted place for the Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland* in former Ages, was at this time also appointed for this Solemnity, namely, *Scoon*, where as soon as the prefixed Day was come, it was performed with loud Acclamations, Bonfires, shooting off of Guns, and with as much Pomp and Ceremony as the present State of Things would permit; The Nobility, Barons, and Burgeses went from *St. Johns* to *Scoon* in their Robes, bringing thither with them the Crown, Sword, and Scepter; the whole *Scotch* Army which stood all the Way, as a Guard between those Two Places, making a Lane for them as they went along. In the Presence Chamber was Plac'd a Chair of State, where the King sat with all his Lords and Attendants about him: After a low Obeysance made to him by all the Company, the Marquis of *Argyle* made a Speech; F

'Wherein he declared the Affections of the *Parliament*, Assembly and People to him, 'and of their hopes of good from him, to make them happy, in bringing *England* and 'all their Enemies in Subjection to Him and Them. Moreover he added, that the 'Parliament of *Scotland* were come to present his Majesty with the Crown, Sword, 'and Scepter, but that before he received it, he was to take an Oath and Swear as his 'former Predecessors had done before him. G

Then the Oath being tender'd to him, he Swore to it in these Words;

A I Do Promise and Vow in the Presence of the Eternal God, That I will Maintain the true Kirk of God, Religion, Right Preaching, and Administration of the Sacraments now Received and Preached within this Realm in Purity, and shall Abolish and Gainstand all false Religions and Sects contrary to the same; And shall Rule the People Committed to my Charge according to the Will of God, and laudable Laws and Constitutions of the Realm; causing Justice and Equity to be Ministred without Partiality.

B Then one of each of the Three Estates of Scotland, namely, the Marquis of Argyll (as being of the Nobles), one Baron, and one Burges, holding the Crown among them, offered it to the King; then they delivered it to Three Ministers of the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, who were appointed by the Estates in Parliament, to present it unto him: At the presentation of the Crown to the King by the Three Ministers, one of them made his Address in this Form;

SIR,

I do present unto you, King Charles, the Crown and Dignity of this Realm.

C Then turning his Face towards the People, he said:

Are ye not willing to have him for your King, and to become Subject to him?

Whereupon the King turning himself to them, the People Cryed out with a loud Voyce, **GOD SAVE KING CHARLES THE SECOND.** Then after he had been Appoynted by the Three Ministers, with the Regall Uction, the Crown was set upon his Head by the Marquis of Argyll, the Scepter was also given into his Hand, and the Sword carried before him by a Scotch Lord; as soon as the Crown was put upon his Head, he made this short Speech to the People,

D I will, by Gods Assistance, bestow my Life for your Defence, wishing to live no longer, then that I may see this Kingdome flourish in Happyness.

Adding many other Expressions of his Love and Affection to the People, and afterwards Mr. Roberts, Dowglas made an hortatory Oration, or Sermon to his Majesty.

The Ceremonies of the Coronation ended, and a plentiful Entertainment prepared, the King sat at one Table, and the Lords at another, there passing many Caresses and Testimonies of Joy all Dinner time between them; After which they all went back to St. Johnston, in the same Order and Pomp, they came from thence to Stone: the Scots Kings Guard consisted of the Sons of divers great Scotch Lords, and other Members of Parliament, such chiefly as had been Servants to his Father, and the Captain thereof was the Lord of Lorn, Son to the Marquis of Argyll.

The next thing in preparation was the raising of a Numerous Army, for which end, the King himself Designed to go Northward, and to set up his Standard at Aberdeen, intending to appear in the Head of the Army as Generalissimo, and under him Duke Hamilton was appointed Lieutenant Generall of the Army, and David Leslie Major Generall, Middleton was to be Lieutenant Generall of the Horse, and Massie to Command in Chief all the English Forces, Halburn was sent for away from his Government at Sterling, and Sir John Brown appointed Governour in his room: as for Straughan he was proceeded against by Sentence of Excommunication, for Complying with the English Army, and declaring against the Proceedings of the Estates of Scotland, and their King.

F The Parliament of Scotland having been Adjourn'd, sat again, about the beginning of March, and hard stickling there was for severall Lords of the Royall Party to be admitted to their Seats in the House, as Duke Hamilton, the Marquis of Huntly, the Earl of Callender, the Earl of Craisford, and others, who had come in and submitted to the Kirk; and as they were Persons of Eminent Quality, they had much Favour and Indulgence shewn them at that form of Submission, called, *The School of Repentance*; for it was observed that Hamilton did his Penance after a very stately and pompous manner, there being plac'd a Table for him covered with black Velvet, and a Cushion of the same; upon that Day he also kept a great Feast, to which were Invited divers Lords and other Eminent Persons, as well of the Presbytery as the Royalty.

G At the beginning of this Session, there was appointed a Committee of Parliament, consisting of Duke Hamilton, the Marquis of Argyll, the Earls of Eglington, Glencairn, Dumferling, Weams, Callender, Chancellour Londen, and the Lord Kirkcubright, to consider of the Affairs of State; and to examine and proceed against all men that obstructed or oppos'd the present Designs, inasmuch as divers had their Estates Sequestred, and some were tryed for their Lives, for holding Correspondence with the English Army, who on their parts also were not idle, but after the

The Sc. Kings Standard set up at Aberdeen.

Divers Lords of the Royal Party received into the Kirk.

Hume and Tim-
tallon Castle
surrendered to
the English.

Great Prepara-
tions made by
the Scots and
their King for
the raising of
an Army.

The Earl of
Dumferling sent
Ambassadour
from the Scots
K. into Holland

Sir Henry Hide
beheaded over
against the Old
Exchange at
London, 1651.
Captain Brown
Busbell behead-
ed.

The Royal
Party prevalent
in the Parlia-
ment of Scot-
land.
Divers of the
Covenanted
Lords discon-
tented and un-
der a cloud.
Ministers dissa-
tisfied at the
proceedings of
the Committee
of Estates.

The Parl. of
Scotland ad-
journ'd.

Sterling fortifi-
ed by the K.
party.

Blackness taken
by the English.
The Earl of
Eglington taken
by Captain
Crook.

taking of the Cattle of *Edenborough*, set upon *Hume* and *Timptallon*. Two very strong Castles, A
which had somewhat hindred the Passage between *Edenborough* and *Berwick*; they were not
long Besieged before they were yeilded up, the first to Colonell *Fennick*, the other to Co-
lonell *Monk*.

The Assemblies of the *Presbyters* at *Sterling* and *Aberdeen*, shew'd themselves Discontented at
the *New Levies*, in regard that so many whom they counted Malignants, were to be admitted to
Commands in the Army, as well as to have their Seats in *Parliament*; whereupon the Commis-
sioners of the *Kirk* at *St. Johnstons*, endeavoured to remove their Scruples by a Declaration, and
likewise put them in mind of certain Acts, which commanded Silence in matters of this Nature,
and forbid any one to speak against the publick Transactions of the State. And so it was resol-
ved by the leading Power, that the Levies went on with all possible speed: the Scots King him-
self was very Active in giving out Orders, and providing all things Expedient for the raising of a
great Army, and at a Generall Rendezvous, which was held at the East of *Fife*, he came into
the Field, to encourage the Soldiers with his Personall presence, and made a Speech to them,
wherein he Exhorted them to be Valiant and Faithfull in his Cause, telling them moreover,
That he would rather choose to die in the Field, then to be driven up into the Mountains: Af-
terwards he went to the Assembly at *Aberdeen*, to endeavour by his Presence and Authority to
Compose the Differences among the Minifters there; and the better to improve his Interest,
and maintain Correspondence abroad, he sent over the Earl of *Dumferling* Ambassadour to the
States of Holland (having had long before for his Resident at the *Hague*, one *Mac-donell*, for-
merly Governour of *Overyssel*.) At the same time *Croft* Negotiated for him as Ambassadour, C
at the Court of the great Duke of *Muscovy*, besides those in *Spain*, and other Parts above men-
tioned; By all which Embassages he gained many Complements and fair Promises, though
little or no Advantage besides: but none of them all met with such hard Entertainment as Sir
Henry Hide, Lierge at *Constantinople*, who contending with Sir *Thomas Bendish* that lay there
Ambassadour at the same time, from the Republick of *England*, was by the *Visier Bassa* (one
that like a right Politician, as he was favour'd the strongest Party) delivered up to the Dispo-
sall of *Bendish*, and by him sent over into *England*, where being tryed for his Life, and Condem-
ned by a High-court of Justice, he was Beheaded over against the *Royall Exchange* at *London*, the
same Fare soon after (on the Twenty fifth of *April*, 1651.) besell Captain *Brown Busbell*,
an expert Seaman, and one who heretofore had been for the *Parliament*, but had of late done D
Notable Service for the King of *Scots* by Sea.

In the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, sitting at *St. Johnstons*, Duke *Hamilton* and the Royall Influe-
nce seemd at present to bear the greatest Sway; whereupon the Marquis of *Argyle* and other
Lords of the more Covenanted Strain, began to be much discontented, as thinking themselves
under a Cloud and layd aside: the Earl of *London* who had been ever of Custome Lord Chancel-
lour, was removed from his Presidentship, and in his Room, the Lord *Burlleigh* Substituted; as
for the Earl of *Sutherland*, he absolutely refus'd to Concur with the present Transactions, and
having gotten together of his Tenants, and those within his Jurisdiction, a Body of about Five
hundred, he steered his Course another way, and seemd to intend them upon another Account.
Among the discontented Minifters, the chief were Mr. *James Guthrie*, who having been long since
Confin'd for his Clamouring against the Proceedings of the *State*, continued still under Restraint; E
Mr. *Andrew Cant*, who had long been Courted to a Neutrality at least, if not to an absolute
Compliance, nevertheless he remained so far Refractory, that he joyned with the Synod at
Glasgow, in declaring against what was done at *St. Johnstons*, and Mr. *Durams* who having been
appointed by the *Kirk* to attend the King as his Chaplain, left the Court at length, and betook
himself to Retirement: Mr. *Patrick Galaspy* was also of the same Stamp (yet he and some
others at a Conference, with Generall *Cromwell*, and Major Generall *Lambert*, at *Glasco*, main-
tained a Notable Dispute with them, against the Invasion of their Country (as they term'd it)
by the *English* Army.) On the other side, Mr. *Robert Dowglafs* and Mr. *David Dick* were so far
Favourers of the Royall Affairs, that they inveigh'd vehemently against all such as went about to F
keep up the Name of *Malignants*, or to make Divisions among the *Leiges*. Adding, That now they
must all become ean man's Bears.

The *Parliament* at *St. Johnstons* not having as yet done any considerable Matter, only expected
the compleating of the Levies, Adjourned till the Seventeenth of *April*, and Devolved in the
meantime the Civill Power into the hands of a Select Councell, the Military Power into the
hands of a Committee of War, consisting of Twenty Persons, out of each of the Three *Estates*.

Speciall Care was taken about Fortifying the Town of *Sterling*, the King himself going of-
ten thither to view the Works, and hasten the Compleating of them, intending that
Place very suddenly for his chief Residence: he had obtained from the *Parliament* a little before
their Adjournment, an Additional Act for Compleating the Levies up to Fifteen thousand Foot;
besides the Horse which were to be not much short of that Number, so that all things were busi- G
ly preparing for sudden Action.

Nor were the *English* less diligent in pursuing Advantages, then the *Scots* in strengthening and
re-inforcing themselves. *Blackness* a strong Hold between *Edenborough* and *Sterling* being
Attackt by Colonell *Monk*, was within a short while delivered up upon Articles of Agreement
very Advantageous to the Besiegers, but a matter of much more trouble to the Kings Party was
the taking of the Earl of *Eglington*, and one of his Sons not long after by Captain *Crook*, at
Dunbarton

A *Dumbarton*, that Lord being a person of much Power and Consideration among them.

The Republick of *England* having made so large a progress in the Conquest of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, thought it a Business no less conducing to their Interest, to bring into their power those lesser Islands that as yet held out for the Adverse Party: *Guernsey* they had already in their possession, all but *Cornet Castle*; the next they set upon was the Isle of *Scilly*, in which there were only Three Places of any great Importance, the Isles of *Tresco*, *Briers*, and *S. Maries*: The Two first were quickly taken by the means of Three hundred Seamen that were Landed there by Generall *Blake*, joyning with certain Land-forces that were also sent into the Island; but the last being a Place of a very strong and almost Impregnable Situation, could not be won in a short while, yet in the end that also was gained.

Certain places in the Isle of *Scilly* reduc'd to the power of the Commonwealth.

B At the next meeting of the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, they sat very close in Consultation, about their *Militia*, and other weighty and pressing Matters of State: The Court at present was kept at *Sterling*, which was also the Head-quarters, the whole *Scotch* Army being Quartered there abouts. *Middleton's* Northern Levies amounted to near upon Eight thousand, and it was much Controverted, whether those Forces should make up a distinct Army by it self (as *Middleton* himself stood upon) or joyn with the Southern Army; however to prevent Emulation and Discontent between *Lesly* and him, about the Supreme Command of the Army, the King resolved to take it upon himself; The Grand Business under Debate in this present sitting of the *Parliament*, was about a Message from their King, in which he desir'd,

C 'I. That the Act about the Classes of Malignants might be Annull'd, and another Act pass for the Repealing thereof.

The *Sc. K.* message to the *Parl.* of *Scotland*.

'II. That there might be no mention of the Name of Malignants any more amongst them.

'III. That Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Seaforth*, *Callender*, and others might have full Command.

D To the granting of these things, the Marquis of *Argyle* was a main Opposer, so that not without much difficulty and hard tugging it was, that after a long time the Business was effected.

The Twenty ninth of *May* was Celebrated by the *Scots* with much Rejoycing and Festivity, as being their Kings Birth-day, in order to the Observation whereof the *Parliament* Adjourn'd that day, and his Majesty and most of the Nobility Dined together at a great Feast. There was also a Solemn Appearance and Training of the Soldiery, and at Night all the Streets Blaz'd with Bonfires, and the Canons playd from *Sterling*, *Brunst* Island, and the rest of the *Scots* Garrisons, but not any one Town shewd their Affection in so particular a manner to their King, as the Town of *Dundee*, from which a very large Contribution was gathered toward his Assistance,

The *Sc. K.* Birth-day celebrated by the *Scots*.

E the Citizens also presented him with a rich and stately Tent, together with Six Pieces of Ordnance, and set out a Regiment of Horse at thier own Charges.

About the beginning of *June*, the *Parliament* of *Scotland* ended, having before their Dissolution, given large Commissions and Instructions for the Pressing of Men in all the parts of *Scotland*, beyond *Fife* and in the *Western* Parts, to hasten their new Levy, which was to consist of Fifteen thousand Horse and Foot; It concluded in a very calm and peaceful manner, which tended to an uniting of all Interests, and the Composing of all Controversies and Differences among them, and an unanimous Consent against their Enemy *Cromwell*, and his *English* *Myrmidons*: For the Ratifying of this Union, they had pass'd the Two Grand Acts so long contended for; the Act of Indemnity, and that for Repealing the Classes of Malignants.

The *Parl.* of *Scotland* ends.

F The *English* Army waiting greedily for an Opportunity to bring the *Scots* to a Field Engagement, made their Approaches as near to them as they could, and while the *Scotch* Forces lay Encamped in *Sterling* Park, and toward *Torwood*, they Quarter'd about *Lithgow*, and still watch for Advantages to set upon them; the *Scots* on the other side kept themselves close in their Trenches, and declin'd coming to a Battell, thinking it better to stay till the full Number of their Army were made up by those Levies, which were still expected to come out of the *West* and some other Parts, for the Expediting of which, *Argyle*, *Huntly*, and *Seaforth* were dispatcht away to their severall Territories, besides the additionall Forces which *Middleton* expected out of the *North*, to make up his Levies compleat. *Massey's* Instruction was to have sailn into *England* with a Body of *English* Horse and Foot, and together with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and

The *English* eager to give Battell to the *Scots*.

G the Lord *Wilmot*, to have joyn'd with a Party in *Lancashire*, that had design'd to rise for the *Scots* King, and to that end had a correspondency not only in *Scotland*, but also at *London*, where the Plot was chiefly contriv'd and promoted; but upon the taking of a Ship at *Ayre* in *Scotland*, which had been bound for the Isle of *Man*, and the seizing of Mr. *Brickenhead* an Agent in the Business, the whole Confederacy was discovered, and thereupon were apprehended about it, Mr. *Thomas Cook* of *Grays Inn*, and Mr. *Gibbons*, together with Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Doctor *Drake*, and severall other *Presbyterian* Ministers (once inveterate Enemies to that Cause for which they now Conspire) who were brought before a High-court of Justice, and tryed for their Lives,

An intended Rising in *Lancashire*. The Plot discovered.

Mr. *Love* and others tryed for their lives,

and

Love and Gibbons beheaded.

and a little before the *Scotch* Army entred *England*, two of them, namely, Mr. *Love* and Mr. *Gibbons* were beheaded at *Tower-hill*; so that by reason of this discovery *Massey* was for the time frustrated of his intended Expedition. However suddain Action was resolv'd on; in regard the *English* prest so close upon the *Scotch* Army, that they were in election either to be speedily forc'd to a Battel, or else to be streightned in their Quarters, and reduc'd to a scarcity of Provisions: now the Consultation was, Whether it would be more convenient to stay and fight the *English* Army in *Scotland*, or to give them the Go-by and slip into *England*: Many there were that gave their opinions *Pro & Con*, but the *Scots* King absolutely declar'd his Sentiment to be for an Incursion into *England*, as hoping still, notwithstanding the late discovery, that he had a sufficient power of friends left, that would readily joyn with him upon his coming in: nor was it long ere this Design was put in execution.

The *English* land Forces, on *Fife* side.

In the mean time, the *English* Army having offered Battel to the *Scots* at *Torwood*, and not being received by them, made it their next work to land some of their Forces on *Fife* side, and to that end, Colonel *Overton* was sent with Sixteen hundred Foot and four Troops of Horse, who at a place call'd *Queens Ferry*, forc'd his landing with small ado, and very little loss. *Cromwell* at the same time marching with his whole Army close up to the *Scots*, with an intent to have fallen upon their Rear, in case they should have mov'd that way, and have attempted to disturb the Enterprize: But to drive the *English* out of *Fife*, Four thousand Horse and Foot were appointed to march against them under the command of Sir *John Brown*; to oppose whom and assist and re-inforce that Party of the *English* already landed in *Fife*, Major General *Lambert* and Colonel *Okey*, with two Regiments of Horse, and two of Foot, were transported over the water, and joining Battel with Sir *John Brown*, gave him a most sad overthrow, took himself, Colonel *Buchanan*, and Fourteen hundred more, and slew about Two thousand, by which Victory the *English* gain'd so firm a footing in *Fife*, that they were not easily to be repell'd; and soon after

Brunt Island & Inb garry Castle taken by the *English*.

Brunt Island, and a strong Castle upon the River *Fife*, call'd *Inchegarvy*, were taken by surrendier; and now the King of *Scots* and his Army were driven out of pure necessity to take that course which long since had been designed for their greater advantage and convenience, which was to march away directly for *England*: for General *Cromwell* that he might make himself Master of the Pass at *Sterling*, saw it necessary first to set upon *St. Johnston*, which after one daies Siege was gained. Next *Sterling* was posses'd by Lord General *Monk* advancing thither with Six thousand men, upon intelligence that that place was quit by the *Scots* and Royal Forces, who as soon as they heard, *St. Johnston* was deliver'd: Immediately began their March Southward. The main of *Cromwell's* Army came back again over the *Firth*, making what expedition they could to overtake them, but the *Scots* were some daies march before them in their way to *England*: Major General *Harrison* with about Three thousand Horse and Dragoons being advanced the neereft of any part of the *English* Army, was ready to attend this Motion; also Major General *Lambert* with about as many more, was ordered by a Council of War to speed after them, and endeavour

St. Johnston & *Sterling* taken by *Cromwell's* Forces.

to fall upon their Rear: General *Cromwell* began his March from *Leith* towards *England* with a Thousand Horse and Foot; the same day the Royal Army entred upon *English* ground by the way of *Carlisle*, which was on the sixth of *August*. Upon the expectation of their coming into *England*, a Party in *Wales* began to rise, intending to have joyn'd with the Earl of *Derby* from the life of *Monk*; but this Design undertaken, as it was, precipitately, and managed without order, soon ran into a Dream: by that time the King of the *Scots* was come with his Army as far as *Lancashire*; he was somewhat hard beset by the Forces that follow'd him out of *Scotland*; besides those that in a short time were rais'd in *England*: he had in his Rear General *Cromwell*, who had left *Monk* with a sufficient power to carry on the Work in *Scotland*; on his Van were the two Major Generals, *Lambert* and *Harrison*, unto whom there came up Two thousand of the Country in the County of *Staffordshire*, and Four thousand under the Command of Colonel *Birch* out of *Lincolnshire*, *Cheshire*, and other parts; and to flank him, the Lord *Fairfax* in *Yorkshire* appear'd in the Field with a formidable Body: Moreover, the City of *London* pow'd out her numerous Armies upon him, and the adjacent Counties were by strict Order of Parliament enjoy'd to set out Men and Horse at their own charges; nor (which was of all the worst

The powerfull opposition that came against him.

Prejudice) did the *Scotch* Army it self keep intire together, being curtal'd of about 5000 Men, which were dropt away by degrees, there remaining not compleat, as was generally suppos'd, by that time they came into *England*, above Eleven or twelve thousand men. That which was the King of *Scots* grand Expectation also fail'd him; namely, the general coming in of the Country, for the most considerable Supply that came in to him, was only one Troop of Horse Commanded by the Lord *Howard* of *Effrich* his Son, nor is it much to be wondred at, since the Commonwealths Forces, had so powerfully over-spread the Country, that none could well have opportunity to stir in behalf of the Royal Affairs; so that before the deciding Blow was given, they might well have been judg'd to be in a very lost and hopeless posture: yet, that there was not wanting a great portion of Courage and Confidence among the jovial Cavaliers even to the very last, may appear by certain passages of the Earl of *Lauderdale's* intercepted Letters, the one to his Lady, the other to the Lord *Belcarri*.

The Earl of *Lauderdale's* intercepted Letters.

"Never Men, sayth he in one of them, were more hearty, for all their Toil, and seriously you would not know this Army, a natural Purge is wholesome, speaking of those that with drew themselves, and I hope ours is so, since the ill Humours are gone:

A "gone: the Country is kind, and we might have Men enough, his Majesty received
"the Lord *Howards* Son graciously, and Knighted him; he is the first, but I have no
"reason to believe he will be the last that will return to his duty.

And in the other he hath to this effect;

"His Majesty is advanced into *England* as far as *Perith*, with a very good Army,
"able by the blessing of God to do his Business: they are, I dare say, neer double the
"number of those with which the King of *Sweden* enter'd *Germany*: Never was any
B "Army so regular as we have been, since we came into *England*; I dare say we have
"not taken the worth of six pence, and what you hear of our Misfortune in *Fife*, or
"what ever our Enemies Print or Write, trust me, this is the best *Scots* Army that
"ever I saw, and I hope shall prove best. All those that were unwilling to hazard all
"in this Cause with their King, have upon a specious pretense most of them left us.
"This is a natural Purge, and will do us much good.

And the Lord *Wentworth* in his Letter to Mr. *William Crofts*, thus:

C "By Gods grace we are come as far as *Perith* in *Cumberland*, with a good Army of
"Fourteen or fifteen thousand Foot, and Six thousand Horse, all absolutely at the
"Kings Command, as much as any Army that ever I saw under the Command of
"his Father.

But others there were of them that seem'd more sensible of the badness of their Condition,
inasmuch as Duke *Hamilton* to Mr. *Crofts* writ thus:

"We are now laughing all at the ridiculousness of our present state, we have quit
"Scotland, being scarce able to maintain it: and yet we Grasp at all, and nothing but all
D "will satisfie us, or to lose all. I confess I cannot tell you whether our Hopes or Fears
"are greatest, but we have one stout Argument, *Despair*; for we must now either
"stoutly fight, or die: all the Rogues have left us, I shall not say, whether for fear of
"disloyalty; but all now with his Majesty are such as will not dispute his Commands.

Duke *Hamilton's* to Mr. *Crofts*.

The *Scots* King at his first entrance upon *English* ground, was by an *English* man (whom he made King at *Armes*) proclaimed King of *England* at the head of the Army, with great Acclamations and shooting of the Cannon then at *Perith* in *Cumberland*, and so afterwards at every Market Town through which he marcht. Having made his way over *Warrington* Bridge, E notwithstanding *Lamberts* endeavour to stop that passage, and both Parties engaging near *Knotsford* Heath, though with some little loss on the Kings side: He came on the Twenty second of *August* to *Worcester*, where after one or two Repulses by the Forces that kept that City, he quickly entered, through the ready assistance of the Inhabitants, who not only not oppos'd his entrance, but also help to beat the *Parliaments* Soldiers out. It was for some while much in dispute among the chief Officers of his Army, whether it were most convenient to take up their Quarters at *Worcester*, and there to fortifie themselves, or to make a resolute venture and to march with all speed up to the City of *London*; but in consideration of the long and tedious marches they had lately had, and of the sick and weary estate of the Army, it was at length resolv'd on as a thing most agreeable to their present condition, to stay where they were, and to F make good some Passes that were thereabouts. On the Twenty seventh day they kept a solemn Fast, and the next day had a general Rendezvous, at which the Country came in far more considerably then at any time before, since their arrival in *England*. The *Scots* King as he was in his march to *Worcester*, dispatcht away Messages and Invitations unto several Governours of Towns and Castles to deliver up unto his use those places which they had in their possession, and principally to Sir *Thomas Middleton* Governour of *Chirk* Castle in *Shropshire*, and to Colonel *Mackworth* Governour of *Shrewsbury*: To the first, the Earl of *Derby* also writ, and the Letters were sent by one *Simkins*, whom Sir *Thomas* caus'd to be seiz'd and sent to *Wrexham*: To the Governour of *Shrewsbury* were formally sent and delivered by a Trumpeter both a Letter and a Summons, which I thought remarkable enough to be here inserted, together with *Mackworth's* Answer; the Letter ran thus.

The *Sc. K.* proclaimed K. of *England* at the head of the Army. The fight at *Warrington* Bridge. The *Sc. King* comes to *Wor.* after.

His Letter and Summons to Col. *Mackworth* Governour of *Shrewsbury*.

"Colonel *Mackworth*, Having sent you herewith a Summons, to render into my
"hands my Town, with the Castle of *Shrewsbury*, I cannot but perswade my self
"you will do it, when I consider you a Gentleman of an ancient House, and of very different Principles (as I am informed) from those with whom your Employment ranks
"you at present: if you shall peaceably deliver them unto me, I will not only pardon
"you

'you what is best, and protect you and yours in your persons, and all that belongs to A
'you, but reward so eminent and seasonable a Testimony of your Loyalty with future
'Trust and Favour, and do leave it to your self to propose the particular, being upon
'that condition ready to grant you presently any thing you shall reasonably desire, and
'to approve my self your Friend,

C. R.

Together with this Letter was sent this following Summons.

Colonel Mackworth,

'B Eeing desirous to attempt all fair waies for recovering our own, before we proceed B
'to force and extremity, and (where the Controversie is with Subjects) account-
'ing that a double Victory which is obtained without effusion of blood, and where
'the hearts that of right belong to us, are gained as well as their strengths. We do
'hereby summon you to surrender unto us our Town, with the Castle of *Shrewsbury*,
'as in duty and allegiance by the Laws of God and the Land you are bound to do,
'thereby not only preventing the mischief which you may otherwise draw upon your
'self and that place, but also opening the first Door to Peace and Quietness, and the
'enjoyment of every one both King and People, that which pertains to them under C
'certain and known Laws, the end for which we are come. Given at our Camp at
'Tong Norton, this 20 of August.

Unto this Letter and Summons the Governour of *Shrewsbury* returned this Answer.

For the Commander in Chief of the Scottish Army.

SIR,

Colonel Mack-
worth's Answer

'B Y your Trumpet I received two Papers, the one containing a Proposition, the D
'Both a direct Summons for the rendition of the Town and Castle of *Shrewsbury*,
'the Custody whereof I have received by Authority of Parliament, and if you believe
'me a Gentleman (as you say you do) you may believe I will be faithful to my
'Trust, to the violation whereof, neither Allurements can perswade me, nor Threat-
'nings of force, especially when but Paper ones, compel me: what Principles I am
'judg'd to be of, I know not, but I hope they are such as shall ever declare me honest,
'and no way differing herein (as I know) from those engaged in the same Employ-
'ment with me, who should they desert that Cause they are Imbarqued in, I resolve E
'to be found as I am unremovable, the faithful Servant of the Common-wealth of
'England.

H. Mackworth.

The Earl of
Derby raiseth
Forces for the
Scotts King.

About two or three daies before the *Scotts* Kings Arrival at *Worcester*, the Earl of *Derby* ha-
ving landed at *Weywater* in *Lancashire*, came to him with Two hundred and fifty Foot, and sixty
Horse, which he brought with him out of the Isle of *Man*, and immediatly returning back into
Lancashire to raise a more considerable Force, he soon got together by the influence he had in
those parts a Body of Fifteen hundred, with which he was hatting toward *Manchester*, where he F
was assured of Five hundred more that intended to have joynd with him, and was likely in a
short while to have encreast to a very great number; whereupon Colonel *Robert Lilburn* with
his own Regiment, and three Companies, and a few Horse out of *Cheshire*, endeavourd with
all speed to joyn with *Cromwells* Regiment of Foot which lay about *Preston*, and so to set upon
the Enemy: to prevent which conjunction, the Earl of *Derby* prest upon *Lilburns* men, and
fore'd them to an Engagement, just as they were about to have drawn off and marcht in the
flank of him to meet the Regiment at *Preston*; the Dispute was very sharp and doubtful for the
space of an hour, but in conclusion the Earl of *Derby's* men were put to a general confusion and
flight, the Earl himself was wounded, and was very neer being taken Prisoner, which yet he
escap'd and fled to *Worcester*: there were taken Prisoners of Quality of his Party, the Lord G
Withrington, Sir *Thomas Tilsely*, Major General, Sir *William Throgmorton*, Colonel *Matthew*
Bointon, Major *Chester*, Major *Trollop* (and others, who soon after died of their Wounds), also
Colonel *Richard Legg*, Colonel *John Robinson*, Colonel *Ratcliff Gerret*, Four Lieutenant Colo-
nells, one Major, four Captains, two Lieutenants, twenty Gentlemen, and Reforma does; of
private Soldiers there were slain about sixty, taken about Four hundred, together with all the
Arms and Ammunition; the Earls *George Garter*, and three Cloaks with Stars.

Cromwell comes
before *Worce-*
ster with his
Army.

It was not above a day or two after this Victory, ere General *Cromwell* came before *Worcester*,
with

A with an Army of Seventeen thousand Horse and Foot, besides those that were commanded apart by *Lambert* and *Harrison*, and other Supplies that came from other parts. On the *West-side* of the City over *Severn* lay the main of the *Scottish* Army in the compass of two mile, they within the City made several resolute Sallies, but the Beleaguers being so numerous and potent, they were beaten in with some loss: The second day of *Cromwells* approach Fifteen hundred Horse and Foot sallied out at *Sidbury* Gate, with intent to have set upon a House about two mile from the City, Man'd by Two hundred Musketeers, whereat the *Parliaments* Army taking Alarum, the Salliants were forc'd to retreat with the loss of Fifteen of their men slain, however all possible diligence was us'd for the well Fortifying themselves within the City, and making good the Mount at the *South-east* end.

The Scots sal-
lying out of
Worcester are
repuls'd with
loss.

B The next Re-encounter was at the pass at *Upton*, which Major General *Massey* kept for the *Scots* King; hither Major General *Lambert* came from *Evesham*, with a party of Horse and Dragoons, who though a great part of the Bridge had been broken down upon news of their coming, made a shift to get over, fir'd into the Town upon the *Scots*, and got possession of the Church, which *Masseys* men in vain sought to recover, and at the appearance of the Horse they fled, and were for a little way pursued; *Massey* himself was wounded, and had much ado to escape with his freedom, having his horse killed under him: presently after this Dispute came up General *Fleetwood* with his whole Brigade to help to maintain this Pass.

The Pass at
Upton taken by
Lambert.

C The Third of September (the same day in which a Twelve month past, was fought that famous Field at *Dunbar*, so unfortunate to the *Scots*) was that fatal Day which gave the deciding blow to that Controversie which had so long been disputed by Arms between the Royall and the *Parliaments* party, to which last the fortune of this day also (like as continually before in a long series of Successes) fell, and being the last Battell of any Note that was disputed between these two Interests, gave the full possession of Three Nations to those that fought for Liberty and a Common-wealth, against Regal Government.

The Fight at
Worcester.

Lieutenant Gen. *Fleetwood* having left a force sufficient to keep the Pass at *Upton*, made it his next care to come to a Conjunction with the rest of the Army, and to that end he took order for the making of two Bridges, the one over *Severn*, and the other over *Tame*, at a point where those two Rivers meet, to the Assistance of *Fleetwood*, and to oppose those Horse and Foot which were drawn out to hinder his passage, General *Cromwell* himself led on Colonel *Hacker's* Regiment of Horse, and the two Foot Regiments of Colonel *Fairfax* and *Inglesby*, and together with Major General *Denn's* and Colonel *Goff's* Regiments which scourd the Hedges, forc'd the *Scots* to retreat to *Pennick* Bridge where they re-enforc'd themselves, and for a while sustain'd a very sharp Encounter, but in the end gave ground and fled back to the City.

At the same time that this Conflict was maintain'd, they sallied out on the other side of the City, and gave a notable desperate Charge to that part of the Common-wealths Army that lay that way, the Fight continued for the space of three or four hours eager and fierce, and was prosecuted with much Gallantry and resolution shown on both sides, till at length the Besiegers over-powring the others in number, bore them down before them with such unresistable force, that they put them to utter disorder and flight, and pursuing them to the very Gates, rush in pell mell among them, and in a short while possess themselves of the Royal Fort and the City, and thus the Victory was gain'd before one half of *Cromwell's* Forces (so numerous they were with the Auxiliaries) came up to engage their Enemy, who seeing all lost on their part, and that Victory had absolutely abandon'd them, began then to think of nothing but how to shift every one for themselves; as they flee confusedly through the City, the general Cry among them was, *Save the King, save the King*: Nor was he himself unmindful as soon as he perceiv'd which way the Victory inclin'd, to provide in time for his escape, to which end he speedily withdrew himself to the house where he quarter'd, and took of his Treasure what he could conveniently carry with him, and just as Colonel *Cobbet* was entering on the fore-part of the house, was slip't out by a back-way together with the Lord *Wilms*, striking unto the most

The Sc. King:
makes his
escape.

F private and unfrequented way, to avoid the hot pursuit and inquiry that was made; for many parties of Horse, were sent out through all Coasts after the flying Troops, few of the Infantry escaping the Field alive, but about Three thousand Horse, whereof a thousand were taken about *Bendley* by Colonel *Barton*, more by others in other places: many by rising parties of the Country people were taken or knock'd on the head: so incident it is to men in extream adversity, to have all the world their Enemies. The Earl of *Derby* was taken in the pursuit by Colonel *Lilburn* (whose hands he so narrowly escap'd at the late fight neer *Manchester*) together with the Earl of *Derby*, were taken the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and about the same time also the Earls of *Cleveland*, *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Wentworth*, and very many others of quality. In the main fight the number of the slain were judg'd to be Three thousand, and of the taken Ten thousand, whereof

The Earl of
Derby taken
Prisoner, with
many other
Lords.

G the chief persons of note were Duke *Hamilton*, Robert Earl of *Carnewarth*, Alexander Earl of *Kelly*, John Lord *Synclaire*, Sir John *Packington*, Major General *Munsgomery*, Major General *Piscotty*, Mr. *Richard Fanshawe* the Kings Secretary: the General of the Ordnance, the adjutant General of the Foot, the Marshal General; six Colonels of Horse (one whereof was Colonel *Graves*) thirteen of Foot, nine Lieutenant Colonels of Horse, eight of Foot, six Majors of Horse, thirteen of Foot, thirty seven Captains of Horse, seventy two of Foot, with a number of other inferiour Officers, a hundred and fifty eight Colours, the Kings Standard, his Collar of S.S. Coach and Horses, and other things of great value: Major General *Massey*, though he had made his

David Lesly
and Middleton
taken in the
pursuit.

his escape out of the field, yet by reason of his wounds he was disabled from getting clear away, and brought to so weak a condition, that he surrendered himself to the mercy and civility of the Countess of Stamford, whose Son, nevertheless, the Lord Gray of Graby secur'd him as a Prisoner, to be sent up to the Parliament, as soon as he should be recovered of his wounds: Lieutenant General David Lesley, and Lieutenant General Middleton were taken on Blackston Edge, between Halifax and Rascals, and carried Prisoners to Liverpoole, with Sir William Fleming, and divers Officers of less note; many scattered parties besides were taken here and there in several places, in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Shropshire, and Warwickshire.

And as if Success had been now entail'd upon the English Common-wealth, this grand Victory was attended on by divers others of a less magnitude, though considerable enough, which were gain'd in Scotland by Monk and the Forces left there, and as it were trod upon the heels B of one another.

Sterling Castle
delivered up
to Monk.

At the same time that Cromwell with his Army marcht for England, Sterling Castle was besieged, which after a short siege, was delivered upon Articles, with all the Warlike Ammunition which was in it, being a very large quantity, Five thousand Armes, and forty pieces of Ordnance, all the Records of Scotland, the Chair and Cloth of State, the Sword and other rich Furniture of the Kings, the Earl of Marr's Parliament Robes, Coronet, and Stirrups of Gold: over the door of the Chappel that belongs to the Castle, this Motto was observed; *I. C. R. Nobis hac invicta miserum Centum sex proavis*, 16 17. which shews that this place when King James came to the Crown had remaind unconquer'd for the space of One hundred and six Kings Reigns; and so it also remaind all his time, and his Sons, but not his Grandchildes.

Old General
Lesley and di-
vers others ta-
ken at Ellis in
Perth.

As soon as Sterling Castle was taken, the next place that Monk set upon was Dundee, during the siege of which, there met together at Ellis in the County of Perth, divers Scotch Lords, Gentlemen, Ministers, and others, to the number of about Three hundred: the principal of whom were old General Lesley Earl of Leven, the Lords Ogleby, Craford, and Lindsey, upon a design to have levied a great power of men for their King, with intention in the first place to have rais'd the siege of Dundee: how secretly soever this was thought to be carried, notice was quickly brought to the Lieutenant General, from whom Colonel Alured being dispatcht away with Six hundred horse, and four Troops of Dragoons, surpriz'd them on a sudden, overthrew them with ease, slew many, and took General Lesley Earl Marshal, Craford, the Lord Leith, and all the chief of them Prisoners: About the same time, certain Horse and Dragoons fell upon Five hundred Scots at Dumfrize in Galloway, and either killed or took all of them: among the taken were Sir Philip Musgrave Mayor of St. Johnstons, who had a Commission to be Major General of all the Forces to be rais'd for the King in the four Northern Counties, and with him divers Lords and Gentlemen of quality; Upon Summons sent to Major General Lumfden Governour of that Town, he sent this Answer.

Sir Philip Mus-
grave taken at
Dumfrize.

"We received yours, for answer whereunto, we do by these acquaint you, That
"we are commanded by the Kings Majesty, to desire you and all Officers and Soldiers
"and Ships that are at present in Arms against the Kings Authority, to lay down
"your Arms, and to come in and joyn with his Majesties Forces in this Kingdom, and
"to conform and give Obedience to the Kings Majesties Declaration sent you here-
"with, which if you will obey, we shall continue,

Sir,

Your faithful Friend and Servant

In the old manner

Robert Lumfden.

Dundee taken
by Storm.

The Sr. K.
strictly pursued

Notwithstanding this resolute Answer, it was but a very little while ere the Town was taken by Storm, and in it the Governour himself and some more slain; soon after follow'd the Rendition of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, with other Towns, Castles, and strong places, which either voluntarily came in, or rendred upon Summons.

The Scots King after the Fight at Worcester was he of all the rest most narrowly searcht for, and strictly pursued, and for whose sake the greater diligence was used to follow, way lay, and intercept all the several parties of the routed Scots that fled, in regard he was the principal cause of whatever had given check to the Common-wealths proceedings, he was the prime Wheel upon which all the lesser Motions depended; but notwithstanding all the search and inquiry that was made for him, no news could be heard, or any one certainly tell what was become of him, which gave occasion to many to conjecture some one thing, some another, according to what their Fancies diversly suggested to them; some thought that he lay somewhere or other conceald with Hind the famous High-way man of that time; some, that he was gone Northward, others Westward rather; others were of opinion (and that with most probability, for thither he was known to have come) that he made choice of London for his safest place of Retreat; the truth is,

The manner of
the K. of Scots
escape from
Worcester.

- A is, as hath been before intimated, that having as soon as he perceiv'd the fortune of the Day at Worcester, turn'd from him to the adverse party, made an escape from his Quarters by a back-way, he accompanied only with the Lord *Wilmot*, took a different Rode from all the rest of the pursued, and for their better security to avoid being taken, he and *Wilmot* quirt their Horses and betook themselves to by-paths and unknown wayes, which yet were not so safe, but that the second day they were driven to hide themselves in a hollow Tree till night; the next day they wandered along time in a Wood, till at length coming to a Country Cottage, they sorely prest with hunger, were constrained to desire Relief from the good man of the house, and telling him that they were two poor distressed *Cavaliers*, yet concealing their Qualities, they requested him to inform them where they might most probably meet with a safe Harbour and Retrear at that time of their being so closely and eagerly pursued; for they doubted not but there were
- B some persons of note in those parts that were favourably affected to the King and his Party, the honest Countryman in commiseration of their Condition, both willingly brought them out such *Mean viands* as his house afforded, and directed them to a certain Gentlewoman, who, he gave them good assurance, would shew them all the Civility that lay in her power, and who indeed approv'd her self the same she was reported to be, employing all the cunning of a woman, and the secrecy of a friend for their concealment and escape: for as soon as this royal Wanderer with his Attendant, had made means to come to the speech of the Gentlewoman, and had after some circumstances for the tryal of her Fidelity, discovered himself to be the King, she immediately set all the Engines of her Wit on work, what course they were best to take in this Extremity: and first she provided for them the best accommodation she could for their Refreshment,
- C after their tedious Travels; next she took care how to dispose of them to the best advantage, and with the greatest security: Nor was it a matter of slight Importance, since it hath been a thing related, that the King was in this Ladies Chamber, when not only search was made for him in the house, but some Soldiers were at the Chamber-door, ready to have entred, had they not been diverted by some cleanly excuse of hers, and their little mistrust of his being there; however this was not a place for them to take up their Station in, so that after a counsel held among them, it was agreed on, that a Journey should be forthwith pretended to *London*, or some remote place, and that the King should ride before the Lady as one of her Servants, and the Lord *Wilmot* upon another horse, as another of her Servants, and the better to disguise them, their
- D Hair was cut short, and a plain country Habit was made for each of them; in this Equipage, they take their Journey first to *Bristol*, to try if they could meet with any convenience there to take Shipping with security, which when they found they could not, they diverted their course to *London*; the Gentleman at whose house they lodg'd within a mile of *Bristol*, who was Kinsman to this King-delivering Lady, is sayd to have been summoned before a Committee at *Bristol*, at the very time of their being there to take his Oath (to which Oath also most of the Gentry thereabout were put) that he neither harboured nor knew any thing of where the King of *Scott* was conceal'd, and this in all likelihood he did very innocently, as not imagining that those persons that came along with his Kinswoman, were any other then her real Serving-men: *London* then was the place to which they next intended, as likeliest to afford them shelter while they
- E tarried, and means of escaping undiscovered. Thus was this Illustrious *Unfortunate* constrained to run into the very mouths of those whom he design'd to fly, and venturing disguis'd as he was into *Westminster-hall*, he beheld the Trophies rear'd up of that Victory which his Enemies had gain'd against him: as soon as they arriv'd at *London*, the Lord *Wilmot* was presently imploy'd to find out a secure way for their transportation, and repairing to a Merchant of his Acquaintance, in whose fidelity he doubted not to confide, he dealt with him about this grand Affair, and by his means and assistance hir'd a Ship of forty Tyn, in which without delay they Imbarqu'd for *France*, yet not without great danger of being stop't, for the Master of the Ship coming to the Lord *Wilmot*, whose man the King of *Scotts* then personated, told him that he knew the King, notwithstanding his disguise, and that by being so highly Instrumental in his escape, he apparently ran the hazard of his life; but what with present Gifts, and promises of further Rewards, they at length wrought so far with him, that he landed them safe at *Havre de Grace* in *France*,
- F from thence they went directly to *Rouen*, where they stayd awhile to alter their disguised Habits, and furnish themselves with all things necessary: In the mean time the King dispatcht Letters to *Paris*, to give notice to his friends of his being at *Rouen*, whereupon the Duke of *Orleanse* sent his own Coach for him, which met him on the way as far as *Magny*, and Entertainment was made for him and his Attendants at the *Louvre*, where the same night he came he was visited by his Mother the *English* Queen, and by the Duke of *Orleanse*, who made great professions to him of his zeal and readiness to serve him: the next day the Duke of *Orleanse* came again to visit him with *Madamofelle* his daughter; also the Dukes of *Beauford*, *Guise*, *Longeville*, Marshal *Thurvenne*, with others of the great Peers and Nobles of *France*, to whom he related the whole adventure of his miraculous escape, according as hath been here describ'd, adding moreover, that
- G when he was in *London*, he was seen of divers that knew him, and yet wish't him so well, as not to betray him for a Thousand pounds; nor was it long ere the King of *France* and the Queen Mother came to Congratulate his safe deliverance, giving him many Complements and expressions of Civility. Before the certainty of the King of *Scotts* Arrivall in *France* was confirmed, it went for current, and news came by Letters to that effect, that he was landed at *Scheveling* in *Holland*, and that he lay for awhile *incognito* at *Leiden*, some say at the *Hague*, and that afterwards

ward he went to his sister the Princess Royal, who was then at an house belonging to the Lady A Stanhope, called *Teyling-house*, together with the Duke of *Buckingham*, who since he certainly arrived in those parts with one *Boswell*, therefore it was the more credibly given out that the King was there also, and that the sayd Duke had been his Companion all along in the flight from *Worcester*, but it appeared otherwise by the Kings relation to the French Lords.

By a long series of Successes the *English* Common-wealth was now mainly confirmed and advanced: *Cromwell* their General after his triumphal entrance into *London* from the *Battel* at *Worcester*, was never after call'd forth upon any Expedition, there never hapning any occasion so important as to require his person; what remained uncompleted of the Conquest of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, he left to be performed by his Lieutenants there, and daily there came news of some Party defeated, some Fortress or other won in these Two Nations, besides the compleat B gaining of the lesser Islands. The Isle of *Scilly* being lately reduc'd, the next Attempt was made upon the Isle of *Jersey*, by Colonel *Hain* (whose Men were shipt at *Weimouth* the Fourteenth of *October*) and General *Blake* from *Sea*, after the taking of *Mount Orgueil* and other Forts, *Elizabeth* Castle was surrendered by Sir *George Carteret* Governour there for the King, and so by consequence the whole Island came into the power of the Common-wealth, also *Castle Peel*, and *Castle Rushen* in the Isle of *Man* (the only places that were kept for the King in that Island,) attackt by Colonel *Duckensfield*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Mitchell*, were delivered to them upon Articles by the Countess of *Derby* on the twenty sixth of *October*: and lastly, *Cornet* Castle the only place that held out in the Isle of *Guernsey*, was not long after taken by the Common-wealths Forces, having stood out a long time as being a place of great and almost impregnable Strength C by nature.

It was about this time, that Two eminent Commanders of the *Parliaments* side were taken away by death, viz. General *Popham* one of the Admirals at *Sea*, and *Ireton* Son-in-law to General *Cromwell*, and in his room made Deputy of *Ireland*.

The *English* Common-wealth had in some measure quieted things at home, and were in a faire way to a calm of Peace and Tranquillity, when new stirs began to appear from abroad, and that chiefly by reason of an Act made by the present *English* Parliament, For the encrease of Shipping, and the encouragement of Navigation; which the *Hollanders* apprehending highly prejudicial to their Trade, they labour'd with all their might what by fair Messages, and what with Threats to get repeal'd, but when they saw all their Endeavours were in vain, they were discoverd not obscurely to meditate Hostility. D

The latter end of this year was chiefly considerable, by the delivery of the *Barbadoes* to Sir *George Ayscough*; the Sentence of Banishment pronounc'd against *John Lilburn*, after a long and tedious Tryal at the Suit of Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*; and lastly, by the Act of Oblivion set forth by the *Parliament*, for the pardoning of all Offences, some few only excepted, which had been committed before the Third of *September*, and this was chiefly intended in respect of those things which had been done in the War, and to bury all Animosities between the State and the Kings Party.

The first Act of Hostility was on the Nineteenth of *May*, in the year 1652, when *Van Trump* the Admiral of the *Dutch* Fleet coming with Two and forty Sail toward *Dover* Road, refus'd to stoop Sail, hung out his red Flag, the usuall signal of Defiance, and gave a Broad-side to *Blake* the *English* Admiral, which occasioned some hours sharp dispute between them, wherein the *Dutch* had the worst, losing in this Fight two Ships and an hundred and fifty Men; but of this Action, the States of *Holland* would not in any wise own themselves Countenancers and Approvers, and to excuse the matter, as done without their Consent, they dispatcht their Ambassadors into *England*, to renew the Treaty with the *Parliament* of this Common-wealth; however this Treaty ended in an absolute breach between the Two Common-wealths, and now open War was denounc'd and publickly proclaim'd on both sides E

In *July* Sir *George Ayscough* being returned from the *Barbadoes*, and set to Guard the narrow Seas with a Squadron of Ships, met with Thirty Sail of *Hollanders* between *Dover* and *Calice*, and took, or burnt to the number of Ten, the rest ran ashore upon the Coast of *France*, and the next Month there happed another Encounter off *Plymouth*, between Sir *George* and the *Dutch* Fleet, consisting of sixty Men of War, and thirty Merchant, part of the *English* Fleet, coming up to Sir *George Ayscough's* assistance: This Engagement continued fierce till night parted them, and not without some loss to the *English*, but more to the *Dutch*; and about the latter end of *September*, they were lamentably defeated by General *Blake*, on the back-side of *Goodwin Sands*, which Bight was called, the *Kentish Knock*, but in the Levant Seas a small Fleet of the *English* conveying certain Merchant-men from *Scanderoon*, were set upon by eleven Sail of *Dutch*, who over-powering them in number, took and blew up five *English* Ships, and about the beginning of *December*, General *Blake* himself engaging with the whole Fleet of the *Dutch*, came off with the worst, losing the *Garland* and *Bonaventure*, with some other Ships: and again in the *Levant*, Captain *Badiley* coming from *Portolongone* to the Relief of *C. Appleton*, Blockt up in the Mole of *Ligorn*, was set upon by the *Dutch*, in which Encounter he lost three or four stout Ships: The same year the Two Fleets again joyning *Battel* between *Portland* and the Isle of *Wight*, about the Twentieth of *February* the *Dutch* were overthrown, with a sore and terrible loss both of their Ships and Men, but all these Fights put not yet a Period to the War, which was not ended till the year following, and that chiefly by the Counsels and Power of the now chief Ruler

The Isles of *Jersey* and *Man* reduc'd by the *Parliaments* Forces. *Cornet* Castle taken.

The death of *Popham* and *Ireton*.

The occasion of the War with the *Dutch*.

The *Barbadoes* reduc'd. *Lilburn* banish'd. The Act of Oblivion.

1652. The first Sea-fight between the *Dutch* and the *English*.

The *Dutch* Fleet twice defeated by Sir *Geor. Ayscough*.

By General *Blake* near *Goodwin Sands*. The *English* come off with loss in the *Levant*.

Another great over-throw given to the *Dutch* Fleet near *Portland*.

- A Ruler *Cromwell*, who having by the long continued success of his Forces obtained a long respite and vacation from Military Action, had leisure enough to forecast with himself, how he might not only confirm his present Greatness, but also advance himself to a higher pitch, and to this end he set himself by all manner of fair pretences to engage unto a Compliance with his Actions and Interests, the chief Officers of the Army; nor did he neglect to pry narrowly into the Actions and Councils of the *Parliament*, having of his own Creatures among them to give him continuall Intelligence from time to time of what was done in the *Parliament House*: Thus emboldened with his former Successes, and his present high Authority in the Common-wealth, fortified with Friends and Correspondents, and backt with a powerful Army; He on the Twentieth of *April*, in the year 1653. entred the House attended with some of the principal Commanders of his Army, and delivering his Reasons to them in a Speech, why he came to put a period to their present Sitting; as judging it a thing conducing to the publick good and welfare of the Nation, he accordingly Dissolved them, the Members some quietly, some with murmuring (resist none durst) yeilding Obedience to Necessity and the Generals pleasure: to justify this great Act, and satisfy the World, in form at least and pretense, a Declaration came forth from the General and his Council of Officers, shewing the reasons of this proceeding, and alledging the *Corruptions and dilatory proceedings of this Parliament, and their endeavours to perpetuate themselves*; and that the course of Law and Judicature might not be disturbed by the dissolution of this Government, a certain select number of persons were summoned by the Generals Writs to appear at *Westminster* on the Fourth of *July*, and to take the Government upon them. In the meanwhile, the General and his Council of Officers took upon them the administration of Affairs: the time being come, the persons designed for this Convention met in the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*, where having received Orders and Commission from General *Cromwell*, they took their Seats in the *Parliament House*.

1653.
Cromwell dissolves the long Parliament.

Chooseth another.

- Four Months had this Convention or Parliamentary Assembly sate, and had made some laudable Edicts; when at length, certain Divisions and Controversies arising among them (and that chiefly about the taking away of Tithes, which came under Consultation) it was mov'd by some among them, that their longer sitting would not be for the peace of the Nation; thereupon they attended the General, and whether voluntarily or by appointment, resigned their Power into his hands, who thenceforth, though seeming unwilling, and excusing his Inability for so great a weight and burthen, yet importun'd by those about him, and by the City suborned, as some think, thereunto, assumed unto himself the supreme Rule and sovereign Authority of the Three Nations, with the Title of *Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland*; and had a Council assigned him, consisting of One and twenty persons, most of them Officers of the Army, with whose assistance he carried all things in the Intervals of *Parliament*. And now he was arriv'd to that height of Power and Dignity, that there wanted only the Name and Title to make him absolute King.

Takes upon himself the Government, with the Title of Lord Protector.

- These things thus transacted in *England*, the King of *Scots* not having any further means left him for the attempting his claimed Dominions, was constrained to take up his peaceful Residence in the Court of *France*, where notwithstanding the low Condition to which he was by Fate reduc'd, yet in regard of his high Quality and Extraction, and his near relation to the *French King*, he lived in great Honour and Respect with the King, Queen, and Nobles of *France*: much talk also and expectation there was for a long time after his Arrival, of a Marriage between him and *Mademoiselle d'Orleans*, as likewise between his Brother the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Longueville's* Daughter, and the Queen of *England* was sayd to be an earnest Solicitor in the Business, but it is likely that the troublesome Estate at that time of the Kingdom of *France*, besides the ill posture of the *Scots Kings* Affairs put a period to this Transaction: for by reason of the Discontents of some of the chief Princes of the blood against Cardinal *Mazarin's* inordinate power and other grand Miscarriages of the State, there was sprung up a kind of civil War in that Kingdom; the people generally murmuring against the Cardinal, and inclining to take part with the Princes and the Parliaments also of *Paris* and *Bordeaux* adhering to them, and the Duke of *Lorraine* then in the Service of the *Spaniards*, being call'd in to the assistance of the Princes, having an Army to that purpose in a readines; and these things hapned when young *Lewis* the Fourteenth, was newly declared Major (i.e.) arriv'd to the Age that render'd him capable of Governing, and exempted him from the Tuition of the Queen Regent.

The Sr. K. entertain'd in the Court of France. A Match propos'd between him and the Duke of Orleans his daughter.

- To compose and end these Differences, the King of *Scots* offer'd himself as an earnest Mediator between both Parties, and so far he prevail'd in the business, that Deputies from the Princes were admitted to a Conference with the *French King* to declare their Grievances, and debate of those things that were in difference: the first Conference taking no effect, others were also procur'd at the Suit of the *Scots King*, who also himself went in person to and fro between both Sides, to mediate a Reconciliation, using his own Condition as an Argument to move the *French King*, advising him rather to compose things on any terms, then to drive on to extremity, as his Friends did in *England*, whereby he sayd he lost his good Father and Three Kingdoms; the King of *France* and his Council return'd him many thanks for his friendly Advice, and it was chiefly at his request that the Deputies had been admitted to Treat, yet all endeavours at present prov'd ineffectual, the *French King* persisting in his resolution not to give way to the banishment of the Cardinal, who he sayd, had approv'd himself a most faithful Servant and able Minister of State; hereupon the Warlike Preparations proceeded vigorously on both sides,

The Sr. K. mediates a reconciliation between the K. and Fr. of France.

He incurs an Oath from the Princes and the Common people.

His treaty with the Duke of Lorrain for the reducing of Ireland.

The two last Sea-fights between the English and the Dutch.

Transactions between the State of England and the Danish King.

The French Fleet intercepted by Blake, as it was going to the relief of Dunkirk. Ambassadors from France & Portugal.

The St. K. returns from St. Germain to Paris.

His brother the Duke of Gloucester returns to him into France. Lillburn comes over into England out of Exile. He is tried again and acquitted, yet sent back to Prison.

and had the Duke of Lorrain as was expected come on with his Army, and joyned with the Princes; the business had speedily come to a grand Engagement; but the Duke being tamper'd with by the Court party, and having as it seems very advantageous Terms, offer'd him to desist, was so effectually prevail'd with, that he drew off his Forces and would not engage: this so incensed the Princes and the generality of the people, that they not only bitterly inveigh'd against Lorrain for his perfidiousness, but also against the King of Scots, and the Queen his Mother; as supposing that they and their Agents, *Montague* and *Jermyn* had under pretence of negotiating a Reconciliation, carried all things in favour of the Cardinal and the Court Faction; and there hapned an occasion which increas'd this their suspicion, for the Duke of *Beaufort* coming into the Field to the Duke of Lorrain found the King of Scots and his Brother the Duke of York in his Company, who upon *Beaufort's* coming in avoided the place, and then the Duke of Lorrain being perswaded by many Arguments to come on and fight, discover'd so much backwardness and coolness in the Business, as made it easily perceiv'd he had no such intention, so that now more then ever the common people were envenom'd with rage, and flung their reproaches against the English Princes, not forbearing even to threaten violence to their Persons, insomuch that the Scots King was forc'd to withdraw from the *Louvre* to *S. Germain's*; and the Queen his Mother received many Affronts as she was passing in her Coach from the *Louvre* to the *Nunnery at Châlons* where she kept her Residence; but this kind of violent proceedings, sprung rather from the heat of popular Fury, then were ground'd upon any sure Foundation of Reason, for it was not unknown that the King of France was advis'd by his Cousin to consent to the departure of *Mazarin* out of his Dominions; rather then to imbroyl his Kingdom in War; nor was it probable that his Conference with the Duke of Lorrain was about any other then his own Affairs; since he had been trafficking for a long time with that Duke, to send his Army over into Ireland, for the recovering of that Kingdom out of the hands of the English Commonwealth, and so far had this business proceeded, that Articles of Agreement were drawn up between the Duke and the Lord *Trafalgar* Agent for the King in this business; wherein among other things it was agreed that the Duke should be vested with the Power and Title of *Protector Royall of Ireland*; but the Duke not having Power sufficient of himself without the assistance of some other Prince to undertake so great an Enterprize; and moreover his Forces being diverted upon other designs, this business took no effect, and it was thought by some that Cardinal *Mazarin*, of whom the Scots King had been reported so much a Favourite, was no small Impediment to this Affair.

After that *Cromwell* had invested himself with the Supreme Authority, the War yet lasted for a while with the Dutch, and Two terrible Naval Battels more were fought between the Fleets this year, the first about the beginning of June, in which, though the English had otherwise a most notable Victory, yet they lost General *Dron* one of their Admirals, who was slain by a great shot: the other was upon the Twenty ninth of July, in which the Dutch lost not only the Day (this being the greatest Victory that had been gain'd over them in all this War) but also their General *Vontramp* a very shrewd and expert Seaman, and one that would have been a Terror to any but the English Nation.

During this War with the Hollander, there hapned a notable Contest between the Commonwealth of England, and the King of Denmark, about certain Merchant-men which coming from the East, and not daring to venture through the Sound by reason of the Dutch-men of War that lay there, but tarrying for a Convoiy out of England, were in the mean time shut up in the Booms at *Copenhagen*, and not only the Convoiy was forc'd to return without them, but also when one *Braslow* was sent over as an Agent from this State to demand the restitution of those Ships, they were notwithstanding both detain'd by the Kings Order, and the Goods sold: This for the time bred a great Controversie between this State and the Danish King, however it was at last taken up and ended at least in a seeming Correspondence.

Also a French Fleet of seven Sail going to the Relief of *Dunkirk* then besieg'd by the Spaniards, was set upon by General *Blake*, and most of the Ships taken, by which means the French Relief was hindered and the Town won by the Spaniards; this moved the French King to hasten over his Ambassador to sollicite for a Peace with England, which afterward was effected, and about the same time came over an Ambassador from Portugal for the same end.

The Scots King after he had for a season retir'd himself to *S. Germain's* to avoid the violence threaten'd against him by the Parisians, for having, as they surmisd, been a partial Mediator in the business of the Princes, returned as soon as the heat of popular Rage was over, to the Palace of the *Louvre*. During his Absence at Paris, his Brother the Duke of Gloucester, who for a long time had been under the Custody of the Parliament in England, and at length dismiss'd and sent to his Sister into Holland, was from thence attended into France by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Richard Grenville*, and honourably receiv'd at Paris by the French King, Queen-mother, and the rest of the Grantees.

John Lilburn who had been banish'd by the Commonwealth, hearing of the change of Government, and presuming upon the Protection of Clemency, thought he might now venture without danger to return into England, and about the Tenth of June he came over without permission granted, whereupon he was try'd for his life at the City Sessions, and after a long time of hearing given by the Jury, yet was he by Order committed back to Newgate, and afterwards removed from thence to the Tower, so great a stir there was with this petty incendiary, this Enemy to whatsoever Power was appointed.

And

A And now it was order'd by *Cromwells* Council at *Whitehall*, that all publick Writings should issue out under the Name and Authority of the Lord Protector, no longer under the Title of the Keepers of *Englands* Liberties; and an Instrument of the Government was drawn up and publish'd, containing Two and forty Heads.

Publick Writings run in a new Style.

Toward the latter end of *February*, eleven persons of Quality were committed Prisoners to the *Tower*, upon the discovery of some secret Design against the Protector, and as it was reported in behalf of *Charles Stuart* King of the *Scots*, but either out of the Protector's Clemency, or rather because they could not be found guilty, they were soon after set at liberty.

Eleven persons of quality committed to the *Tower*.
Addresses made to the Protector from several parts of the Nation.

About this time, there came Addreses from all parts of the Nation (as usually there doth upon all changes of Government, be they never so contrary to one another) to Congratulate his Highness's Advancement.

B By *Cromwells* Authority chiefly it was, as hath been already intimated, that a Peace began now to be in agitation with the *Dutch*, for he having now obtained the supreme Power, and having as appears afterwards, some other Design in hand, took the first Advantage of their Application for Peace, as doubtless they were brought to such Terms by this War as made them forward enough to sue for it, and to that end, there came over Two Ambassadors, the Lords *Newport* and *Youngfall*, who after a while going over for fresh Instructions to the States, returned about the beginning of *March*, fully Impowred from them for the concluding of a firm League and good Correspondence between the Two States: So that on the Fifth of *April*, 1654. the Articles of Peace were signed, and on the Twenty sixth Proclaimed in *London*, and a day or two after were proclaimed the Articles of Alliance between *England* and *Sweden*, the Lord

The Protector concludes a Peace with the *Dutch*.
1654.
And with *Sweden*.

C *Whitlock* being sent over Ambassador to *Queen Christina* a little before her resignation of her Crown to her cousin *Carolus Gustavus*, by whom they were also ratified.

In the following Month of *May*, several persons charged with an intention to have taken away the Protector's life by Ambush, to have seized the City and *Tower*, and so to have proclaimed *Charles Stuart* King, were apprehended and sent to Prison, and at a High court of Justice, erected on the First of *July* for their Tryal, Three were condemned of High-treason, namely, Colonel *John Gerard*, *Peter Vowell* a Schoolmaster, and one *Somerst. Fox*, this last was reprieved for his ample Confession; of the other Two, *Gerard* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, *Vowell* hanged at *Charing Cross*, on the same day with Colonel *Gerard*, *Viz*. The Tenth of *July*, though upon a different account, was likewise beheaded *Don Pantaleon* son Brother to the *Portugal* Ambassador,

Col *Gerard* and others tryed before a high Court of Justice.
Gerard and *Vowell* executed.

D who having not many Months before been engag'd in a Quarrel upon the *New Exchange*, with this *Gerard*, wherein he came off with the worst, was so far stirr'd up to Revenge, that coming the next Night into the *Exchange* with an armed Train of his Followers, he was the occasion of the Murder of one *Mr. Greenwood* a Gentleman no way concern'd in the Quarrel: for this Riot being tryed for his life and condemned at the *Upper-bench*, he was brought to end at once both his Life and Controversie upon the same Scaffold with his Adversary.

The *Portugal* Ambassadors brother beheaded.

E The *Scots* King had remain'd in the Court of *France* between two and three years, with an Expectation sometimes flowing and sometimes ebbing, of gaining at length some opportunity to recover his claimed Kingdoms; one while by reason of the War between the Common-wealth of *England* and the united States, he hop'd to have won the States to an owning and embracing of his Interests, and to that purpose sent over Ambassador to them the Lord *Gerard*, desiring them, by a Letter written to them with his own hand, that he might have a Squadron of lusty Ships to bear his Flag, which he offered to command himself in person as Admirall.

Transactions between the *Sc. K.* and the *Dutch*.

In the mean time, his Sister the Princess Royal of *Orange*, and the rest of his friends in the *Lowcountrie*s, were not slack to employ all their Power and Influence with the States to incline them unto a ready Concession in this Affair, and to engage them the more to him, the *Scots* King upon the Arrival of *Mr. Borcel* to negotiate a League with the Crown of *France*, shew'd himself very active and industrious to promote that Work, and haply he might be instrumental in a great measure for the bringing it the sooner to a period, yet what with the averiness of the Province of *Holland* (for the other Provinces seem'd more inclinable to his desire) and what with the Peace that ensued between the Common-wealth of *England* and the confederate States,

F all he could gain of them in the end, notwithstanding his own and his friends so earnest Addreses, was only an Answer full of complemental Civility to his Letter and Embasie: another while he encouraged himself with the probable Success of those earnest Endeavours that were made by the Pope and other Catholick Princes for a Reconciliation between the Two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, in which Affair he also interpos'd himself a most zealous Sollicitor, as not doubting but that from the united Forces of Two such powerful Monarchs, he should receive considerable Assistance, and Matters were once in a fair way to a peaceful Conclusion, had not the politick Reasons of State, as it is thought, of Cardinal *Mazarini* put a stop to this grand Work; so that in this Business also as in many others besides, he was strangely frustrated of his expectation; but that Transaction which of all others went nearest to him, was the great preparation

The *Sc. K.* solicits a Peace between *France* and *Spain*.

G in the *French* Court, for the sending over an Ambassador into *England*, to treat about a Peace with this Common-wealth: to divert this Embassage, both he and the Queen his Mother us'd all the Power and Interest they had in that Court, though all in vain, for it was not long ere *Mr. Bourdeaux* *Nenfuille* was dispatch'd upon the foresaid Embasie; hereupon the *Scotch* King foreseeing by a necessary consequence what would become of his Party and Affairs in *France*, if this Address, as it was likely should terminate in a League, thought it better to leave that King-

He departs out of *France*, toward *Germany*.

The Lord Wil-
mot sent Am-
bassadour from
the Scots King
to the Empe-
rour.

The Sc K got
to the Spaw.
Thence to
Colen.

The Duke of
Gloucester re-
mov'd out of
the Jesuites
Colledge by
the K. his bro-
thers Order.

Glencarn de-
feated by Col.
Morgan.

Middleton de-
feated by Lieu.
Gen. Monk.

The general
Assembly dis-
solv'd by Col.
Morgan.

The Native
Irish driven
into the Pro-
vince of Co-
unghla.

A Parliament
call'd.

dom voluntarily before hand, then to stay till he were ceremoniously forced out; so that having A
taken his leave of the King of France (and the other great Ones) from whom he received
many Complements and Apologies, no doubt pretending the necessity of his Affairs: He
went accompanied with his Brother the Duke of York, his Cousins Prince Rupert and Prince Ed-
ward Palatine to *Chatillon*, a house belonging to the Prince of Conde, where they stayd awhile to
determine how most commodiously each of them to dispose of themselves; the Scots King with
Prince Rupert resolv'd for Germany, having long before sent the Lord Wilmos his Ambassadour to
the Emperour to Negotiate in his behalf, and the rather because about that time a general
Dyer of the Estates of the Empire was to be held at *Regensburgh*: Prince Edward took his Jour-
ney to *Bombon*, and the Duke of York remain'd in France till a good while after the conclusion
of the Peace with England, being Lieutenant General of the French Kings Army, commanded B
in chief by Marshal *Thuren*. Prince Rupert having parted from the King of Scots to go to
Heidelberg, the chief Seat of his brother *Frederick* Prince Palatine, and thence to the Impe-
rial Court at *Vienna*, the King took his Journey by the way of *Cambray* and *Leige* to the *Spain*,
which he made his first place of Residence in Germany: here his Sister the Princess Royal met
him, and after a few Months stay in this place, accompanied him to *Colen*, where they were
receiv'd with great Honour and Magnificence; as they made their entrance into the Town, the
great and small Guns were discharged, and the Deputies of the City came in a solemn manner to
Complement them: not many dayes after they entertain'd these Princes at a sumptuous Col-
lation, the like did the Duke of *Newburgh* at his house at *Dunssel-Dorff*, from whence the Princess
of *Orange* returning into *Holland*, the King her brother brought her onward of her way as far as C
Bedinguen.

The young Duke *Henry* of Gloucester after his brothers departure into Germany, was by the
means of the Queen his Mother, and others of the Catholick Faction, placed in a Colledge of
the Jesuites, to have been Principled in the Romish Religion, whereof Intelligence being
soon brought to the Scots King, he took great distast thereat, and sent speedy order to have him
remov'd and brought to him, which Order was so exactly observ'd, that when he was upon his
departure out of *Paris* with the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Queen sending to him the Marshal of
Praslin, and *Mountague* Abbot of *Nantuel*, to desire him only to go and take a Dinner at the
Colledge before he went; the Duke return'd Answer, That though she were his Mother, yet he
ought rather (especially in this matter) to yeild Obedience to his brother as being also his D
King: this refusal so incens'd the Queen, that she would not admit him into her presence so
much as to take his leave of her; moreover when the King of Scots sent a Letter to excuse the
hasty taking of him out of the Colledge, she is sayd to have thrown the Letter into the fire:
This seems to me sufficiently to evince that the King of the Scots is not altogether so great a Fa-
vourer of Popery as some have delivered him to the World to be.

Scotland was not yet so totally subdued, but that there yet appeared in Arms for the King
a Force not altogether contemptible of the *Highlanders*, whose chief Captains were the Earls
of *Atbol*, *Seafort*, *Kenmore*, *Glencarn*, *Glengary*, and others: these having each of them got toge-
ther several small Parties, were endeavouring to unite their Forces into one Body, and so to
have been able to have taken the Field against the whole English Army; and they had soon ef- E
fected their purpose, had not *Glencarn* who was the strongest Party of them been Encomptred by
Colonel *Morgan*, and all his Army disperfed, himself very narrowly escaping from being taken:
yet were they not for all this so out of heart, but that they again endeavour'd to Rally, and
their Confidence was the more encreased by their expectation of *Middleton*'s coming over with
Supplies out of *Holland*; nor did their expectation fail them of *Middleton*'s coming, but it was
not long after his Arrival, ere engaging in Battel at *Loughgery* with Lieutenant General *Monk*,
he was utterly overthrown and forced to fly again out of Scotland. This Fight was on the One
and twentieth of July: And the Kirk of Scotland also her self at this time had the Wings of her
Authority very much clip'd, if not quite taken away by the dissolution of her general Assembly,
which was done by Colonel *Morgan* the foregoing year at *Aberdeen* where they were Assembled, F
Mr. *Andrew Cant* and the rest of them in vain Protesting against the Action.

As for *Ireland* it was now brought to that pass, that there was little or nothing of Opposition
remaining in that Nation, to trouble the Common-wealth, only the Incursions now and then
of a few *Tories*, a great part of the Natives (among whom all the ancient *Irish* Nobility) be-
ing either executed, those that were found guilty of the bloody Masacre committed upon the
Protestants, or transported into *Spain* and other foreign Parts, those that came in upon Procla-
mation, the rest were all driven into the Province of *Conaught*, and there circumscribed to In-
habit; the other Three Provinces were allotted to the English, and all the forfeited Lands di-
vided among the Adventurers and Soldiers; those for the Moneys advanced towards the carrying
on of the *Irish* Affairs, these for their Arrears. In the room of *Ireson* deceas'd had been appointed G
for Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Son-in-law to *Cromwell*, by the
Marriage of his eldest Daughter *Bridges*, *Ireson*'s Relict.

According to the late Instrument of Government, wherein in the first place it was Articled,
That a Parliament should be called every Three years, and that the first should begin on the
Third of September, 1654. A Parliament was summoned by the Protestors Writs, chosen by a
free Election of the People, and Assembled at the prefixed time above mentioned, making
choice for their Speaker of *William Lenthall*, Speaker in the long Parliament; their beginning
seems

A seems to have been somewhat bold, considering the totteringness of their Estate; for at their very hatching they began to question the lawfulness of the Power by which they were call'd, whereupon they were enjoyned to sign a Recognition of the Government as it was settled in a single Person, and a Parliament, before they could be readmitted to their Seats in Parliament: this all of them that signed (for some refus'd) had liberty again to take their Places; but so little did their Proceedings please the Protector, that they had scarcely sate full five Months, (and so long they were to sit by one of the Articles of the Instrument) when he came and dissolved them. A day or two after the dissolution of this Parliament, were apprehended about a new Conspiracy hatched, as they say, or at least countenanced by the Parliament it self; Sir Henry Littleton, Sir John Packington of the Royal Interest; and of the Levelling or Lilburnian Faction, Major Wildman. There was it seems intended a general Rising throughout the whole Nation, for the vindication of the supposed Right of Charles Stuart King of the Scots, unto the Crown of England: and though the Combination was in a great part discovered before the apprehending of the above named Persons, who thereupon with several others were committed to Prison; yet to far the Design being generally layd had taken effect, that in several Counties some small Armed Parties began to gather into a Body; in Shropshire and Wales, some endeavour'd to have taken Shrewsbury, and Chirk Castle by Surprize, but were both prevented, and of those that attempted Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Harris who was the chief, was taken Prisoner and sent up to London.

The Members
injoynd to
sign a Recog-
nition.

The Parliam.
dissolv'd.

Sir Henry Lit-
leton and o-
thers commit-
ted to the
Tower.

The Surprize
of Shrewsbury
endeavour'd.

An Insurrec-
tion at Salisbury.

And the like
in other parts
of the Nation
supprest.

Penraddock &
Grove be-
headed about
the Western
Rising.

Great Prepa-
ration for the
setting forth
of a Fleet up-
on a suddain
expedition.

The death of
Mr. John
Selden.

The Marquis
of Leda comes
Ambassadour
from Spain,
and speedily
returns.

The Fleet
steers towards
Hispaniola.

Upon Sunday the Eleventh of March, a Party of about Two hundred entered Salisbury about Midnight, and having seiz'd upon Horses, and taken away the Commissions of the Judges that were upon their Circuit, bended their course towards Cornwall, of which Captain Unton Crook, having timely Intelligence pursued them with his own Troop, and at a place called Southmolton, in Devonshire, overtook them, and after four hours sharp Conflict, put them to a totall Rout, besides Fifty common Prisoners: there were taken of the chief Leaders Three Captains, Penraddock, Jones, and Grove, only Sir Joseph Waggestaff made a shift to escape away. Other Risings there were in Northumberland, and at the Forest of Sherwood in Yorkshire, where five hundred Horse being met, dispers'd themselves on a sudden, through a sudden pannick fear which posselt them, also at Hexom Moor in Yorkshire, there was a great Rendezvous of the Gentry of the Country, of whom Sir Henry Slingsby was taken, and Sir Richard Malleverer with much ado escaped.

D At Salisbury and Exeter many of the West Risers were tryed by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, and executed, and particularly at Exeter, Penraddock and Grove were beheaded, Captain Jones was reprieved; besides those who were put to death of the chief Leaders, many Prisoners in the West were filled with a number of the common sort of Prisoners, till within a little while after that they emptied themselves into foreign Plantations.

E And there hapned about this time an Adventure which serv'd very opportunely for the ridding of Prisons of their surcharging numbers, and the imploying of a multitude of loose and vagrant people, there having been ever since the Peace with the Dutch, great Preparations made for the Equipping forth of a great and powerful Fleet, upon an Expedition which was kept very secret and not made known even to those that went upon it, unless to the supreme Commanders, till the very last, only it was given out that the Voyage would be very profitable, and to a place where there was much Gold and store of Riches; In this Service we may well think there would not be wanting enow that would greedily engage themselves: hither all sorts of people flock'd, especially those of low and bankrupt Fortunes, and upon hopes of enriching themselves, run headlong most of them to their ruine; a Fate that commonly attends precipitate Ambition and Covetousness. This Navy setting Sail from Portsmouth on the Twenty seventh of December, put in at the Barbadoes on the Twenty eighth of January; Venable commanding the Land-forces, and Pen being General at Sea.

F This year hath been sufficiently memorable, if for nothing else, yet for the death of that famous and Learned Antiquary Mr. John Selden, whose Works are a Monument far more worthy his Memory, then that in the Inner-Temple Church.

Philip the Fourth King of Spain, whether to Collogue with the Protector, whom he saw to be a man of a growing Fortune, or to divert some secret Design which he foresaw was brewing against him (nor did he fail much of his Conjecture) sent over into England as extraordinary Ambassadour the Marquis of Leda, who arriv'd the Twenty second of May, 1655. and was received with the usual Complements and Ceremonies, but had not that cordial Entertainment which he expected; for at the same time that he was here endeavouring to confirm the League, there was a Design in agitation which tended to the dissolution of it, To that the Ambassadour quickly finding which way things went, took his leave after a short stay and returned homeward.

G In the mean time, the Fleet setting Sail from the Barbadoes on the Thirtieth of March, steered its course towards Hispaniola, one of the fairest and richest Islands belonging to the American Dominions of the King of Spain, so that it was by this time apparent enough which way this Expedition tended; and whereas it was admir'd by many that at that time when no Hostility was declared between this Nation and the Kingdom of Spain, or any defiance bid on either side, we should with so high a hand carry War into his Territories, without any provocation by him first offered: Hereto it was alledg'd, That the Conditions of Peace extended not beyond the Southern Tropick; This Apology though it serv'd to stop the mouths of some, yet it could not

The English
land in the
Island of His-
paniola.

They are cru-
elly vanquish-
ed by the Spani-
ards and Na-
tives, and dri-
ven out of the
Island.

They possess
themselves of
Jamaica.

Gen Blake's
notable attempt
and success be-
fore Tunis.
The Lord
Willoughby of
Parham, the
Lord Newport,
and others
committed to
the Tower.
Major Sedg-
wick and Col.
Humphry's sent
with a supply
to Jamaica.
Gen. Pen. and
Gen Venables
return into
England.
The Duke of
Gloucester
comes to Co-
len to his bro-
ther the St. K.
Their progress
to Frankford.

not satisfy the *Spaniards*, who look'd upon it as an absolute breach of the Peace: how ever it **A**
were, whether this Expedition were just or not, whether it were undertaken to a pious end, as
was pretended, to curb the excessive pride and ambitious usurpation of the *Spaniards*, styling him-
self *Universal Monarch*, and to bring Freedom and purity of Religion to those *Indians* under
his Yoke, or, as many are apt to believe, to partake with the *Spaniard* of some of his *Indian*
Gold, thinking it too much for one Potentate to ingross so much Treasure to himself: I shall
not take upon me to determine this as most certain, That at the beginning of this Enterprize,
it met with a very remarkable Check (however the War with the *Spaniard* proved afterwards
successful enough) for General *Venables*, when as he might have landed his Men within a very
little of *Santo Domingo*, the principal Town and Fortrefs of the Island, and which was in a
manner deserted by the Garrison Soldiers upon sight of the *English* Fleet; nevertheless led by **B**
know not what Policy and Interest of his own and (it is more then suspected) over-ru'd by
the Counsels of his Wife, set them a shore Ten Leagues Westward of *Domingo*; whereupon
the *Spaniards* foreseeing well enough what would be the issue of this business according as it
was ordered, immediatly gathered fresh Courage, and betook themselves presently again to
the defence of *San Domingo* which they had abandon'd: The *English* landing without opposition,
and seeing no Enemy neer them, thought themselves safe enough, and were in their minds
absolute Lords of the *Indies*, sharing the golden Mines among them, when contrary to their
expectation, the General causing it to be Proclaim'd in the head of the Army, That none upon
pain of death should plunder any Gold, Plate, or Jewels, or kill any Cattel. This suddain
frustration of their Hopes, and the Climates excessive heat, proved the one such a damping to **C**
their Spirits, the other such a weakning to their Bodies, that by that time they had marched a
most tedious and disconsolate March through thick Woods in deep scalding Sands, ready to
perish with miserable Drought and Thirst for want of Water, of which they met not with a drop
in many Miles, they were brought to such a condition, that they needed not an Enemy to kill
them, being already almost dead with faintness and weakness; so that the *Spaniards*, *Negro's*,
and *Molatto's*, falling upon them, kill'd with little or no resistance, till they were weary of
killing, and those that could make a shift to fly away, found it a sufficient Archievement, for
that time, to bring themselves back again safe unto their Ships.

In this Conflict Major General *Haines* acted the part of a very valiant Soldier, who being
shamefully deserted by his own men, and over-powered by his Enemies, was slain stoutly **D**
fighting: there fell above Six hundred in the Fight, or rather Massacre, besides what were cut
off in stragling Parties neer as many more, and all this Execution was done by not above Sixty
of the Enemy. The remnant of this Naval Army, that they might not be thought to have un-
dertaken so long a Voyage, and of such expectation altogether in vain, they posselt themselves
with little or no opposition of another Island called *Jamaica*, which however not so plentiful and
rich a place as that which they at first aimed at, yet with much Industry, and the supplies that
were sent them out of *England*, they made a shift to make a Habitation of it tolerable enough
to abide in, and have kept it ever since.

The first Adviser to this undertaking, was one *Gage* a Minister (formerly a Romish Priest) **E**
who also undertook to be the chief Guide in this Expedition, as one who by his long time of
Travel in those Parts, was well acquainted with them, and there he ended his dayes not long
after his re-arrival, reaping little fruit of this his famous Project.

While these things were thus transacted not so happily in these Western Islands, with better
success General *Blake* before *Tunis*, demanding reparation for the Losses sustaint from *Turkish*
Pirates, and being answered with scorn by the *Dye* of *Tunis*, ventur'd upon a gallant resolute
Attempt, and (notwithstanding the *Bravado* of the *Dye*, in bidding him behold his Castles of
Galleta and *Ferino*.) came boldly to Anchor with the Admiral, Vice-admiral, and Rear-admi-
ral, within Musket shot of the Castle (the shore also being planted with great Guns) and
never left till he had fir'd Nine fair Ships in *Porto Ferino*, all that were in the Port, and at length
came off with much Glory and Renown, and little loss of his own side.

Notwithstanding the ill success of the late severall Combinations, which so many suffer'd for, **F**
it was not much above a Month ere the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*; and the Lord *Newport*, with
divers others, were committed to the *Tower*, upon suspicion of Treason, which yet, it seems,
went no further then suspicion, for they were never brought to a publick Tryal.

About the beginning of *July*, Major *Sedgewick* went with a Squadron of Twelve Ships,
among which was Colonel *Humphryes* with his Regiment to the supply of those in *Jamaica*,
from whence in the following Month of *August* General *Pen* return'd for *England* with a part
of the Fleet, the greatest part yet staying behind: and not long after him came over General *Ve-*
nables, leaving in their steads Colonel *Fortescue* to Command the Land Forces, Vice-admiral
Goadson the Navy. *Venables* not long after his Arrival, was for his ill management of Affairs in **G**
Hispaniola, sent to the *Tower*, from whence, haply being judg'd to have fail'd rather through
rash Impudence, then any sinister intention, he was at length releas'd.

The Duke of *Gloucester* having stayd for some time with his Sister the Princess Royal, at the
Hague, was at last accompanied by her to their Brother the King of *Scots* at *Colem*, where she
her self also stayd with them till after the Fair at *Frankford*, to which place they all of them
together made a Progress of Stare and Pleasure, attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, the old
Lord *Goring*, the Lord *Newburgh*, the Lady *Stamp*, and *Monsieur Hemslæt* her Husband; they
went

A went by Coach a little beyond *Bonne* the Archbishops Electoral Seat, the rest of the Journey they went by water in a Gondelay, or Pleasure-boat, through every Princes Country which they pass'd, they had the chief Officers of State sent to Complement them, and were saluted by the great Guns from all their Towns and Castles, more especially the Printe Elector of *Mentz* sent his grand Marshal to invite them to his Court; whereupon the Lord *Newburgh* was sent back with the grand Marshal to desire the Elector to excuse them at present, promising to wait upon him at their return: being arrived at *Frankford*, and hearing that Queen *Christina* of *Sweden* was coming that way in her Journey into *Italy*, the *Scotts* King sent one of his Lords to her, expressing his desire to wait upon her at what ever place her Majesty should be pleased to nominate; the place then appointed for this Interview was *Coningstein*, a Village neer *Frankford*, in the Electorate of *Mentz*, where he was received by her with much respect, and with expressions highly obliging; he had first private Conference with her himself for half an hour, next the Duke of *Gloucester* was admitted, and then the Lords that attended the King: As these Princes came back from *Frankford*: the Elector of *Mentz* renewing his Civilities, provided all manner of Accommodation for them as they pass'd through his Territories, and meeting them himself a great part of the way, he brought them to one of his Palaces where he entertain'd them in a very sumptuous and splendid manner, for the space of two or three dayes, after which they returned to *Colen*: Four Burgomasters being appointed by the Magistrate of the City to wait upon them and welcome them home.

The Interview between the K. of *Scotts* and *Christina* Queen of *Sweden*.

The *Sc. K.* and his Company entertain'd by the Elector of *Mentz*.

C There having been committed a most horrid and barbarous Massacre upon the Protestants in the Vallies of *Piedmont*, by the Soldiers of *Charles Emmanuel* Duke of *Savoy*: The Protector appointed a solemn day of Humiliation to be kept, and a large Contribution to be gathered throughout the Nation for their Relief.

A Contribution gathered throughout *England*, for the distressed Protestants in *Piedmont*.

Toward the latter end of *October*, Orders were set forth by the Protector and his Council, for the securing of the Peace of the Common-wealth; to execute which, there were appointed certain Protectors or Governours of Provinces, Eleven in number, namely, *Kelsey*, *Goff*, *Defborow*, *Fleetwood*, *Skippon*, *Whaley*, *Butler*, *Berry*, *Worsley*, *Lambert*, and *Baxter*, who was also Lieutenant of the *Tower*; each of them having his severall Counties allotted to his Government, in the nature of a Province, wherein their Authority for the time they govern'd, which was not long, was very absolute and uncontrollable in all civil and judicial Affairs.

Major Generals constituted over severall Provinces.

D Upon the tendering of certain Proposals to the Protector, by *Manasseh ben Israel*, a Jewish Merchant, in the behalf of his Hebrew Nation, for their free admission to Trade and exercise their Religion in *England*; a Conference was held about it severall dayes at *Whitehall*, by the Members of the Council, and certain eminent Divines; and many Arguments being urg'd, some for, others against their Admission, those against it at length so far prevail'd, that the Proposals took no effect.

A debate held at *Whitehall* about the admission of the *Jews*.

E The *Spanish* King thinking it in vain to hope for a conservation of the League on this side the *Tropick*, from those whom he judg'd to have so apparently broke it on the other side, by invading his Island of *Hispaniola*, began not obscurely to make preparations for War, and to shew that he had entertain'd Thoughts of Hostility; a general *Imbargo* was made in *Spain*, of all *English* Merchants Goods, and many of their persons secured; hereupon the like was done in *England*, and there suddenly follow'd on both sides a denunciation of open War, which by the *Spaniard* was not long after solemnly proclaim'd at *Dunkirk*.

An *Imbargo* upon the Goods of *English* Merchants in *Spain*.

Open War with *England* proclaim'd by the *Spaniard* at *Dunkirk*.

Articles of Peace between *England* and *France* ratified and proclaim'd.

The dissolution of the Peace with *Spain*, was the production of a Peace with *France*, for there having been long since an Address made to that end from *France*, to the State of *England*; no sooner did the breach begin between *England* and *Spain*: but the *French* King sends to *Monsieur Bourdeaux* his Ambassadour here, to preis home the business of his Embassie, which he did with so good success, that in a short while after the Articles of Peace between us and *France* were concluded, ratifi'd by both Parties, and on the Twenty eighth of *November* the Peace was proclaim'd at *London*, and at *Paris* much about the same time.

F One principal Condition of this Treaty was the exclusion of *Charles Stuart* King of the *Scotts*, and all his Relations and Adherents out of the King of *France* his Dominions, he himself upon foresight of what this Treaty would come to, had long since betaken himself to *Germany*, and there remained (for the most part at *Colen*, as hath been already mentioned) untill such time as the *Spaniard* invird him into *Flanders*: his brother the Duke of *York*, notwithstanding the great Command he had in the King of *France* his Army (the nearest Ties and Relations little avail, when self-interest comes in a place) was, by the same reason of State, advertis'd to depart that Kingdom with all his Retinue, by a prefixed time, not without some Complements and Apologies for the necessity of this dismissal; also his departure was respird for some considerable space, in which he was visited, and honourably treated by the Marshal *Turenne*, and others of the *French* Grandees; as likewise by the Duke of *Modena* (who at that time was come into *France* about some important Affair) at length he took his leave of the King and Court of *France*, and attended by the Lord *Jermyn* and other *English* Lords, took his Journey toward *Flanders*, where at that time his brother the *Scotts* King resided at the Invitation of *Don John* of *Austria*, then Governour of the *Lowcountries* for the King of *Spain*, who whether out of Commiseration of this Prince's unfortunate Condition, or out of policy to make use of his interest, sent the Count of *Fuenalduque* to offer him in the name of the *Spanish* King all possible Service and Assistance.

The Duke of *York* warn'd out of *France*.

He takes himself to *Flanders* to his brother.

The

1656.
The death and
burial of the
Bishop of Ar-
magh.

The first thing remarkable this next year, 1656, is the death of that pious and most learned A Prelate, *James Usher* Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, and once Primate of *Ireland*, whose judicious Writings are sufficiently famous in the Common-wealth of Learning throughout *Christendome*; he had an honourable Burial bestow'd upon him by his Highness (so the Lord Protector was commonly stiled) and most of the Nobility in *London* attended him to his Enterrment In *Westminster Abbey*, where his Funeral Oration was deliver'd by Dr. *Bernard* late Lord Almoner to his Highness.

A Parliament
summoned a-
gain.

The Protector notwithstanding his no success in his last Parliament; yet finding a necessity of calling one again, he sent forth Writs in July for the summoning of a Parliament, to meet on the Seventeenth of September.

Gen. Mount-
ague's Victory
over the Spa-
nish Fleet near
Cadix.

In the mean while the *English* Navy commanded by *Mountague*, lying to intercept the *Spa- B* nish Plate coming from the *West Indies*, set upon a Fleet of Eight Ships, within four Leagues of the Bay of *Cadix*; the Admiral Ship in which was General *Don Marco del Porto*, with Six hundred thousand pieces of Eight run a shore in the Bay, the Vice-admiral a *Gallion* commanded by *Don Francisco de Esquevel*, and having in her 1200000 pieces of Eight, and another Ship commanded by *John Rodriguez Calderon* were taken, and afterwards fir'd (one wilfully by the *Spaniards* in it, the other by accident) Two others were taken and kept in possession, the Rear-admiral a *Gallion* Commanded by *Don Francisco del Haya*, and having in her Two Millions of Plate, and another Ship Commanded by *John de la Torre*, very richly laden, another man of War of some value, with a *Portugall* Prize, and a small Vessel of Advice from the Viceroy of *Mexico* escaped to *Gibraltar*. In the Viceadmiral which was set on fire by the *Spaniards* them- selves, to prevent being taken Prisoners, was the Marquis of *Baydex* with his whole Family; there perished in this Combustion besides a number of less Note, the Marquis himself, with his Wife and his eldest Daughter, who was going into *Spain* to be married to the Duke of *Medina Celi*; there were saved from this fire, the Marquis his eldest Son *Don Francisco de Lopez*, a younger Son *Don Joseph de Sunega*, and two Daughters *Donna Josepha* and *Catalina*, with about Ninety others. In the Rear-admiral was also taken Prisoner *Don Diego de Villa Alva*, Governour of the *Havana*. It was related by the young Marquis *Francisco de Lopez*, who with his Brother and Sisters was brought up to *London*, and there for a while detained Prisoners, That the Cities of *Lima* and *Calao* in *Peru* were about 5 Months before destroyed by an Earthquake and fire raining from Heaven, in which Ruine there perished above 12000 *Spaniards*, but of *Indians* not above 100; Also that the Mountains of *Potosi* being layd level, the Gold and Silver Mines were thereby ut- D terly destroyed. This Enterprize at *Cadix* purchas'd no less Profit then Honour to the Performers thereof, and to the chief in Power: As for the *Spanish* young Nobles that were taken, the Protector, to give him his due, dealt very nobly by them, and after no very long time of detention, dismiss'd them home without any Ransom.

The Marquis
of Baydex and
his wife perish
in a Ship set
on fire.

A sad and
wonderful acci-
dent at *Peru*.

On the Seventeenth of September (the time appointed) the Parliament Assemble at *West- minster* and choose for their Speaker Sir *Thomas Widdrington*; several Members returned to sit in this Parliament, being excepted against by the Protector, were denied admittance into the House, who nevertheless at the next Session of the same Parliament were permitted to sit; the principal things transacted in this Session were,

The Parlia-
ment assemble.

The Parlia-
ment Petition
and Advise the
Protector to
take upon him
the Title of
King.

"I. An Act for renouncing and disannulling the Title of *Charles Stuart* unto the E Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

"II. An Act for the securing of his Highness the Lord Protector's Person, and C continuance of the Nation in security and Peace.

"III. The humble Petition and Advice,

With which they several times waited upon the Protector at *Whitehall*, desiring him to take the F chief Government of the Nations upon him, with the Title of KING, of which the Power he already had, the Name only he wanted; A Transaction, methinks, somewhat strange, considering how lately, and with how much resolution the same kind of Judicature, a Parliament had abrogated both the Name and being of a King, if there were not something of mystery in it, more then a meer Parliamentary Proceeding. As oft as the Members made their Addresses to him, with this humble Petition and Advice, he still desir'd further time of Deliberation before he could positively determine in a matter of so great Weight and Concernment; till at length being request'd to give his final Answer, he returned, That he could not take upon him the Government with that Title: thus openly refusing (in regard matters were not brought to sufficient maturity) what it was generally believ'd, he secretly pursu'd: several other Acts G passed this Parliament, as For the exportation of several Commodities of the breed, growth, or manufacture of this Common-wealth. For taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries. For an Assessment upon *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. For the preventing of the multiplicity of Buildings within ten miles of *London*, &c.

The most desperate Attempt against the life of the Protector, and the nearest to have taken effect, was agitated by *Miles Sindercome*, alias *Fish*, hir'd (as they say) thereunto by *Don Alonso*

Should not
be
Sindercome and
others plot a-
gainst the Pro-
tector's life.

A *Alonso de Cardenas*, once Leiger Ambassadour here from *Spain*) who had drawn into Conspiracys with him one *Cecil*, and another that was of the *Proteectors* Lifeguard, called *Toup*, Ambushe had been layd in severall places, as at *Hammer-smith*, where a House was hir'd on purpose for the placing of an Engine call'd a Blunderbus, to shoot him as he went to *Hampton-court*; at *Hide-park*-corner also he was waited for, as he went to take the Ayre, as likewise at another house at *Westminster*, by which he was to go to the *Parliament-house*. Lastly, When these took no effect, the next Design was to have set *Whitehall* on fire, by placing a Basket of combustible matter in the Chappel, with a Train layd to have taken fire at a prefxed time, which nevertheless was also prevented by a timely discovery: He of the Lifeguard was the man that first reveal'd this Conspiracy, for which he was pardoned, and so also was *Cecil* for his free confession, and the sorrow he exprest for his fault: as for *Sindercombe* who boldly and sturdily stood it out, he was tryed at the Court commonly called the *Upper-bench*, by the Attorney General, and being cast by Two Witnesses, he was sentenc'd to be hang'd, drawn, and quartered at *Tyburn*; in the mean time being kept close Prisoner in the *Tower*, that very morning he was to have been executed, he was found dead in his Chamber, having snuff up into his head a certain poysonous Powder to avert it seems the shame and misery of the Execution that was preparing for him; where as a *Felo de se* he was dragg'd at an horses Tail with his Heels forward to *Tower-hill*, and turned naked into an hole under the Scaffold, with a Stake spiked with Iron, driven through his body into the earth.

Sindercome tryed and condemned.

He procures his own death by a poysonous Powder.

Memorable also was the Tryal (happning a little before this discovery) of one *James Naylour*, the great Champion and Ring-leader of a Sect of People generally called *Quakers*, who having spread his doctrine and gained many Profelytes to it in divers parts of the Nation, was more especially taken notice of at *Bristol*, and from thence was brought up to *London*, attended by several men and women of his opinion, who all the way they came (the women especially) are sayd to have sung *Hosanna's*, and to have us'd the same kind of expressions toward him, as anciently the people of the Jews did to our Saviour, when he rode triumphant into *Jerusalem*: being Convented before the *Parliament*, he was charged of Blasphemy not only in his opinions, but also chiefly in his practise, by assuming to himself Divine Honours and such Attributes as were due unto Christ only; After he had used many cunning Sophisms and Evasions to clear himself, such as argued him not altogether ignorant of humane Letters, he was nevertheless sentenc'd by the *Parliament* to be (first at *London*) publicly whipt, pilloried, and stigmatiz'd as a Blasphemer, then to be convey'd to *Bristol*, there to be also whipt; lastly, to be brought back to *London*, to remain in *Bridewell* during the *Parliament*s pleasure: which Sentence sufficiently severe (considering to what extravagancies mens disturb'd Reason or Fancies have often led them) was punctually inflicted upon him.

The tryal of *James Naylour* before the *Parliament*.

His Sentence

In *Flanders* the *Scots* King remaining for the most part at *Bruges*, was for one while not without good hopes of gaining some suddain opportunity to make an attempt upon his claim'd Dominions, since he could not be ignorant of the Councils and Agitations of his Friends here in his behalf, upon which confidence he had gotten such a force of *English*, *Scottish*, and *Irish*, as made up a competent Army, what with those that he recalled out of the Service of the *French* King, and those that came in to him from other parts, which for a time he kept in Pay under him quartering them upon the Sea-coast; and it was reported that *Monsieur Marfin* a great Officer belonging to the Prince of *Conde*, was to have been constituted the Kings Lieutenant General over them, but his hopes and expectations blowing over, and he not being in a Capacity to keep them in continual Pay, thought it his best courie since he could not make use of them himself, to gratifie a Power that had obliged him, and which stood in need of resolute Men, and thereupon consign'd them to the Service of the King of *Spain*.

The *Sc. K.* keeps an Army in *Flanders*.

The Royallists were not the only men that conspir'd against the Peace and Tranquillity of his Highness's Government; for on the Nineteenth of *April* 1657. at a certain House in *Shoreditch*, were apprehended a discontented Party formerly of the Army, that go under the name of *Fift Monarchy men*, they had appointed to Rendezvous that Night at *Mile-end Green*, and thence to have March'd into some other Counties to joyn with others of their Party, that were ready to shew themselves upon the first opportunity; there was taken with them besides a great quantity of Arms, and certain Printed Papers that were to be dispers'd, a Standard, with a *Lion couchant, gules, in a field argent*, and having this Motto, *Who shall rouse him*: The taken in this Combination being many, were distributed some to the *Tower*, some to the *Gasehouse* in *Westminster*, some to *Lambeth-house* at the same time: and (it was suspected, though not clearly made manifest) upon the same account, were apprehended *M. G. Harrison*, Captain *Lawson* late Vice-admiral, Colonel *Rich*, and Major *Danvers*; whereof the first was committed to the Serjeant at Arms, the rest were also taken into Custody.

1657. Fift Monarchy men apprehended upon a design against the Government.

M. G. Harrison and others secur'd.

On the Twentieth of *April*, General *Blake* performed another notable Exploit, equal, if not superiour to that at *Tunis*, and much of the like nature; for at *Santa Cruz* a Haven of *Teneriff*, one of the *Canary* Islands belonging to the *Spaniards*, he fir'd and sunk 16 great Ships, among which were the Admiral, Vice-admiral, and Rear-admiral, and Two or three Galleons: the *English* Ships came up so neer the Castle Forts and shore, that divers *Spaniards* were from the shore killed with their own Muskets, and out of several of their Forts they were utterly beaten. After all which desperate Service, *Blake* with his Ships came clear off with little loss, and very much Renown, the Wind only to long a time veering to the *South-west*, untill they had recovered their former Stations.

Ge *Blake's* successful Emer-prize against the *Spaniard* at *Santa Cruz*.

According

An Army of English sent to aid the French in Flanders. Montmedi, St. Venant, & other Fort taken by the French and English.

The Spaniards setting upon Mardike to regain it, are repuls'd.

The Protector's stately and magnificent Installation.

The Protector's eldest Son installed Chancellor of Oxford. His second Son created Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His third daughter married to Mr. Robert Rich. His youngest to the Lord Falconbridge.

Sir John Reynolds and his company cast away upon Goodwin Sands.

The death of Gen. Blake Vice-admiral Badly and Lieutenant Gen. Brain. Col. Stuby dies in the Tower.

According to the Conditions of Agreement between *England* and *France*, the French King A demanded Auxiliary Forces from *England* to help him in his Wars against the Spaniard in *Flanders*, which was readily granted by the Protector, and Six thousand Foot forthwith order'd to be sent over, Commanded in chief by Sir John Reynolds, a man of good Courage and Resolution, once Commissary General in *Ireland*: no sooner were these Forces arriv'd in *France*, but the French by their help took Two very advantageous Places, *Montmedi* and *S. Venant*; nor was it long after ere they took the strong Fort of *Mardike*, being of notable consequence toward the speedy gaining of *Dunkirk*: this Fort was immediately after it was taken consigned by the French into the sole possession of Major General *Morgan*, and the English who presently fell to Fortifying of it, and in a short while made it so Impregnable, that when the Spaniard sensible how much it import'd to the keeping of *Dunkirk*, to regain this Fort, sent a strong Power of men, B (among whom were Two thousand Scotch and Irish Reformadoes, Commanded by the Scots King, and his brother the Duke of *York*) to set upon its recovery by a desperate storm, they were after a very gallant and resolute effort upon the Place, which continued for the space of six hours, repelled in the end with the loss of many men.

After *Cromwell* had given his final Answer to the Parliament, that he could not take upon him the Government, with the Title of King, it was resolv'd on by the Parliament, that the Title of Lord Protector should be continued and inserted in the humble Petition and Advice, by which Title he was solemnly Invetted on the Twenty sixth of June, before a very great assembly of People in *Westminster-hall*, where a Fabrick was erected for that purpose, and a Chair of State placed for the Lord Protector, whose Instalment wanted but little of a Regal manner, and though he attain'd not the Crown, yet he had the Scepter, for there were Four Emblems of Government C presented unto him by Sir Thomas Widdrington the Speaker (who at the delivery of them made an Oration to the Protector, in which he amply decanted upon each of them) A Purple Velvet Robe lined with Ermines, wherewith he was Vested by the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Whitlock*, and the Speaker, a large Bible with Bosses and Clasps richly Gilt, a Scepter of Gold, and a Sword which the Speaker girt about him; thus Attired while he sat in his Chair under a Canopy of State, holding the Scepter in his hand, the Herald standing aloft, made a signal to the Trumpet to sound thrice, after which he was proclaim'd Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and then returned to *Whitehall* in State, having the Sword born before him by the Earl of *Warwick*. He was likewise proclaim'd not only in *London*, and other parts of *England*, but also in the chief Cities of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. D

Cromwell being confirm'd Protector by Authority of Parliament, and having fortified himself by Alliances abroad (for besides the Leagues with *France*, *Sweden*, the united States, and a pretty fair Correspondence with *Denmark*, he had also upon the coming of *Don Francisco de Mello* Ambassadour, concluded a firm Peace with *Portugal*) he began to make it his next care, for the better establishing of himself, and strengthening of his Interest at home, to advance his nearest Friends and Relations, and to match his Children into the Noblest Families; his eldest Son *Richard* he call'd out of the Country, to inure him to a Court life, and an insight into publick Affairs, designing him for Succession in the Protectorate, which the University of *Oxford* prudently foreseeing (and the Learned were never found backward in complying with the Times, and courting the rising Sun) sent their Agents and their Professors to him to elect him their E Chancellor, in which Honour he was solemnly Installed at *Whitehall*: his second, *Henry*, he created Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the room of his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, whom he recalled from thence, wanting, as he sayd, his Presence and Counsel: his Two youngest Daughters he match'd, *Frances* the eldest to Mr. *Robert Rich*, Grandchilde to the then Earl of *Warwick* (though he is sayd to have aim'd the marrying of her to the Duke of *Buckingham*, whose coming into *England*, was rather by toleration then free permission, but to *Cromwell's* no little displeasure, the Lord *Fairfax* his Daughter and Heiress had pre-occupation of him) *Mary* the younger to the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Nuptials for them both being kept with much Festivity and Splendor, both at *Whitehall* and *Hamptoncourt*.

Scarce was the Mirth of these Solemnities over, when, to allay the Triumphs for the several F Successes of the English in *Flanders*, there arriv'd the unwelcome News of the loss of Sir John Reynolds, General of the Forces in those parts, who with Colonel *White* and some others imbarquing for *England*, by the way of *Goodwin Sands* in a small Vessel, at a tempestuous season, contrary to the persuasions of many (it is unsafe to venture against ill Presages) was cast away with his whole Company. Nor was he the only Eminent person that the Protector lost this year, for not many Months before, there died at Sea as he was entering into the Sound of *Plymouth*, that valiant and expert Sea-man General *Robert Blake*, not long surviving his notable Exploit at *Santa Cruz*; also Vice-admiral *Badly* ended his life on Land, whither he was come for the recovering of his Health; and at *Jamaica* there died Lieutenant General *Brain*, Commander in chief of the Forces there: as these that were Friends, so Colonel *Sexby* an Enemy to the Protector, and one of those that had been meditating against his Government, going about to make his escape, and taken in a Disguise, died not long after a Prisoner in the Tower, preventing thereby happily by a natural death, a violent Execution.

The Parliament having Adjourn'd on the Twenty sixth of June, met again the Twentieth of January following, and those Members were this Session admitted in, who had been in the last C concluded; and besides the Members of the House of Commons (chosen by the People) who

now

A now made up a full House, there was another Order chosen by the *Protector*, consisting for the most part of Officers of the Army, with some of the old Nobility among them; these latter being as it were a House of Peers reviv'd, though for the present it was only called the *Other House*: and much expectation now there was from a *Parliament* so near reduc'd to its primitive Institution, and consisting again of Two Houses, and a Supreme, though not a King: but the short continuation of this last Sitting, soon put a period to mens Expectations; for the formerly excluded Members that were now admitted being great Sticklers for a Common-wealth, and no Friends to the *Protectors* Interest, so turn'd the Scales of Affairs, that this *Parliament* who in their former sitting, had appear'd so zealous for him, were now altogether divided in a long and earnest Debate about the Right and Authority of the *Other House*, which so incens'd the *Protector*, seeing thereby his Acts and Power infring'd, that in a great heat and passion he went hastily from his Council: and, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasion of some of his chief Counsellours, dissolv'd the *Parliament*.

Another House of Peers constituted by the *Protector*.

Thus was he driven from one inconvenience to another; from the inconvenience of a *Parliament* that cross'd him, to the inconvenience of no *Parliament* at all, whereby he was necessitated for want of those supplies of Monies which he expected.

The *Parliament* dissolv'd by the *Protector*.

Towards the latter end of this year dyed the *Protectors* Son-in-law, Mr. Robert Rich, and was but little above two Months survived by his Grand-father the Earl of *Warwick* himself.

The death of Mr. Rob. Rich.

On the Twelfth of *March*, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, were sent for to *Whitchall* by the *Protector*, who, when they came, made a Speech to them; wherein he desir'd them to consider, Of the imminent danger of the Common-wealth, by reason of the secret Machinations of Ill-willers to the Government, both at home and abroad: The Duke of *Ormond*, he told them, had been lately in *London* for three weeks together, promoting the Affairs of his Master the *Scotch King*, who lay ready with Eight thousand Men Quartered on the Sea-coasts of *Flanders*, and two and twenty hired Ships to transport them; and thereupon he recommended unto them the setting of the *Militia* in the hands of sober and well-affected persons. By this it appears that the *Protector* was not without Intelligence of that Grand and general Plot, which was carrying on about this time by the Kings Party, for the seizing of the City and *Tower of London*, and the Magazine of *Hull*; which being to have been put in execution on the First of *May*, 1658. was, being foreknown, prevented by doubling the Guards and setting strict Watch in all parts of the City; and upon diligent search, many of the Engaged were found out and Imprisoned: some of Quality had been clapt up in the *Tower* before, among whom, Dr. *Huet* Minister of *S. Gregories* by *Pauls*. The same Month a High-court of Justice was Erected, before whom were brought to their Tryal Sir *Henry Slingsby* (who pleading Not guilty, was cast by Witnesses) Dr. *Huet* who refusing to plead, or own the Courts Jurisdiction, was also condemn'd, and Mr. *John Mordant* the Earl of *Peterboroughs* Brother, who at first disavowed the Courts Authority, but was at length prevailed with to plead, and in the end acquitted; the other two having their Sentence mitigated, were beheaded on *Tower-hill*.

The *Protectors* Speech to the L. Mayor and Com. Council of *London*.

Another grand conspiracy discovered.

A High-court of Justice erected for the tryal of the conspirators, Sir *H. Slingsby* and Dr. *Huet* beheaded. *Col. Ashton* and others executed in several places.

Next these were tryed Mr. *Woodcock*, and Captain *Henry Mallory*, the first acquitted, the other sentenc'd, and reprieved; Colonel *Ashton* and *John Betley* (who were both hang'd and quarter'd, the first in *Tower-streets*, the other in *Cheapside*) *Edmund Stacy* (who was hang'd in *Cornhill*) *Henry Fryer* (who brought to the place of Execution, receiv'd a Reprieve) *John Sumner* and *Oliver Allen*, who were both Reprieved.

A Whale of a monstrous bigness seen at *Greenwich*.

Among the many Prodigies that were observ'd this year, the ebbing and flowing of the *Thames* twice in three hours was not the least: but that which was most remarkable of all, was the coming up of a Whale of a monstrous bigness, as far as *Greenwich*: many were the Conjectures among the multitude of People that went to see it, what this Monster should portend: some sayd, a sudden change in the State and alteration of Government; some one thing, some another, certainly their Conjectures were truest made good by the Sequel that hapned, who sayd, it presaged the death of some extraordinary Person in the Common-wealth; For it was not long after ere the Mighty Man of the Three Kingdoms finish'd the Race of his life, leaving behind him all the Grandeurs of Honour and Royal State, which his Sword and his Policy had so lately purchased him.

In *Flanders* Successes came on with a swift Carrier, presently after the taking of *Mardike Fort*, *Dunkirk* was straightly begirt by the joynt Forces of the *French* and *English*; the *French* Commanded by the Marshal of *Turenne*, Prince of *Quefnoy*, the *English* by the Lord *Lockhart*, Ambassadour from the *Protector* to the *French King*, who was constituted General in the room of Sir *John Reynolds* deceas'd. The relief of this so important a place (it being the chief Seaport, and as it were, the Key of all *Flanders*) the *Spaniards* resolv'd to Assay, though with the hazard of a Pitch-field; and to that purpose they assembled together all the Force they could make, amounting to about Seven thousand Foot, and Nine thousand Horse, Commanded by Don *John* himself in person, together with the Duke of *York*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marquis of *Caracene*; and drawing down from *Fuernes Fort*, were engaged by the Marshall of *Turenne*, and the Count of *Schomberg*, joyning with *Lockhart* and his *English* Forces, who making their way (a good part of them) up a Sand-hill, against the whole power of the *Spaniards*, were the main Instruments in gaining a clear and eminent Victory over the *Spanish* Army: most of their Infantry being either slain or taken; and among the taken were all the Officers of the King of *Scots* Regiment, divers Officers of the *Spanish* Nobility, and Persons of high Quality, Seven-

The Siege of *Dunkirk*.

The *Spanish* Army vanquish'd: near *Fuernes Fort*, by the *French* and *English*.

teen Colours, six great Guns, with the whole Baggage of the Field, and the King of *Scots* his A Coach, the Prince of *Conde* was unhorsed in the Fight, and Mounted again, by his Cousin *Bourenvilles*, who thereby was taken Prisoner in the Princes Stead: there were slain of the *English*, *C. Sherwin*, and another Captain, five Lieutenants, and two Ensigns, with eighty common Soldiers, besides three hundred wounded, and some mortally, among whom, Lieutenant Colonel *Roger Fenwick*, he was reported a stout man, and his loss much bewailed: A day or two before this Battle, the Marshal of *Hocquincourt* (who had caused the important Town of *Hesdin*, to revolt from the *French* to the *Spaniards*) was slain as he went out Picqueering upon a Parry. No sooner was this Battle ended, but the *French* and *English* returned again afresh to the Siege of *Dunkirk*, which the Marquis of *Leda* Governour thereof (who had been formerly sent Ambassadour to the *Protector*) seeing now more straightly then ever Invirion'd both by Land and Sea, whereby it was reduced to great Extremities; he resolute to defend the Town made a bold Sally forth, in which he received his mortal Wound: the Governours death, and the terror of the *Granadoes* shot into the Town, wrought so upon the Besieged, that they were speedily brought to Articles of Surrender, and on the Twenty fifth of *June*, marcht out with Colours flying, so that the King of *France* in person, accompanied with the Cardinal *Mazarin*, took possession of the Place, and immediately resigned it up into the hands of General *Lockhart*, in behalf of the Lord *Protector*, and the *English*.

The Marshal of Hocquincourt slain.

The Marquis of Leda Governour of Dunkirk, slain in a Sally.

Dunkirk surrendered to the *French*, and resigned into the hands of the *English*.

The death of Mrs Elizabeth Glypole. Of the Earl of Mulgrave.

And of the Lord Protector

On the Sixth of *August* dyed *Elizabeth* the *Protectors* second Daughter, commonly called the Lady *Glypole*, according to her Husbands Name, who was Master of the Horse to his Father-in-law: her body was brought from *Hampton-court* (where she dyed) and privately buried in *Westminster-Abbey*, in *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel; not long after her dyed the Earl of *Mulgrave*, one of the Privy Counsellours to his Highness so called; but these were only slight Preludes to the grand party, that death play'd next, which was upon the person of the *Protector* himself, who having for some time laboured of a dangerous Sicknes at *Hampton-court*, was removed from thence back to *White-hall*, where on the third of *September* (the same memorable day, of the year, that he won the famous Field at *Dunbar*, and the year following at *Worcester*) This Great CONQUEROUR of Three Nations, bow'd down his head to Fate, that vanquisheth the greatest Victors; and makes no distinction between the common Heard, and the tallest of the Flock. The Night that ushered in the day of his departure, there arose a Tempest, like to which, there had scarce been seen in this Age, wherein besides the strage of lesser Trees, D some of a large size were torn up out of the earth by the very roots; it seem'd as if the Elements had been in combustion at the sight of a Soul, that had acted such notable Revolutions in the World. At the Article of his death, being desired to name his Successour, as the late Parliament had agreed, in the Instrument of Government, he at first wad the matter, and seem'd to refer it wholly to his Council: but being further pressed thereunto, by those that knew well enough his mind, he nominated his eldest Son *Richard*, who the next day after his Fathers death, was in the presence of most of the Privy Counsellours, and the chief Officers of the Army, proclaimed LORD PROTECTOR of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and had, as his Father before him, Addresses made to him from several parts of his Dominions, professing wonders of Zeal and Affection to him and his Government, which how little they avail'd him, hath since sufficiently appear'd.

Richard Cromwell proclaimed Lord Protector.

In the first place after the advancement of the young *Protector* to the Supreme Dignity, principal care was taken by him and his Council, for the Interment of his Father, with all the State and Solemnity accustomed at Kings and Princes Funerals; and therefore search is sayd to have been made into the Records, to see what had been expended upon the Burial of King *James*, and the same Cost, if not greater, was to be bestowed on this: The Corps of his late Highness being Embalm'd and inwrapt in Lead, was removed from *Whitehall* to *Somerset-house*, there to lye in Regal Pomp and State, a Spectacle to all Commers; the order and manner whereof was briefly thus:

The manner of the deceased *Protectors* lying in State at *Somerset-house*.

Four Rooms, one within another, were compleatly hung with black; the three first with Cloth, the fourth with Velvet, each Room was adorned with Scutcheons of his Arms, Crowned with the Imperial Crown, and at the upper end of each Room was placed a Chair of State, and over that a Cloth of State, and over the Cloth, a large Majesty Escutcheon, painted and gilt upon Tassels: In the fourth Room where the Corps were, there lay, upon a Bed of State raised by two gradual Ascents, and covered with a large Pall of black Velvet, his Effigies vested with a rich Suit, Kirtle and large Robe of Purple Velvet, Laced with Gold, and Furr'd with Ermine; to the Kirtle was girt an embroyder'd Belt, by which hung a Sword richly hatcht with Gold, in the right hand was a golden Scepter, in the left a Globe, on the Head a Purple Velvet Cap, furr'd with Ermine; behind was plac'd a Crown Imperial, set with precious Stones, upon a Chair and Cushion of richshued Gold, on each side a rich Suite of compleat Armour, and at the Feet his Crest: the Bed of State was inclosed with Rails and Ballasters covered with Velvet, at each corner whereof were Pillars adorned with Trophies of Military Honour, Carved and Gilt, on the tops of the Pillars were the Supporters of the Imperial Arms, bearing Streamers Crown'd, at the Pedestals were Shields and Crowns gilt: within the Rayls stood Eight silver Candlesticks, or Standards five Foot high, with long Tapers of Virgin Wax burning in them, and next them four great Standards of his Arms set upright in Sockets, with the Guidons, great Banners, and Banrols of Tassels richly painted and gilt. The Effigies having for some time been seen in this posture

A posture, was afterwards shew'd in another Room, vested after the same manner, and attended with the same Ornaments as is already described, and this continued untill the day of conducting the Funeral Pomp to the Church, which was on the Twenty third of *November*; for till then all things could not be prepared and made ready: and then the Effigies placed in a stately Funeral Chariot, covered with black Velvet, and drawn with six Horses in like manner Mantled and Adorn'd with black Plumes of Feathers; was attended from *Somerset-house* to *Westminster*, by all the Officers of his Household, the chief Officers of the Army and Navy, the Magistracy of the City, the Judges at Law, the Ambassadors and publick Ministers of forein States and Princes, the Members of the late Upper-house, and of the Privy Council, all in Mourning, each Company being distinguished by Drums, Trumpets, a Banner born by one of the chief Ones, and a B Horse of State Mantled with black Velvet, led also by some one of Eminency. Lastly, the Horse of Honour Trapped with embroidery upon Crimson Velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow Plumes, was led by the Master of the Horse; with such other like Formalities used at the Obsequies of great Persons. At the West-end of the *Abby-Church*, the Effigies being taken out of the Chariot, was carried through the Church under a Canopy of State, born by six of his Gentlemen, up to the East-end where it was plac'd in a sumptuous *Catapalco*, or Monument of Wood fram'd for the purpose, with Pilasters and other Adornments of Architecture Carved, Painted, and Gilt, to remain for a certain time, exhibited to publick View; a sort of temporary Monument much used in Foreign Parts, at the death of great Princes: The Corps had been privately Inhum'd many dayes before the Solemnity, in *Henry* the Seventh's C Chappel.

The Solemnity
of his Funerals

Thus have you seen, after all his Trophies and Honours archieved with no ordinary pains and hazard; this great man brought to his Grave in Peace, contrary to the expectations of many, and also with high, though envied Pomp. His Character hath been at large delivered by others, and truly by some not altogether without flattery, though much might be sayd in his Praise: but to comprehend him in short, it is sufficiently known to the World, that he was a man of singular Courage and undaunted Resolution, and that attended with a most prosperous stream of Fortune, which is not ever the Concomitant of Valour, notwithstanding what the Incomparable *Ben. Johnson* sings, that

His Character

A Valiant Man is his own Fate and Fortune.

D Nor can it be denyed but that he had much of Generosity, and many noble things in his Nature, as may be exemplified in the particular care and regard he had for the Relations of one *Duret a French-man*, who had serv'd him faithfully, and dyed in his Service; which one that writes his Life, parallels with the Gratitude of the Lord *Thomas Cromwell*, in *Henry* the Eighth's time, toward *Signor Friscobald* an Italian Merchant, from whom he had receiv'd Civilities. As for his Policy and Sagacity of Parts, what better instance then his Life so recent in Memory, how did he raise himself by a gradual Progress to the highest pitch of Honour, and had doubtless attain'd the supreme Title, had he remaind among the Living never so little longer: how did he fit himself with the choicest Instruments, and the ablest Ministers of State, and often times mould and form men to his own purpose? how did he make use of all Parties and Interests carrying on his own Affairs by them? what powerful Influence had he upon the forein States and Kingdoms? so interweaving his own Interests among them, that he was ever on the most successful Side, or at least made that Side the most prosperous which he adhered unto? He was born in the Priory of *Huntington*, his Father the second Brother of Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, a Person of great Note and consideration in the late Kings time; his Mother the Daughter of Sir *Richard Stuart*, of the Isle of *Ely*, he married *Elizabeth* the Daughter of Sir *James Bourchier*, by whom he had (besides one Son that dyed) two Sons and four Daughters, of each of whom mention hath been made in the preceding part of the History: his Family have derived their Name Originally from that Great *Cromwell* who was *Henry* the Eighth's Vicar General over the Spiritualities; their Lineal Descent from one *Williams* of *Glamorganshire*, who living Contemporary with this Lord *Cromwell*, was not only tyed to him by a strict League of Friendship, but also both by Marriage of his Daughter, and by Posthume Adoption became his Son; and as some write, had, together with his Name, his Honours, Offices, and Demesns, confer'd upon him by the King: however this is most certain, that never was there any yet so great, either of the Name, or Family, as this *Oliver Cromwell*, of whom at present so much mention hath been made. It is reported of him, that in his Childhood, he met several times with a certain Apparition, which told him, *That he should one day come to be the Greatest man in England*: This he imparted to a Learned man, who was his Schoolmaster, who though for the time, he had no belief for such a meer *Chimera*, as he esteem'd it of a Childish Fancy; yet upon his Death-bed, he by a kinde of Prophetick Spirit, told those about him, *That young Cromwell was destin'd to great Actions, and to a very extraordinary Fortune*: Not to speak of his Acting the part of *Taliss* at *Cambridge*, in a Play called the *Five Sences*, wherein he is sayd to have taken up the Crown, and layd it down again.

His Descent
and Issue.

As soon as the Ceremonious Rites of this great Burial were past, the Preparations for which, had for a time very much put a stop to Proceedings both Domestick and Foreign; immediately other matters of publick Concernment, began seriously to be taken into Consideration by the new Protector and his Council. The first thing was, the sending of a Naval Supply to the King of *Sweden*, between whom and the old Protector, there had been contracted a very firm and invio-

The Warlike
proceeding be-
tween the
Kings of Swe-
den and Den-
mark.

A Squadron of
Ships sent to-
ward the Sound.

Another great
Fleet sent
out under Gen-
eral Mountague.

The Sea-fight
between the
Swedes and the
Dutch.
Copenhagen re-
liev'd.

A Parliament
call'd by the
new Protector.

The Parli. dis-
solv'd, the Pro-
tector resigns
his Power.

lable Amiry, and Forces had been sent to this Kings Ayde out of this Nation, both for Land and Sea-service, for the later whereof, he now more then ever had occasion to make up a good stout Fleet; for after that by his Success against the King of Denmark, he had won him to a Concession of a great part of his Territories, and of half the Dominion of the Sound, and had at length withdrawn his Army, the King of Denmark judging the Conditions too hard on his side, and alledging them not to have been punctually observ'd by the Swedes, began presently after the departure of the Swedish Army to flye to Arms, for the recovery of what was lost, being especially encouraged thereunto by a certain assurance of Ayde from the Hollander, besides his entering into Confederacy with the Emperour, the King of Poland, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, against the Swedish King, who having quick Intelligence of the King of Denmark's Design speeded back with his Forces, and was set down before Copenhagen, ere the Danes were well aware of his coming, but the Danish King had before hand (providing against the worst that might happen) so well Fortifi'd and stor'd the City, that it was able to endure a long Siege, and now the Sovereignty of this famous Bay of the Baltick Sea called the Sound, being thus disputed between these two Kings, the Dutch thought it a matter of no small Advantage to them, that the Sound should continue in the power of the Dane their constant Ally, least the Swedes gaining too much sway therein, they might be depriv'd of the benefit thereof, which was of high Concernment to them, and therefore made all possible hast to set forth a Fleet, for the Relief and Supply of Copenhagen: the English on the other side thought it no less Imported them to help the Swede, though it were against the Dane and the Dutch, both of them our Friends in outward appearance, least their joyn't interest and prevalence against the Swede, who of all other Potentates was the most firmly united in League to this State, might have prov'd prejudicial to us likewise in relation to the Sound, which also concern'd us no less weightily then the Dutch, therefore a Squadron of lusty Frigots was sent forth by this State under the Command of Sir George Ayscough toward the Sound, which having for sometime been detain'd upon the Coast by contrary Winds, and afterwards steering their course towards those Northern Seas, which the extremity of the Winter had made Innavigable, they were forced for that time to return not without some damage to the Ships by reason of the Ice, and the loss of some men, through the bitterness of the Weather in those parts, so that this Enterprize was suspended till the coming on of the Spring, and then a more powerful Fleet was set out under the Command of General Mountague, Sir George Ayscough being invited by the King of Sweden, to take upon him a chief Command in his Navy.

In the meantime, the *Hollander* Fleet led by General Opdam, and *Witte Witteson*, arriving at the Sound, with Relief for Copenhagen, were Assail'd by the Swedish Rix-admiral, *Charles Gustave Wrangle*, in which Battle the Dutch are said to have received a notable Overthrow, seven of their Ships being lost, and *Witte Witteson* one of their Admirals, with many other persons of Quality slain; nevertheless during the Fight, several Dutch Fluyts and Merchant-men pass'd by, with Provision to Copenhagen, which so strengthened the Besieged, that they thereby became enabled for the sustaining of a long Siege, as hath since appear'd: and not long after the Swedes, in a resolute effort against the City, were repel'd with the loss of a great many men, and some of Eminency.

And now in England want of Moneys, and other pressing occasions of the State require the sudden calling of a Parliament: the young Protector issues out his Writs, Elections are made by the Countiees, nor without some Canvassing of Parties. The Parliament meets on the Twenty seventh of January, consisting, as the last Parliament had done, in his Fathers time, of Two Houses, the Commons, and the other (which now began to be called the Upper-house,) for the first was chosen Speaker, Mr. *Chaloner Chute* a Lawyer, who within a short while fell sick unto death, as also Sir *Lislebone Long* Recorder of London, who was chosen *pro tempore* in his stead; for the latter was chosen, *Nathaniel Fiennes* Lord Keeper of the Seal: The first Grand business that came under Debate, was the recognition of the Government, and it was intended that all other things should be defer'd till that were ended; but of those that were zealous for a Commonwealth, there was also in this Parliament such a considerable number, and who had such a powerful Influence on publick Transactions, that to procrastinate the time, they cast in several previous Debates, in which, nevertheless, the Assertors of the Protectors Interest, being more in number, carried things to their own Advantage by the Major Vote, as particularly in the business of the Scotch and Irish Members to be continued in among them, and the owning of the Upper-house, and holding an Entercourse with them, after a long Consultation in question of their Authority.

Things thus bending on toward a Settlement and Confirmation of the Government then in being, behold a sudden and unexpected change, a more remarkable then which hath not happen'd since the late Kings death: for on the sudden, a general discontent against the present Government, discovering it self throughout the Army, especially among the inferior Officers: some of the chief Commanders, as *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, and those that favour'd the Armys Design (others of them in vain opposing) went to the Protector, and urging to him the resolvedness of the Army, so far prevail'd with him, that (notwithstanding *Goph*, *Whaley*, *Inglesby*, and other chief Officers had promis'd to stick to him to the last) he was at length perswaded to send his Warrant for the dissolving of the Parliament then sitting, and so consequently to suffer himself to be divested of the Power and Authority of a supreme Magistrate, returning again to the condition

A condition of a private person. Now all men were at a gaze, wondering thro what hands the chief Power would next be devolved, when after several Consultations of the Council of Officers, it was at last agreed among them, that the Members of the old Parliament, who ever since the year, 1653. had been interrupted from sitting, by means of their General *Oliver Cromwell*, the late deceased Protector, should be invited to their freedom and right of sitting, and the exercise of their Trust, by a Declaration presented from the Army to the old Speaker, *W. Lenthall*, and several of the Members at the Rolls in *Chancery-Lane*, which after certain Conditions drawn up between them, they accepted; and on the seventh of May they began to sit again: in the first place having appointed a Committee to Attend *Richard Cromwell* Son of their late General, and his Successor, in the Power and Title called Protector, to know his Minde as touching his acquiescence in the present Government. They receiv'd from him an Answer in Writing, wherein among other expressions, there was in the Close, to this effect: That through the goodness of God, he could freely acquiesce in the present Government, and that he held himself obliged, as he expected protection from it, so to demean himself peaceably under it, and to procure to the uttermost of his power, that all in whom he had any Interest should do the same.

The old long Parl. invited by the Army, sits again.

The Par. M. C. sage to the late Protector.

His Answer.

H. Cromwell sent for out of Ireland.

The Gen. of Scotland and the Fleet submit.

The Parl. take into their own hands the command of the Army.

1659.

Sir George Booth's Army vanquish'd, and himself taken.

The Ser. K. and his brother depart secretly from Brussels.

Not long after his Brother *Henry* who had ruled in Ireland, under the Title of Lieutenant came over, being sent for, and submitted to their good pleasure: *Monk* also the General in Scotland, own'd and congratulated them in a Letter; nor did the Commanders of the Navy stand out, some likewise there were in some Counties, who by Address express'd their zeal to the good Old Cause; and that the Parliament might the better provide for the future against all such abolliteness in Command, as might seem to make way for the encroachment of a single Person; they took the supreme Command of the Army into their own hands, constituting the Speaker to be General, in the name of the whole Parliament, and appointing the several Officers to come and receive their Commissions anew from them.

This was the state of things about the beginning of this year, 1659, until which time our Intention hath been to deduce this History, I shall only name what hath hapned since of greatest remark, which was the grand Combination throughout the Nation against the present Government, headed principally by *Sir George Booth*, of the Presbyterian persuasion, whose Army in *Cheshire* (for there they only gathered to a head) was totally dispersed by *M. Gen. Lambert*, and *Sir George* himself was taken disguis'd; as also of the Royal Party who joyn'd with him, was taken, the Earl of *Derby*, with divers other Noble-men and Gentlemen.

During these buile Actings and Endeavours of the Scottish Kings Friends and Adversers of his Cause in England, he is sayd to have privately withdrawn himself from *Brussels*, together with his Brother the Duke of *Tork*; it was not known whither, only it was imagin'd by many, that they lay concealed somewhere in England: expecting the issue of things, and intending accordingly either to discover themselves, or provide for their security: In the mean time, that there lay a Fleet of Vessels on the Coast of *Flanders*, ready to have transported men, in case matters had succeeded to their expectation, is a thing more certain: wheresoever it were that these Princes had been Incogniti, it was not long after the suppression of those who had now appear'd in Arms for them, ere they were seen returned to *Brussels*, and now there being a serious promotion of Peace and Alliance in hand, between the Kings of France and Spain, the King of

Spain frames certain Proposals, which were to be presented to the consideration of the two Kings, after the concluding of the Peace, and dispatcheth away an Ambassadour to attend at the Interview of the Two great Favourites and Ministers of State, Cardinal *Mazarini*, and *Don Lewis de Haro*, by both whom he was entertained with very high Testimonies of Honour and Respect, though the business of his Message could not in a short time be taken into Consideration, in respect of other Councils of highest Concernment, touching the Marriage between King *Lewis of France*; and the Daughter of *Phillip the Fourth of Spain*.

And now for the present, we shall here conclude, having compleated thus far of the Life of this Illustrissim Unfortunate, as much as could well be known of the Actions of a Person, living altogether exil'd from his Native Country, and of whom all things are represented to the greatest disadvantage, by those who think themselves obliged through Interest of State, to speak no good of him; yet that he may have so much right done him, that the moderate and indifferent Arbitr may have as well what to judge favourably from the Testimony of his Friends, as what to think amiss of him from the Pens of his Detractors: it will be most materiall and pertinent in this place to mention what was once delivered in Character of him (a more proper then which, there could not have been given any, as proceeding from him who profess'd to have known him from his tender years) by an Honourable Person at his death: *Certainly*, sayd this Lord, *I that have been a Counsellour to him and have lived long with him, and in a time when discovery is easily enough made for he was young (he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age) those years I was with him, and truly I never saw greater hopes of Virtue in any young person then in him; great Judgement; great Understanding; strong Apprehensions; much Honour in his Manners, and truly a very perfect English-man in his Inclinations.*

Nor have there been wanting several others, who upon their own knowledge, have been high in the Commendation both of him and his Brother the Duke of *Tork*.

And now whereas it may seem improper to have written the Life of him, who is yet among the Living: I conceive it not absolutely material, that every year of a mans Age should be precisely comprehended, but those more especially which have afforded things worthiest of remark and Memory, and what ever may happen for the future observable, may also nevertheless be in

due season imparted to the Publick. Moreover, since this Volume is that which contains the Lives of the Kings of England, I knew not better how with Decorum to continue it, then by couching the Transactions of the latest fore-going years, under the name of a Person, if not a King, yet, at least lineally descended of the Race of English Kings, as being eldest Son of the last King of Great Britain: himself also having been Crowned by the Estates of Scotland.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London, since Charles the First.

In the first year 1649.

Thomas Foot was Mayor.

Christopher Pack, Rowland Wilson died in the year, John Dethick, Sheriffs.

In the second year 1650.

Thomas Andrews was Mayor.

Robert Tichborn, Richard Chiverton, Sheriffs.

In the third year 1651.

John Kendrick was Mayor.

Andrew Richards, John Iretton, Sheriffs.

In the fourth year 1652.

John Fowke was Mayor.

Stephen Eastwick, William Underwood, Sheriffs.

In the fifth year 1653.

Thomas Vyner was Mayor.

James Philips, Walter Bigge, Sheriffs.

In the sixth year 1654.

Christopher Pack was Mayor.

Edmund Sleigh, Thomas Aley, Sheriffs.

In the seventh year 1655.

John Dethick was Mayor.

William Thompson, John Fredrick, Sheriffs.

In the eighth year 1656.

Robert Tichborn was Mayor.

Tempest Milner, Nathaniel Temms, Sheriffs.

In the ninth year 1657.

Richard Chiverton was Mayor.

John Robinson, Thomas Chandler died in the year, Richard King, Sheriffs.

In the tenth year 1658.

John Iretton was Mayor.

Anthony Bateman, John Lawrence, Sheriffs.

Moreover, since this Volume is that which contains the History of the Kings of England, I know not better how to draw to compare it then by the Traditions of the last fore-going Years, under the name of a Person, if not a

A CATALOGUE OF THE NOBILITY OF ENGLAND. DUKES.

- 1 **T**HE High and Mighty Prince George Villiers, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Buckingham, Earl of Coventry, Viscount Villiers and Baron of Whaddon. George Villiers his Father was so Created.
- 2 Esme Stuart Duke of Richmond and Lenox, Earl of March, Baron of Leighton Bromesno'd, Lord Darnley, Mertiven and St. Andrew's. James his Father was Created Duke of Richmond.

MARQUIS'S.

- 1 The Right Honorable John Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester, Earl of Wiltshire, and Lord St. John of Basing.
- 2 William Seymour, Marquis and Earl of Hertford, and Baron Beauchampe; whose great Grandfather was Duke of Somerset.
- 3 Edward Somerset, Marquis and Earl of Worcester, Earl of Glamorgan, Lord Herbert of Chepstow, Ragland and Gower.
- 4 William Cavendish, Earl and Marquis of Newcastle, Viscount Mansfield, and Lord Ogle and Bolefomer.
- 5 Henry Peirrepoint, Earl of Kingstone, Marquis of Dorchester, Viscount Newarke, and Lord Peirrepoint of Holmes-Peirrepoint.

EARLS.

- 1 **T**He Earl Marshall of England is the first Earl, but there is none at present, so the first at present is Awbery Vere, Earl of Oxford, Lord Bulbeck, Sandford and Badlesmeer.
- 2 Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, Surrey and Norfolk; Lord Howard, Fitz-Allan, Matrevers, Mawbray, Segrave, Bruise, and Clare. Which Earldom of Arundel belongs to whomsoever is seized in fee of the Castle and Lordship of Arundel, whose Ancestor was heretofore Duke of Norfolk.

A Catalogue of the Nobility of England.

- 3 Algernoon Percy, *Earl of Northumberland, Lord Percy, Lacy, Poynings, Fitz-Pain, and Brian, Knight of the Garter and of the Bath.*
- 4 Francis Talbot, *Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Talbot, Strange of Blackmere, Gifford of Brimfield, Furneal, Verdon and Lovetoft.*
- 5 Henry Grey, *Earl of Kent, Lord Grey, Hastings and Vallerice.*
- 6 Charles Stanley, *Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, Strange of Knocking and Mohan.*
- 7 John Mannors, *Earl of Rutland, Lord Rosse of Hamlake, Trusbut and Belvoyr.*
- 8 Theophilus Hastings, *Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hastings, Hungerford, Molins and Mortes.*
- 9 Thomas Wriothesley, *Earl of Southampton, Lord Wriothesley of Tichfield.*
- 10 William Russel, *Earl of Bedford, Lord Russel of Tavestock, and Lord Russel of Thornhaugh, and Knight of the Bath.*
- 11 Philip Herbert, *Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Herbert of Cardiff, Rosse of Kendal, Baronet Marnion, St. Quinton, Fitz-Hugh and Shurland.*
- 12 Theophilus Fines, *otherwise, Tankerville, Earl of Lincoln, Lord Clinton, and Knight of the Bath.*
- 13 Charles Howard, *Earl of Nottingham, and Lord Howard of Effingham.*
- 14 James Howard, *Earl of Suffolke, and Lord Howard of Walden.*
- 15 Richard Sackville, *Earl of Dorset, and Lord Buckhurst.*
- 16 William Cecill, *Earl of Salisbury, Vicount Cramborne, Lord Cecill of Essendon, Knight of the Garter and of the Bath.*
- 17 John Cecil, *Earl of Excester, and Lord Burleigh.*
- 18 John Egerton, *Earl of Bridgwater, Vicount Brackley, and Lord Elsmere.*
- 19 Robert Sidney, *Earl of Leicester, Vicount Lisle, and Baron Sidney of Penshurst.*
- 20 James Compton, *Earl of Northampton, and Lord Compton.*
- 21 Charles Rich, *Earl of Warwick, and Lord Rich of Leeze. Robert Lord Rich of Leeze, his Grandfather, was created Earl of Warwick.*
- 22 William Cavendish, *Earl of Devonshire, and Lord Cavendish of Hardwick. William Lord Cavendish his Father was so created.*
- 23 James Hay, *Earl of Carlisle, Vicount Doncaster, and Lord Hay of Sauley, and Knight of the Bath. James his Father was so created.*
- 24 Basil Fielding, *Earl of Denbigh, Vicount Fielding, and Baron of Newenham-Padox, and Knight of the Bath. William his Father was so created.*
- 25 George Digby, *Earl of Bristol, and Lord Digby of Shirborne. Sir John Digby Kt. his Father was so created.*
- 26 Lionel Cranfield, *Earl of Middlesex, and Lord Cranfield of Cranfield. Lionel his Father was so created.*
- 27 Charles Villiers, *Earl of Anglesey, and Baron of Daventry. Christopher his Father was so created.*
- 28 Robert Rich, *Earl of Holland, and Baron Kensington of Kensington. Sir Henry Rich Knight of the Bath, his Father was so created.*
- 29 John Hollis, *Earl of Clare, and Baron Haughton of Haughton. John Baron Haughton of Haughton, and Knight, his Father was so created.*
- 30 Oliver St. John *Earl of Bullingbroke, and Lord St. John of Bletshoe.*
- 31 Mildmay Fane, *Earl of Westmerland, Lord le De Spencer and Bergherstand Knight of the Bath.*
- 32 Edward Mountague, *Earl of Manchester, Vicount Mandeville, and Baron of Kimbolton, and Knight of the Bath.*
- 33 Thomas Howard, *Earl of Barkshire, Vicount Andover, Baron of Charleton, and Knight of the Garter.*
- 34 Thomas Wentworth, *Earl of Cleveland, and Lord Wentworth of Nettlespeed.*
- 35 Edmund Sheffield, *Earl of Mulgrave, and Lord Sheffield of Butterwick.*
- 36 Henry Cary, *Earl of Munmouth, and Lord Cary of Leppington. Robert his Father was so created.*
- 37 James Ley, *Earl of Marleburgh, and Lord Ley of Ley.*
- 38 Nicholas Knowls, *Earl of Banbury, Vicount Wallingford, and Lord Knowls of Greys.*
- 39 John Savage, *Earl of Rivers, Vicount Colchester, and Savage of Rock-Savage, and Lord Percy of Chich.*

A Catalogue of the Nobility of England.

- 40 Mountague Bartu, *Earl of Lyndsey, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, and Lord Great Chamberlain of England.*
- 41 Henry Carey, *Earl of Dover, Vicount Rochford, and Lord Hunfden.*
- 42 Henry Mordant, *Earl of Peterburgh, and Lord Mordant of Turney.*
- 43 Henry Grey, *Earl of Stanford, and Lord Grey of Grooby.*
- 44 Heneage Finch, *Earl of Winchelsea, Vicount Maidstone, and Baronet.*
- 45 Charles Dormer, *Earl of Carnarvon, Vicount Ascot, Lord Dormer of Wing, and Baronet.*
- 46 Mountjoy Blunt, *Earl of Newport, Lord Mountjoy of Thurveston, and Lord Mountjoy of Mountjoy's-Fort in Ireland.*
- 47 Philip Stanhope, *Earl of Chesterfield, and Lord Stanhope of Shelford. Sir Philip Stanhope Knight, his Grandfather was so created.*
- 48 John Tufton, *Earl of Thanet, and Lord Tufton of Tufton.*
- 49 Ulick Burgh, *Earl of St. Albons, Vicount Tunbridge, and Baron of Somerhill, Marquis and Earl of Clanrichard, Vicount Galloway, and Baron of Dunkelly, and Imarnary in Ireland, he dyed Octob. 57.*
- 50 Jerome Weston, *Earl of Portland, and Lord Weston of Neyland. Richard his Father was so created.*
- 51 William Wentworth, *Earl of Strafford; Vicount Wentworth, Baron Wentworth of Wentworth, Woodhouse, Newmarch, Wersley, Raby, Baronet and Knight.*
- 52 Henry Spencer, *Earl of Sunderland, and Lord Spencer of Warinlington.*
- 53 Oliver Fitz-William, *Earl of Warrington, and Vicount Fitz-William of Merionge, and Baron Fitz-William of Thorne-Castle in Ireland. Thomas Viscount Fitz-William, his Father was created Earl of Warrington.*
- 54 Thomas Savill, *Earl of Sussex, and Lord Savill of Pontefract, and Vicount Savill in Ireland.*
- 55 Patrick Ruthen *Earl of Branchford and Forth, and Lord Ruthen of Etrick in Scotland.*
- 56 Francis Leigh, *Earl of Chichester, Baron Dunsmore, and Baronet: Extinct.*
- 57 George Goring, *Earl of Norwich, Lord Goring of Hurst Peirrepoint, and Knight.*
- 58 Francis Leake, *Earl of Scarfedale, Lord Daincourt, and Baronet.*
- 59 Charles Steuart, *Earl of Lichfield, and Baron Stuart of Newbery.*

VICOUNTS.

- 1 **I** Eicester Devoreux *Vicount Hereford.*
- 2 **I** Francis Browne *Vicount Mountacut.*
- 3 Robert Villiers *Vicount Purbeck, and Baron of Stook.*
- 4 William Fyenne *Vicount and Baron Say and Scale.*
- 5 Edward Conway, *Vicount Conway and Kilultaph in Ireland, and Lord Conway of Ragley.*
- 6 Edward Noel, *Vicount Camden, Baron Noel of Redlington and Elmington,*
- 7 William Howard, *Vicount and Baron of Stafford.*
- 8 Thomas Bellasis *Vicount Falconbridge of Henknowle, Baron Falconbridge of Yaren and Baronet.*
- 9 Charles Howard, *Vicount Howard of Morpeth, Baron Gillsland, and Baronet.*

BARONS.

- 1 **J**ohn Nevill *Baron Abergavenny.*
- 2 **J**ames Tutchet, *Lord Audley, and Earl of Castlehaven in Ireland.*
- 3 Charles West, *Lord Delaware,*
- 4 George Barkley, *Lord Barkley.*
- 5 Henry Parker, *Lord Morley and Mounteagle.*

A Catalogue of the Nobility of England.

- 6 Francis Leonard, *Lord Dacre.*
- 7 Charles Longeville, *Lord Grey of Ruthen, who dyed and left a Daughter heiress to the Title.*
- 8 Coniers Darcy, *Lord Darcy and Coniers.*
- 9 Edward Sutton, *Baron Dudley, which Title of Baron Dudley belongs to whomsoever is seized in fee of Dudley Castle.*
- 10 William Sturton, *Lord Sturton of Sturton, and Knight of the Bath.*
- 11 William Sands, *Lord Sands of the Vine.*
- 12 Edward Vaux, *Lord Vaux of Harowden.*
- 13 Thomas Windzor, *Baron Windzor of Bradenham.*
- 14 Thomas Cromwel, *Lord Cromwell of Oakham, and Vicount Lecalle, and Earl of Baltinglasse in Ireland, whose Ancester was Earl of Essex in England.*
- 15 George Eure, *Baron Eure.*
- 16 Philip Wharton, *Baron Wharton of Wharton.*
- 17 Francis Willoughby, *Baron Willoughby of Parham.*
- 18 William Paget, *Baron Pager of Bendesert, and Knight of the Bath.*
- 19 Dudley North, *Baron North of Carthage.*
- 20 Bruges, *Baron Chandois of Sudley.*
- 21 John Cary, *Baron Cary, and Knight of the Bath; eldest Son to Henry Earl of Dover.*
- 22 William Petre, *Baron Petre of Writtle.*
- 23 Dutton Cerrard, *Baron Gerrard of Gerrards-Bromley.*
- 24 Charles Stanhope, *Baron Stanhope of Harrington.*
- 25 Henry Arundel, *Baron Arundell of Wardour, and an Earl of the Empire.*
- 26 Christopher Roger, *Baron Tenham of Tenham.*
- 27 Robert Grenville, *Baron Brook of Beauchamp's-Court.*
- 28 Edward Mountague, *Baron Mountague of Boughton.*
- 29 Charles Howard, *Baron Howard, and Knight of the Bath; eldest Son to Thomas Earl of Berkshire.*
- 30 William Grey, *Baron Grey of Warke, and Baronet.*
- 31 John Roberts, *Baron Roberts of Truro and Baronet.*
- 32 William Craven, *Baron Craven of Hampstead-Marsh, and Knight.*
- 33 John Lovelace, *Baron Lovelace of Hurley.*
- 34 John Pawlet, *Baron Pawlet of Hinton—St. George and Knight; John his Father was so created.*
- 35 Thomas Brudnel, *Baron Brudnel of Stouton, Baronet and Knight.*
- 36 William Maynard, *Baron Maynard of Estains and Baronet, and Baron Maynard of Wicklow in Ireland.*
- 37 Thomas Coventry, *Baron Coventry of Alsborough. Sir Thomas Coventry Knight, his Father was so created.*
- 38 Edward Howard, *Baron Howard of Escrick, and Knight of the Bath.*
- 39 Warwick Mohun, *Baron Mohun of Oakhampton, and Baronet, John his Father was so created, Baron Mohun of Oakhampton.*
- 40 John Bottiler, *Baron Bottiler of Bramfield, Baronet and Knight.*
- 41 William Herbert, *Baron Powys, of Powys and Knight of the Bath.*
- 42 Edward Herbert, *Baron Herbert of Cherbury, and Baron Herbert of Castle-Island in Ireland.*
- 43 John Finch, *Baron Finch of Fordwich, and Knight.*
- 44 Francis Seymour, *Baron Seymour of Trowbridge, and Knight.*
- 45 Arthur Capell, *Baron Capell of Hadham. Authur his Easter was so created.*
- 46 Thomas Bruce, *Baron Bruce of Worelton, and Earl of Elgin in Scotland.*
- 47 Richard Newport, *Baron Newport, and Knight.*
- John Craven, *Baron Craven of Ryton. Extinct.*
- 48 Richard Vaughan, *Baron Vaughan of Embsay, Earl of Carbery in Ireland.*
- Henry Percy, *Baron Percy of Anwick. Extinct. which Henry Baron Percy was Son and Brother unto Henry and Algernoon Earls of Northumberland.*

A Catalogue of the Nobility of England.

- 49 Henry Wilmot, *Baron Wilmot of Adderbury, and Vicount Wilmot of Athlone in Ireland.*
- 50 Thomas Leigh, *Baron Leigh of Stanely, and Baronet.*
- 51 Christopher Hatton, *Baron Hatton of Kirbe, and Knight of the Bath.*
Ralph Hopton, *Baron Hopton of Stratton, and Knight of the Bath: Extinct.*
- 52 Henry Jermin, *Baron Jermin of St. Edmund's.*
- 53 Henry Hastings, *Baron Loughborough of Loughborough.*
- 54 John Biron, *Baron Biron of Rochdale, and Knight of the Bath.*
- 55 Humble Ward, *Baron Ward of Berningham.*
- 56 Richard Boyle, *Baron Clifford of Lansborow, and Earl of Cork in Ireland.*
- 57 John Culpepper, *Baron Culpepper of Thoresway, and Knight.*
- 58 Attley, *Baron Attley of Reading.*
- 59 John Brook, *Baron Cobham, and Knight.*
- 60 John Lucas, *Baron Lucas of Shenfield, and Knight.*
- 61 John Bellasis, *Baron Bellasis of Worlaby.*
- 62 Edward Watfon, *Baron Rockingham, and Baronet.*
- 63 John Reed, *Baron Reed: A Dutchman.*
- 64 Robert Cholmundeley, *Baron Cholmundeley of Witch-Malbanck, and Earl of Lemster, and Vicount Cholmundeley of Kellis in Ireland.*
- 65 Charls Gerrard, *Baron Gerrard of Brandon.*
- 66 Robert Sutton, *Baron Lexington of Aram.*
- 67 Edmund Dunch, *Baron Burnel of East-Wittenham.*

BARONETS.

- 1 SIR Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave in Suffolk, *Baronet and Knight.*
- 2 Sir Richard Molineux of Sefton in Lancaster, *Baronet and Knight, and Vicount Molineux of Mariburgh in Ireland.*
- 3 Sir Thomas Maunfell of Morgan in Glamorgan, *Baronet and Knight.*
- 4 Sir George Shirley of Staunton in Leicester. Sir Charles, Sir Robert.
- 5 Sir John Stradling of St. Donates in Glamorgan, *Baronet and Knight.*
- 6 Sir Francis Leak of Sutton in Derby, *Baronet and Knight.*
- 7 Sir Thomas Pelham of Laughton in Suffex. Sir John.
- 8 Sir Richard Houghton of Houghton-Tower in Lancaster, *Baronet and Knight.* Sir Gilbert.
- 9 Sir Henry Hobart of Intwood in Norfolk, *Baronet and Knight.* Sir John.
- 10 Sir George Booth of Dunham-Massie in Chester, *Baronet and Knight.* Sir George.
- 11 Sir John Peyton of Iselham in Cambridge, *Baronet and Knight.*
- 12 Sir Lyonel Tolmach of Helmingham in Suffolk. Sir Lyonel.
- 13 Sir Gervase Clifton of Clifton in Nottingham, *Baronet and Knight.*
- 14 Sir Thomas Gerrard of Brin in Lancaster, *Baronet and Knight.*
- 15 Sir Walter Aston of Tixhall in Stafford, *Baronet and Knight; and Baron Aston of Forfar in Scotland.*
- 16 Sir Philip Knevet of Bucknam in Suffolk.
- 17 Sir John St. John of Lediard Tergoze in Wilts, *Baronet and Knight.* Sir John, Sir Walter.
- 18 Sir John Shelly of Michelgrove in Suffex.
- 19 Sir John Savage of Rock-Savage in Chester, *Baronet and Knight.*
- 20 Sir Francis Barrington of Barrington-hall in Essex, *Baronet and Knight.* Sir Thomas, Sir John.
- 21 Sir Henry Berkley of Wymondham in Leicester.
- 22 Sir William Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse in York. Sir Thomas, afterwards Earl of Strafford.
- 23 Sir Richard Musgrave of Hartley-Castle in Westmerland, *Baronet and Knight.*
- 24 Sir Edward Seymour of Bury-Castle in Devon.

A Catalogue of the Nobility of England.

- 25 Sir Moyle Finch of Eastwel in Kent, *Baronet and Knight*; Sir Thomas, afterwards *Earl of Winchelsea*.
- 26 Sir Anthony Cope of Hanwel in Oxford, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 27 Sir Thomas Munton of Carleton in Lincoln, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 28 Sir George Grilley of Draketon in Derby.
- 29 Sir Paul Tracy of Stanway in Gloucester.
- 30 Sir John Wentworth of Cosfeild in Essex, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 31 Sir Henry Bellasis of Newborough in York, *Baronet and Knight*; Sir Thomas, afterwards *Viscount Falconbridge*.
Sir William Constable of Flambrough in York: *Extinct*.
- 32 Sir Thomas Leigh of Staneleigh, *Baronet and Knight*; and afterwards, *Baron Leigh*.
- 33 Sir Edward Noel of Brook in Rutland, *Baronet and Knight*; Sir Edward, afterwards *Viscount Camden*.
- 34 Sir Robert Cotton of Connington in Huntington, *Baronet and Knight*; Sir Thomas.
- 35 Sir Robert Cholmundeley of Cholmundeley in Chester, afterwards *Earl of Leinster in Ireland*.
- 36 Sir John Molineux of Tevershalt in Nottingham.
- 37 Sir Francis Wortley of Wortley in York, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 38 Sir George Savill, the elder, of Thorne-hill in York, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 39 Sir William Kneviton of Mircalton in Derby.
- 40 Sir Philip Woodhouse of Wilber-hall in Norfolk, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 41 Sir William Pope of Wilcot in Oxford, *Baronet and Knight*; afterwards *Earl of Downe in Ireland*.
- 42 Sir James Harrington of Ridlington in Rutland, *Baronet and Knight*; Sir Edward, Sir James.
Sir Henry Savile of Methley in York, *Baronet and Knight*: *Extinct*.
- 43 Sir Henry Willoughby of Risley in Derby.
- 44 Sir Lewis Trelham of Rushton in Northampton.
- 45 Sir Thomas Brudnet of Dean in Northampton; afterward *Baron Brudnet*.
- 46 Sir George St. Paul of Snarsford in Lincoln, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 47 Sir Philip Tirwhit of Stainfield in Lincoln, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 48 Sir Roger Dallison of Loughton in Lincoln, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 49 Sir Edward Car of Sleaford in Lincoln, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 50 Sir Edward Husley of Henington in Lincoln, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 51 Sir Le-Strange Mordant of Maffingham-parva in Norfolk.
- 52 Sir Thomas Bendish of Steeple-bamsteed in Essex.
- 53 Sir John Win of Gwidder in Carnarvon, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 54 Sir William Throckmorton of Tortworth in Gloucester, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 55 Sir Richard Worley of Appledeorcomb in Southampton, *Baronet and Knight*:
Sir Henry.
- 56 Sir Richard Fleetwood of Cakewish in Stafford.
- 57 Sir William Spenser of Yardington in Oxford: Sir William, Sir Thomas.
- 58 Sir John Tufton of Hothfield in Kent, *Baronet and Knight*; Sir Nicholas, afterwards *Earl of Thanet*.
- 59 Sir Samuel Peyton of Knowlton in Kent, *Baronet and Knight*; Sir Thomas.
Sir Charles Morrison of Cashibury in Hertford, *Baronet and Knight*: *Extinct*.
- 60 Sir Henry Baker of Sillinghurst in Kent, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 61 Sir Roger Appleton of Southampsteed in Essex.
- 62 Sir William Sidney of Ailsford in Kent, *Baronet and Knight*; Sir William, Sir Charles.
- 63 Sir William Twisden of East-peckham in Kent, *Baronet and Knight*; Sir Roger.
- 64 Sir Edward Hales of Woodchurch in Kent, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 65 Sir William Monins, of Walwarther in Kent.
- 66 Sir Thomas Mildmay of Mulsham in Essex.
- 67 Sir William Maynard of Enston-parva in Essex, *Baronet and Knight*; afterwards *Baron Maynard*.
- 68 Sir Henry Lee of Quarrendon in Buckingham.
- 69 Sir John

- 69 Sir John Portman of Orchard in Somerset, *Baronet and Knight*: Sir William, Sir William,
- 70 Sir Nicholas Sanderson of Saxby in Lincoln, *Baronet and Knight*, afterward *Vicount of Castletown in Ireland*.
- 71 Sir Miles Sands of Wimbleton, in the Isle of Ely, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 72 Sir William Ghostwick of Willington in Bedford.
- 73 Sir Thomas Puckering of Weston in Hertford.
- 74 Sir William Wray of Gleasthorpe in Lincoln, *Baronet and Knight*: Sir John.
- 75 Sir William Aileffe of Braxted-magna in Essex, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 76 Sir Marmaduke Wivel of Custable-Burton in York, *Baron and Knight*.
- 77 Sir John Peshall of Horsley in Stafford.
- 78 Sir Francis Eaglefield of Wotton-Basset in Wilts.
- 79 Sir Thomas Ridgway of Torre in Devon, *Baronet and Knight*, afterward *Earl of London Derry in Ireland*.
- 80 Sir William Essex of Bewcot in Berks: Sir Thomas.
- 81 Sir Edward Gorges of Langford in Wilts, *Baronet and Knight*, afterward *Baron Gorges of Dunalk in Ireland*.
- 82 Sir Edward D'Eureux of Castle-Bramwich in Warwick.
- 83 Sir Reginald Mohun of Buckonnock in Cornwall: John his Son in his Fathers life-time was Created *Baron Mohun of Oakhampton*.
- 84 Sir Harbottle Grimston of Bradfield in Essex, *Baronet and Knight*: Sir Harbottle.
- 85 Sir Thomas Holt of Alton, juxta Birmingham in Warwick, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 86 Sir Robert Naper-Sandy of Lewton-how in Bedford, *Baronet and Knight*.
Sir Paul Bayning of Bently-parva in Essex, after *Vicount Bayning*, *Extinct*.
- 87 Sir Thomas Temple of Stow in Buckingham, *Baronet and Knight*: Sir Peter, Sir Richard.
- 88 Sir Thomas Penelstone of Leigh in Suffex.
- 89 Sir Thomas Blackston of Blackston in Durham.
- 90 Sir Robert Dormer of Wing *Baronet and Knight*, afterward *Earl of Carnarvon, &c.*
- 91 Sir Rowland Egerton of Egerton in Chester, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 92 Sir Roger Townshend of Rainham in Norfolk: Sir Roger, Sir Horace.
- 93 Sir Simon Clark of Salford in Warwick.
- 94 Sir Edward Fitton of Houseworth in Chester.
- 95 Sir Richard Lucy of Broxborn in Hertford, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 96 Sir Matthew Bointon of Bramston in York, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 97 Sir Thomas Littleton of Frankley in Worcester.
Sir Francis Leigh of Newnham in Warwick, *Baronet and Knight*, and afterwards *Earl of Chichester*, *Extinct*.
- 98 Sir Thomas Burder of Bramcor in Warwick.
- 99 Sir George Morton of S. Andrew's Milborn in Dorset.
Sir William Harvey *Baronet and Knight*, afterward *Baron Haney*, *Extinct*.
- 100 Sir Thomas Mackworth of Normanton in Rutland.
- 101 Sir William Grey *Baronet and Knight*, afterward *Baron Grey of Warkes*.
- 102 Sir William Villiers of Brooksby in Leicester: Sir George.
- 103 Sir James Ley of Westbury in Wilts, *Baronet and Knight*, afterward *Earl of Marleborough*.
- 104 Sir William Hicks of Barreston, in Gloucester.
- 105 Sir Thomas Beaumont of Coleorton in Leicester, *Baronet and Knight*, and afterward *Vicount Beaumont of Swords in Ireland*.
- 106 Sir Henry Salisbury of Leweny in Denbigh.
- 107 Sir Erasmus Driden of Canon-Ashby in Northampton: Sir John.
- 108 Sir William Armine *Baronet and Knight*: Sir William, Sir Michael.
- 109 Sir William Bamburgh of Houson in York, *Baronet and Knight*.
- 110 Sir Edward Hartop of Freathby in Leicester.
- 111 Sir John Mill of Commons-Court in Suffex.
- 112 Sir Francis Radcliff of Darentwater in Cumberland.
- 113 Sir David Foulis of Ingleby in York, *Baronet and Knight*, Sir David.
- 114 Sir Thomas Philips of Barrington in Somerset.
- 115 Sir Claudius Forster of Bambrough-Castle in Northumberland, *Baronet and Knight*.

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- 116 *Sir Anthony Chester of Chickly in Buckingham.*
- 117 *Sir Samuel Trion of Lair-Marney in Essex, Baronet and Knight.*
- 118 *Sir Adam Newton of Charleton in Kent.*
- 119 *Sir John Bottiler of Hatfield-wood-hell in Hertford, Baronet and Knight: and afterwards Baron Bottiler.*
- 120 *Sir Gilbert Gerrard of Harrow-super-montem in Middlesex.*
- 121 *Sir Humphrey Lee of Langley in Salop.*
- 122 *Sir Richard Berney of Park-hall in Redham, in Norfolk.*
- 123 *Sir Humphrey Foster of Aldermaston in Berks.*
Sir Thomas Bigs of Lenchwick in Worcester: Extinct.
- 124 *Sir Henry Bellingham of Helfington in Westmerland.*
- 125 *Sir William Yelverton of Rougham in Norfolk.*
- 126 *Sir John Scudamore of Home-lacy in Hereford, after Viscount Scudamore of Sligo in Ireland.*
- 127 *Sir Thomas Gore of Stirnam in York, Baronet and Knight.*
- 128 *Sir John Packington of Alesbury in Buckingham.*
- 129 *Sir Ralph Ashton of Lever in Lancaster.*
Sir Baptiste Hicks of Cambden in Gloucester, Baronet and Knight, and afterward Viscount Cambden: Extinct.
- 130 *Sir Thomas Roberts of Glastenbury in Kent, Baronet and Knight.*
- 131 *Sir John Hammer of Hammer, in Flint.*
- 132 *Sir Edward Osborn of Kerton in York: Sir Thomas.*
- 133 *Sir Henry Felton of Plaiford in Suffolk.*
Sir William Chaloner of Gisborough in York: Extinct.
- 134 *Sir Edward Frier of Water-Earon in Oxford.*
- 135 *Sir Thomas Bishop of Parham in Sussex, Baronet and Knight: Sir Edward.*
- 136 *Sir Francis Vincent of Stockdaw-Barton in Surrey, Baronet and Knight.*
Sir Henry Clare of Ormsby in Norfolk: Extinct.
- 137 *Sir Benjamin Tichbourn of Tichbourn in Southampton, Baronet and Knight.*
- 138 *Sir Richard Wilbraham of Woodhey in Chester, Baronet and Knight.*
- 139 *Sir Thomas Delves of Duddington in Chester, Baronet and Knight.*
- 140 *Sir Lewis Watson of Rockingham-Castle in Northampton, Baronet and Knight, and afterward Baron Rockingham.*
- 141 *Sir Thomas Palmer of Wingham in Kent, Baronet and Knight: Sir Thomas, Sir Henry.*
- 142 *Sir Richard Roberts of Truro in Cornwall, Baronet and Knight, and after Baron Roberts of Truro.*
- 143 *Sir John Rivers of Chafford in Kent: Sir John, Sir Thomas, Sir John.*
- 144 *Sir Henry Jernegan of Cossey in Norfolk.*
- 145 *Sir Thomas Darnel of Heiling in Lincoln.*
- 146 *Sir Isaac Sidley of Great-Chartre in Kent, Baronet and Knight.*
- 147 *Sir Robert Brown of Walcot in Northampton: Sir Thomas, Sir Robert.*
- 148 *Sir John Haret of Headley-hall in York.*
- 149 *Sir Nicholas Hide of Albury in Hertford, Baronet and Knight.*
- 150 *Sir John Philips of Picton in Pembroke.*
- 151 *Sir John Stepney of Pendergast in Pembroke, Baronet and Knight.*
- 152 *Sir Baldwin Wake of Clevedon in Somerset.*
- 153 *Sir William Matham of High-laver in Essex: Sir William.*
- 154 *Sir John Colebrand of Botham in Sussex.*
- 155 *Sir John Hotham of Scarborough in York, Baronet and Knight: Sir John.*
- 156 *Sir Francis Mansel of Muddlescomb in Caermarthen.*
- 157 *Sir Edward Powel of Penkelley in Hereford.*
- 158 *Sir John Garret of Lamer in Hertford, Baronet and Knight: Sir John.*
- 159 *Sir Richard Gravener of Eaton in Chester, Baronet and Knight.*
- 160 *Sir Henry Mody of Garesdon in Wilts, Baronet and Knight.*
- 161 *Sir John Baker of Grimston-hall in Trimley in Suffolk.*
- 162 *Sir William Burton of Alcon in Wilts Baronet and Knight, Sir William.*
- 163 *Sir John Gage of Forl in Sussex: Sir Thomas.*
- 164 *Sir William Goring.*

A Catalogue of the Nobility of England.

- 165 *Sir Peter Coltten of Aldington in Worcester.*
- 166 *Sir Richard Norton of Rotherfield in Southampton, Barones and Knight.*
- 167 *Sir John Leventhorp of Shingle-hall in Hertford, Barones and Knight.*
- 168 *Sir Capel Bedel of Hamerton in Huntingdon.*
- 169 *Sir John Darel of West-woodkey in Berks.*
- 170 *Sir William Williams of Veynol in Caernarvon.*
- 171 *Sir Francis Ashby of Hartfield in Middlesex, Barones and Knight.*
Sir Anthony Ashley of S. Giles-Winborn in Dorset, Barones and Knight. Extinct.
- 172 *Sir John Couper of Rockbourn in Southampton, Barones, and afterward Knighted,*
Sir Anthony Ashley.
- 173 *Sir Edmund Prideaux of Netherton in Devon: Sir Peter.*
- 174 *Sir Thomas Haslerig of Noseley in Leicester, Barones and Knight: Sir Arthur.*
- 175 *Sir Thomas Burton of Sockerstone in Leicester, Barones and Knight.*
- 176 *Sir Francis Foliamb of Walton in Derby.*
- 177 *Sir Edward Yate of Buckland in Berks.*
- 178 *Sir George Chudley of Ashton in Devon.*
- 179 *Sir William Meredith of Standly in Denbigh.*
- 180 *Sir Francis Drake of Buckland in Devon.*
- 181 *Sir Hugh Middleton of Ruthin in Denbigh.*
- 182 *Sir Gifford Thornhurst of Ague-Court in Kent.*
- 183 *Sir Percy Herbert.*
- 184 *Sir Robert Fisher of Packington in Warwick, Barones and Knight.*
- 185 *Sir Hardolph Wastneys of Hendon in Nottingham.*
- 186 *Sir Henry Shipwith of Prestwoud in Leicester, Barones and Knight.*
- 187 *Sir Thomas Harris of Boreatton in Salop.*
- 188 *Sir Nicholas Tempest of Stella in Durham.*
Sir Francis Cottington afterward Baron Cottington, Extinct.
Sir Thomas Harris of Tong-Castle in Salop, Barones and Sergeant at Law. Extinct.
- 189 *Sir Edward Barkham of Southacre in Norfolk.*
- 190 *Sir John Corbet of Prowston in Norfolk.*
- 191 *Sir Thomas Playters of Sotterley in Suffolk, Barones and Knight: Sir William.*
- 192 *Sir John Ashfield of Netherhall in Suffolk, Barones and Knight.*
- 193 *Sir Henry Harper of Calk in Derby.*
- 194 *Sir Edward Scabright of Bessford in Worcester.*
- 195 *Sir John Beaumont of Gracedieu in Leicester.*
- 196 *Sir Edward Dering of Surenden-Dering in Kent, Barones and Knight: Sir Edw.*
- 197 *Sir George Kemp of Pentbone in Essex.*
- 198 *Sir William Brereton of Hanford in Chester.*
- 199 *Sir Patricius Cunwen of Workington in Cumberland.*
- 200 *Sir William Ruffel of Witley in Worcester.*
- 201 *Sir John Spencer of Offley in Hertford.*
- 202 *Sir Giles Escourt of Newton in Wilts, Barones and Knight.*
- 203 *Sir Thomas Ailsbury.*
- 204 *Sir Thomas Style of Watringbury in Kent.*
- 205 *Sir Frederick Cornwallis.*
- 206 *Sir Drue Drury.*
- 207 *Sir William Skerington.*
- 208 *Sir Robert Crane of Chilton in Suffolk, Barones and Knight.*
- 209 *Sir Anthony Wingfield of Goodwins in Suffolk.*
- 210 *Sir William Culpepper of Preston-hall in Kent.*
- 211 *Sir Giles Bridges of Wilton in Hereford.*
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